Hellenic Female Migration and a Greek Canadian Legacy

Social Networks, Cultural Continuity and Economic Development of the Women of the Halifax Greek Community

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This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Kingston University for the award of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis explores the dynamic social networks, economic development and cultural continuity of the female members of the diasporic Greek community of Halifax, Nova Scotia. In an effort to address a gap in gendered and regional Greek Canadian community studies, this study utilizes the intersection of gender and place through time for a defined social group, as it investigates the development of diverse social and economic relationships in addition to forms of cultural communication.

Using an ethnographic approach, this study attempts to understand the lives and interactions through time, which constitute the social and economic networks and define the identities of the female members of the Halifax Greek community. Approximately forty people, mainly women, who indicated participation or membership in the Halifax Greek community, were recruited for life history interviews, while informal unstructured conversations or interviews were conducted with additional participants during participant observation. The participants ranged in age and represented both migrants and subsequent generations. This approach to fieldwork, conducted intermittently, provided an opportunity to witness and acquire diverse data on various community events and aspects of daily life. Moreover, with ethnographic engagement, the way people, particularly women, negotiated their identities across time and space was considered.

The study supports the greater agency of post-World War II Greek female migrants in the decision-making process of their migration and rejects their migration as consequential or secondary; their shift from sponsored to sponsors facilitated further migration for co-ethnics of extended kin networks and their status as co-breadwinners was essential to the well-being of the Greek migrant family units. Socioeconomic networks have shifted from highly gendered and ethnic networks, initially established out of necessity to ones defined by individual preferences and needs, which do not discard the significance of kin and ethnic connections in their entirety. Concerns for cultural continuity persist for the dynamic community as they continue to redefine their unique hyphenated Greek-Haligonian identity, much like the Halifax donair delicacy, a variation of a Greek dish, influenced by characteristics of Halifax.

Acknowledgments

This thesis is the result of a fantastic journey. I am both happy and proud of this work and it is imperative that I acknowledge those who provided the motivation and support that made all this possible.

I would first like to thank Kingston University and the School of Geography, Geology and the Environment who made this thesis possible. The funding and access to the Kingston University facilities were indispensable to the whole research process. Their support was a constant reminder of the potential they recognized for my work, which I greatly appreciate.

Special thanks must go to everyone who volunteered their time and participated in the research for this study. Their input, time and cooperation, whether during the lengthy interviews or the brief interactions at various events, have been extremely valuable and educational. I hope that my work can do them justice.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my Director of Studies, Professor Brad K. Blitz, who has been an important part of this project from its foundation. He has continuously cheered and challenged my abilities as a researcher, confident of my potential and my work. His input and direction, coupled with his support for the freedom I required to develop my own thoughts and ideas have been indispensable. Thanks are also due to past and present academic staff of the School of Geography, Geology and the Environment, who through collaboration, have introduced me to new concepts and ideas, both in research and teaching.

In addition to the academic staff, I cannot forget my fellow postgraduates. Whether our research interests bore any similarities or whether they were as baffled about extended kin networks as I was about igneous petrology, the presence of office mates who were also struggling to meet yet another deadline and worried about the finish line, contributed to the process.

Last, but definitely not least, I would like to thank my family and friends on both sides of the Atlantic. To my mom and dad who have done so much for me and have always supported and were proud of all my endeavours; my sister, who knew when I was too stressed to even move and brought over the free coffee; and to my grandparents, who were always sure that I could do it all. Finally, to Ghassan, the best partner I could have asked for; thank you for the love, tough-love, support, inspiration, schedules, proof-reading and everything else. Words cannot express my gratitude.

Preface

Born in Montreal, Canada and raised in Cyprus, tales of migration are family stories. My mother, a Greek Canadian 'return' migrant moved to Canada with her family in the 1960s from Greece at a very young age, and my father moved to Canada from Cyprus for higher education. For both, the point of entry was Halifax, NS, yet unlike the participants in this study, my parents and my mother's family did not stay in Canada, but moved back to Greece or Cyprus. Families in Greece and Cyprus are likely to have or had one or more members who immigrated at some point in the recent past. My own background was only somewhat different in that unlike most return migrants' children in Cyprus, my family returned from Canada and not the UK, a more popular migrant destination for Cypriots, and my mother was from mainland Greece, raised in Canada and thus a foreigner to Cyprus, who happened to speak the language and share certain cultural characteristics.

My academic career in the social sciences began with the study of social and cultural anthropology for my undergraduate degree, after my 'return' to my birthplace, Montreal. Postgraduate work in intercultural communications in the UK followed, before the opportunity to embark on this project. Human mobility, cross-cultural and intercultural interaction, and the diversity between and within different social groups remained subjects of interest and further inquiry.

When you visit Halifax, NS, a city on the Atlantic coastline, one of the cultural destinations would likely be Canada's Immigration Museum. The museum is housed in Pier 21, the actual entry point of over a million migrants in the twentieth century, who would become part of Canada's 'cultural mosaic.' I had the opportunity to visit the museum with my mother at the end of my postgraduate work, where she was handed an 'alum' sticker for having entered the country through Pier 21. The visit triggered my curiosity about the people and community/ies of the city, a city of transit, not promoted for settlement. The curiosity developed into the research proposal on the Greek community in Halifax, which would develop into my PhD study. A series of discussions with members of my supervisory team led to the suggestion that I focus on the female members of the community. The review of relevant literature further encouraged this direction, as did my own personal interest to write about the women of the Greek community.

The decision to study a Greek migrant community would also suggest a more complex insider/outsider role as a researcher that could on the one hand, facilitate the research process, while on the other hand, could make it more difficult; I was not a migrant in the same way as many of the members of the community, but my family provided a personal glimpse to that reality. I also spoke the language, shared a common ancestral homeland and lived (at least for a few of my adult years) in Canada. Reflection during the process was necessary throughout the project, without it overpowering the message and meanings from the participants. With the aid of the available literature and experience of colleagues, who embarked on similar projects and whose work I discuss in the thesis, and with the support of all around me, the project took shape and reached completion.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

> *"My life? You can write a book..." – Magda N., female migrant, arrived in Halifax with family in 1959, aged 29.*
>
> ***"...but I never thought that there were other immigrant children, it never even dawned on me...and they were real people and they were exactly likes us. Values, parents were immigrants, some more educated than others, but still, it was this magnetism that brought us all together and to this day we are still friends..." – Xenia C., born in Canada (1960) to Greek immigrants.***
>
> ***"We complain and stuff, 'cause we're working on weekends, Saturday night, but in a way we're lucky, because I knew that coming out of it, in high school, I would have worked. And we find work from the people we know in the community, and that will be a reference letter for university and then your job...a good reference letter." – Paula O., second generation Greek Canadian.***

This thesis is a study of the dynamic social networks, economic development and cultural continuity concerns of the female members of the diasporic Greek community of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Through life history interviews, Greek female migrants, subsequent generations and women who 'married into' the community, reflect on their experiences of migration, life in Halifax and the significance or role of the Greek community in their lives. It is a study, which considers the intersection of gender and place through time, for a distinct group of people, as it examines the development of diverse social and economic relationships in addition to forms of cultural communication.

When historian, Richard Clogg, decided to embark on a project to collate information about the Greek diasporic communities around the world, he realized that it was a field that, until recently, was in disregard. Research interest had been invested on the creation of the Modern Greek nation state; the way it gradually gained territories and its building of national infrastructure. Clogg, nevertheless maintained that the waves of migration between the 18th and late 20th centuries, the more globally distributed Greek diaspora and the loss of the Near East Greek communities were important and worthy of scholarly attention (Clogg, 1999, p. viii).

Greek diaspora studies have, in the past thirty years, slowly developed into a thriving research field within the social sciences (Tziovas, 2009, p. 2). Much of this scholarly interest comes from within

the Greek diasporic communities or Greeks who have established contact and links with these communities (Kontos, 2009, p. 33). Among the topics addressed are the specific socioeconomic histories and growth of diasporic communities, representations of Greek migration and literature in various media, studies of migrant experience, the effects of phenomena such as first generation return migration, and the relations between diasporic communities with the Greek state and other Greek organizations.

The end of the 20th century did not only result in the transformation of the field of Greek diaspora studies from a somewhat neglected field into a growing field. The feminist movement within general academia, coupled with a rise in female labour migration in the case of migration studies, introduced alternative research frameworks, which called for a gendered approach and reassessment of previous studies where gender had not been differentiated or where women's experience was categorized under family; gender had been identified a factor, which affected and affects every day, life experiences (Pedraza, 1991, p. 303; Iacovetta, Draper, & Ventresca, 1998, p. xii; Ackers, 1998, p. 139; DeLaet, 1999, p. 2; Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006a, p. 12). While the main research focus is current female migration waves, researchers such as Le Jeune (2003, p. 11) argue in favour of re-evaluating past migrations and female migrants under this framework because it could potentially identify how women, in particular, contributed to the establishment or maintenance of living migrant communities as migrants or subsequent generations.

Canada, as a traditional migrant destination, has continually invested in migration research, which is part of its national identity (Boyd & Alboim, 2012, p. 124). Migration policies continue to change in response to government agenda, labour requirements and public opinion (the degree of influence varies). Decentralisation of migration responsibilities and funds to the provincial level have brought to light the contrasting demographics and immigrant retention concerns of second and third tier cities around Canada, which the cosmopolitan cities such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, usually in the spotlight, do not encounter (Ma, 2010, p. 1; Simmons, 2010, p. 2). Research has therefore shifted to regional studies in an attempt to acquire a more holistic understanding of a Canada with strong regional identities (Hoerder, 1999, p. 301).

The foundation of this research project was a basic curiosity about the presence of a Greek diasporic community in Halifax, a city whose geographic position served as a port of entry (Duivenvoorden Mitic & LeBlanc, 1988, p. 61), but whose peripheral political and economic position did not make it a primary point of settlement (Choyce, 1996, p. 257). The more refined research objectives of this project developed following the review of available studies in past migration flows, Greek diaspora literature, and the relative lack (but growing) research of the female experience within migrant communities, with the additional consideration of the regional research approach.

The empirical component of the study, which constitutes the bulk of the thesis, concentrates on the life experiences and personal perspectives of female members of the Greek community. The accounts attempt to understand the changing social and economic relationships of the women,

within the home, the community and the greater Halifax society and identify how these changes are perceived or affect their daily lives.

1.2. Aim

The primary goal of this study is to explore and understand the lives of the female members of the Halifax Greek community with respect to the social networks, economic development and concerns over ethno-cultural continuity. These topics are explored in-depth as they intersect with both time and place. From the decision to emigrate from Greece for the migrants or birth for the subsequent generations, through to present day, individuals are asked to reflect on their life in Halifax as a member of a diasporic community. Approximately 40 individuals, in their majority women, participated in the study and are often addressed as *participants* throughout the text.

The viewpoints, aspirations, values and important elements of life of these women are central to this research. The objective is therefore to convey an understanding of the participants' subjective experiences. It is a study that provides a window into the lives of these women, not as a means to speak for them, but rather as a means to understand what is important to them.

With the increase in research in Greek Diaspora communities and the Greek female migrants, the negotiation of identity and belonging are among the main themes addressed for both the migrants and the subsequent generations of the established communities. This study does examine attributes of this negotiation and how the environment and interactions shape their understanding of belonging. However, there is a presumption of a certain degree of belonging, since it is the effects of this affiliation and belonging within the greater Halifax context that are evaluated.

Essential to the realisation of these aims is the application of the ethnographic multi-method approach. To gain insights into their lives and personal identities, time was spent observing and talking with community members. Underpinning this ethnographic approach was the premise that diverse and nuanced elements of day-to-day lives and identities could be more fully understood by extensive and close engagement. The ethnographic approach was a means to observe and understand the diversity of people, and how people can express different aspects of themselves, or be constructed differently in various physical and social contexts.

1.3. Research Questions

The main or primary research question essentially encompasses the main objectives introduced in the previous section:

Can you tell me about your life in Halifax as a female member of the Greek community?

This overarching research question is both simple and broad. The simplicity of the question lies in the commitment to the perspectives of those people studied. This question aims to explore how people see their lives for themselves. The development of a theoretical framework to respond to this question, however, added complexity and breadth. The multiple realities associated with the

people participating in this study, such as the reliance on others, the power differentials of traditional Greek societies, the relationships with other people within the community and beyond, and the importance of place and time, highlight the relevance of social context to understanding these experiences. The importance of social context in participants' lives result in the division of the question into secondary research questions, which can address more discretely these relationships and their context:

How do you feel about the Greek community and its organization (relationships and activities)?

What is it like to be Greek/ to be raised in a Greek migrant family/ to be raised with Greek heritage in Halifax, or to be married into a Greek community?

What does living in Halifax mean to you?

What opportunities were/are available to you with respect to the labour market?

What does being Greek mean to you?

Do you encourage continuity or have any concerns about cultural continuity in the future?

Each research question is attuned to the constraints and contexts within which participants' lives must be understood, perhaps most evident in the three versions of the second question, necessary in order to remain relevant for all participants. The questions are versatile and can be asked to all participants, whose unique circumstances and experiences, determine their responses.

1.3.1. Significance

While there is a tendency to search for patterns and similarities when conducting research, the differences in region or geographic centrality and population size can result in variations of these patterns. It is therefore important for a 'case by case examination' (Anthias, 1998, p. 563) before applying any generalizations. Halifax was primarily a transit destination between the point of origin and final point of settlement for migrants, since it was not considered a settlement priority by the Canadian government. Greek migrants were no different, mainly settling in larger Canadian urban centres (Chimbos, 1999, p. 89; Gavaki, 2009, p. 120), which have until recently, attracted most research focus. Studies about communities in larger urban centres are important, however, their findings do not always reflect the reality of migrant communities in other regions; research into the Greek community of Halifax could reveal certain variations in life experiences from those of the larger Canadian urban centres, such as Montreal and Toronto. Moreover, even though there has been a study on the Greeks of Nova Scotia (Thomas, 1988; Thomas, 2000) and the youth of the Halifax Greek community (Byers & Tastsoglou, 2008) that directed attention to the community, this case study is in essence a novel addition to gender migration and Greek female diaspora research, two fields that have experienced growing academic contributions, but still include undiscovered territory.

1.4. Overview of the Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of eleven chapters, including this introduction. The first three chapters following the introduction address the literature, background context and methods applied, which served as the foundation of the research design and shaped both fieldwork and analysis techniques. The next five chapters consist of the empirical data, divided into the main themes of the study, with some inevitable overlap. Finally, the tenth chapter is a holistic analysis and discussion of the data with reference to the research foundations of the first three chapters, while the final chapter provides the concluding remarks. The *Preface*, which precedes the main body of the study, is a personal biography, and reflection of the influences, which affect the co-construction of the 'realities' of the participants, while supplementary material is included in the *Appendices*.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The second chapter presents the theoretical foundations from which the research question develops. This includes an outline of the prominent migration theories, an outline of the evolution of what the term *diaspora* can encompass and its debated relation to transnationalism, followed by a rationalization of Greek diaspora and identity. How migration experience is gendered and the significance of female-focused and historical migration research is discussed, prior to the influence of migration policy in directing migration research focus to regional studies. The chapter ends with an overview of the existing literature on Greek diaspora, particularly on communities in Canada.

Chapter 3: History of Modern Greece and Migration to Canada

The third chapter aims to provide the reader with the history and context that led to the establishment of Greek diasporic communities around the world, but particularly, Canada. Because Greek history is both long and complicated, the beginning of Modern Greek history, for the purposes of this study, is thought to be concurrent with the beginning of the rebellion, which resulted in the foundation of the Modern Greek nation state. Subsequently, Canada's history as an immigrant nation is examined, from early colonization, through to the introduction of multiculturalism. The history of the city of Halifax is highlighted, in order to understand the unique history and identity of the city in question. The two histories come together with the timeline of Greek migration to Canada, and more specifically that of Greek migration and settlement in Halifax. The sources of this chapter provide a more extensive historical account of each history addressed, with the chapter serving as a summary essential to establishing context for the study. Nevertheless, the references of each source are available throughout the chapter, should interest for more detail develop.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The methodology chapter considers the rationale for the selection of ethnography as the ideal approach for fieldwork, highlighting its applicability in gender studies and geography. The critiques of this approach are equally addressed prior to an introduction to the fieldwork and

personal reflection on the study. All methods are discussed in-depth, followed by the analysis process and the ethical considerations when conducting ethnography.

Chapter 5: Arrival

The first of the empirical data chapters, *Arrival* begins at the beginning, with the accounts of female migrants about the migration process. The accounts are divided into pre-World War II (WWII) pioneer migration and settlement, migration in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1990s, to reflect different 'generations' (Tastsoglou, 1997a) of migrants. These accounts, where possible, begin with the course of events, which led to the decision to migrate, the journey, the arrival and their early impressions of Halifax.

Chapter 6: Social Networks

While economic and social relationships are often intertwined and at times difficult to separate, this chapter attempts to examine the various social relationships of the participants with other members of the Greek community, the greater Halifax society, other Greek diasporic communities and Greek society through time. Generation, age, gender, whether a migrant or non-migrant within the community, and socioeconomic status, which are all characteristics that may affect relationships, are considered throughout the chapter.

Chapter 7: Economic Development

The seventh chapter explores how female migrants entered and navigated the Halifax labour market at various points in time. Their positions within the family businesses, their personal ventures and views on their role as working females are of particular interest. The diversification and general increase in opportunities for subsequent generations is also considered, especially in relation to the value in education and strong work ethic for the community.

Chapter 8: Discourses on Cultural Continuity

Chapter eight addresses the issue of cultural continuity from the view of the participants. While the features commonly associated with a Greek identity could have been preselected for discussion, the participants were asked to disclose what they perceived characteristic of a Greek identity and what they perceived as important to maintain. Following these revelations, the women were asked whether they had any concerns about the continuity of these characteristics in their community.

Chapter 9: Greek Fest

Greek Fest is a chapter exclusively dedicated to a festival organized annually by the Halifax Greek community to promote the Greek culture to the greater Halifax community. A fundraiser for the maintenance of the Greek Orthodox Church, the centrality of this celebration with respect to knowledge transfer and belonging for both the members of the Greek community and the greater Halifax society take precedence.

Chapter 10: Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Chapter ten is an effort to connect the dominant theories and understandings with the empirical data of this study. The motivations for migration and the choice of Halifax are evaluated in relation to the relevant migration theories, the gendered and spatial approach are assessed, while the contested definitions of diaspora and transnationalism are re-examined in relation to the Halifax Greek community.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

The final chapter of the thesis offers an overall understanding of the implications and significance of the study, and summarizes the contribution of the findings of each of the chapters, with mention of limitations and possible future research directions to consider.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and foundation of the study, which through the lens of an engendered, female experience, attempts to explore and understand the dynamic social networks, economic development and concerns for continuity within the spatial context of the Greek community of Halifax, NS. The theoretical framework explains the migration theories, concepts and assumptions that collectively support and inform research. Diaspora, female migration and regional Canadian migration studies are then examined in depth as relevant components of the study, followed by a thematic analysis of literature conducted, at various times, on mainly Greek Canadian communities. Research on female members of other Greek diasporic communities, and literature beyond the Canadian and Greek diasporic context are discussed when relevant to the overall thematic development.

2.2. Migration

For the past few decades, there has been heavy focus on the process of migration with research invested in trying to understand its process and develop ideal policies for its regulation. With an estimated 214 million people said to be residing outside their country of birth (United Nations Department of Economic Affairs Population Division, 2011) it is no surprise that the current age is referred to as the 'age of migration' (Castles & Miller, 2009). The modern wave of increasing migration was seen to develop as early as the sixteenth century, when Western European commercial aspirations led to travel and discovery of unknown lands. With industrialization and the prospect of opportunity, an increasing number of Europeans would make the journey to the Americas and Oceania and eventually settle in these lands, usually at the expense of the indigenous or local peoples. Mass migration from southern Europe continued well into the twentieth century as western and northern European countries gradually adopted the receiving role. However, as the volume of overall migrants continued to increase, trends would indicate that the origin of the bulk of migrants had now shifted to the developing nations of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and the Caribbean and not the historically predominant Europe. Towards the end of the twentieth century, southern Europe had also transformed into a receiving region for migrants from developing countries but also return migrants that had left the region in the past. International migration to Asia and Latin America was somewhat lower, with certain national exceptions such as Japan that sought migrants from developing nations to fulfil the labour requirements of the country. Moreover, labour demands led to an increase in female migrants who, in the past were categorized as 'family' of a predominant male migration, causing a shift in migrant gender composition (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 431; Castles, 2000, p. 275). The economic crisis experienced in the United States and countries of the European Union at the dawn of the second decade of the twenty first century has influenced current migration flows to certain nations, primarily those most distressed

by the crisis, such as Ireland and the nations of southern Europe. While an overall decline in permanent migration inflow gradually decreased on a global scale, the decline in the crisis-stricken nations persists concurrently with a rising interest or need for emigration by their nationals (OECD, 2012).

The migration process has reached a global impact of unknown precedence; the politics and economies of nations and their global interactions are affected by the complex flow of people around the world, making it necessary for governments to continuously evaluate their migration policies and observe developing trends (Vertovec, 2009). Migration affects and concerns both the sending and receiving nations for different reasons; for the sending nations, development and the maintenance of the national confidence are key issues, while for the receiving nations, the concerns are over ethnic diversity and border control (Castles, 2000, pp. 277-279).

The debate over whether emigration benefits a country's development through 'brain circulation' or hurts it through 'brain drain' is ongoing. On the one hand there is the view that emigration will only in the short run lead to 'brain drain'; manpower, knowledge and skills leave the country and become the 'brain gain' of the receiving nation where the migrants gain further experience and knowledge. In the long run, through remittances and the eventual return of the now more experienced migrants, it will further the country's development, after also benefiting the receiving nation. On the other hand, the uncertainty about the plans and conditions of different nations may never allow migrants to return, or if they do, the structure of the workforce in their country of origin may not enable them to use their acquired skills and experience. Moreover, having allowed the emigration, migrants may as a result not have confidence in their country of origin to consider return (Castles, 2000, pp. 277-278). In a study, which examined the recruitment of doctors from Spain to the UK as part of a government coordinated scheme to fill the demand in the UK until opportunities became available in Spain for the experienced doctors, Blitz (2005) determined that rather than brain circulation there was 'brain gain' for the UK; work success and advancement in the UK and the continuing lack of opportunities in Spain, despite attempts at maintaining connections open for possible return, resulted in doctors choosing to stay in the UK to practice medicine.

For the receiving nations, migration brings concerns over new settlement, the creation of ethnic communities and further cultural diversity. Countries have employed different schemes, which reflect their immigration 'requirements' or 'allowances' with some, in theory, not expecting permanent settlement. The end effect, regardless of restrictive policies, has nevertheless always been some new settlement through unofficial networks and strong human rights campaigns. Migration and difference does stir strong reactions from people particularly during unfavourable economic times, which result in the politicisation of the topic; certain political parties question and oppose aid to refugees and asylum seekers with arguments that they are a strain to a host country's economy, enhancing anti-immigrant sentiment and supporting more heavily regulated migration

policies aimed at alleviating these sentiments (Castles, 2000, pp. 277,279). Blitz, Sales and Marzano (2005) for instance, raise concerns over the motives of 'voluntary repatriation schemes' following the deportation of Afghan refugees from the UK in 2003, that suggest motives are 'domestic interest based,' to appease anti-immigrant opinions and government expenses in the UK rather than for the protection of human rights.

2.2.1. Types of Migration

Migration is usually broadly categorized into voluntary or forced, based on whether migration was the result of a decision taken by the migrants themselves (individually or as a collective) or whether migration occurred under circumstances not of their control. European colonization[1] and settlement, labour migration and return migration for instance, are examples of voluntary migrations, while migrations following environmental or human-made catastrophes are examples of forced migration. Scholars encourage case to case examination (Anthias, 1998, p. 563) of migration since circumstances under which it takes place tend to influence the process and experience.

People who migrate are referred to using a plethora of names that include immigrants, emigrants, settlers, refugees or simply migrants. These reflect varying perspectives, places or time in history. While the term *migrant* is perhaps the most neutral, other terms may be used in this study for purposes of differentiation or when directly referring to official documents that identify migrants using a more specific term.

2.3. Dominant Models of Migration

Multiple theories and models have developed since the nineteenth century in an attempt to identify the decisive factors that led to migration and provide an understanding of the process and experience. Migration studies refer to all research relevant to the migration process. The past few decades have seen the research production in this field multiply, a result of the increasing complexity and global impact of this process (Vertovec, 2009). As a field, it is best described as 'intrinsically interdisciplinary' (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 21), encompassing properties from the disciplines of economics, sociology, social anthropology, history, geography, politics and law. In addition, it is interlinked to gender and cultural studies.

> ***"The complexity of the migration process and its multidimensional impact on political, social, economic, cultural and demographic aspects has rendered no one single theoretical framework adequate" (Cheng, 1999, p. 39).***

[1] Voluntary settlement during European colonization does not include slaves and prisoners who travelled and settled in the colonies because they did not consent to travel; voluntary migrants are the people who wanted to populate the colonies of European empires.

No single theory or model developed is able to provide a full understanding of the process, yet every model serves a purpose in achieving this overall understanding (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 30).

In the case of labour migration, the dominant theories that have developed are usually of an economic focus. The Greek community of Halifax was established predominantly as a result of waves of labour migration into the area and a strong extended kin network, discussed in the subsequent chapters. Brief descriptions of various frameworks used to understand and examine labour migration are provided in the following subsections as a mode to contextualize relevant migration literature but also show how more than one framework can be employed to validate this migration.

2.3.1. Neoclassical Model

The neoclassical model of migration is the oldest and perhaps most popular framework for migration policies around the world. The model was conceived by Ernst Georg Ravenstein in the nineteenth century to rationalize labour migration as a course for economic advancement and has since received various modifications and reinterpretations. The theory supports that when there is a variation in supply of and demand for labour, the economy with a high supply of labour offers lower wages, while the economy with the demand for labour offers higher wages, attracting the individual to migrate. The individual makes an assessment of the costs and benefits of migration, considering the higher wages he/she would enjoy if migrating relative to the costs of migrating. If the benefits surpass the costs, then migration takes place. The neoclassical model is often associated with the push – pull factors of migration, where the pull factors are identified as the properties that attract the individual to the receiving country, while the push factors are those that deter the migrant from staying. The push-pull factors have been extended to include political conditions and other factors that may affect migration (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 433-434).

Although the neoclassical model may be able to identify certain economic factors relevant to the decision-making process, there are certain limitations to this model; it is not able to predict the trend of migrations or justify why certain countries are preferred over others. In addition, it suggests that migration is the result of an informed decision, whereas it is most often the case that migrants are not well-informed or receive conflicting information (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 21).

2.3.2. Dual Labour Market Theory

Dual labour market theory suggests that demand for labour is built into the structure of the society and therefore migration is a response to this demand. Receiving countries recruit migrants based on the structure of society, which sees selection based on human capital, gender and race. Usually being male, highly-skilled or well educated and belonging to the predominant ethnic group of the receiving country acts in favour of the migrant that is recruited for a good position in the labour market, the primary labour market. Women, less educated migrants and members of ethnic minorities are selected to fill less favoured positions in the labour market, the secondary labour market (Castles & Miller, 2009, pp. 23-24).

The push factors and wages relevant to the neoclassical model are irrelevant and criticism arises for the lack of consideration of the migrant and his/her decision process. Nevertheless, it provides an explanation for ethnic niches that are formed in various labour markets where a particular ethnic group may control a specific part of that market; unable to infiltrate the primary labour market, ethnic groups identify market potential in less favoured sectors and focus their abilities within that sector (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 24).

2.3.3. New Economics of Migration

The new economics of migration theory, developed in the 1980s and similar to the neoclassical model, states that the migrants are the decision makers. The decision to migrate, however, is not a personal one but rather that of a whole collective, a household, family, or social group; it is a joint assessment of risks and benefits. It further diverges from the neoclassical model in that the risks and benefits under consideration are not only with regards to the labour market but also other life variables such as insurance and security, thus suggesting that decisions are not made based only on higher income but based on better conditions overall. It may be decided that the most beneficial situation be that certain members of the household or other social group go abroad and others remain in the home country and base. In the case where the skills of certain members of the collective are required abroad, these members migrate and send remittances back home, while others whose skills are useful within the home country, stay; maximum individual potential is utilized for the benefit of the collective as a whole (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 436, 439).

2.3.4. Dependency and World Systems Theories

The dependency and world system theories focus on the structure of the world market where inequalities persist, a legacy of colonial rule now replaced by multinational firms and 'neo-colonial governments'. Capital economies penetrate poorer countries in order to obtain labour, land, consumers or raw materials for their benefit and at the expense of the poorer countries. This interference causes a migration flow. The poorer nations are therefore under the control of richer, 'core' countries (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 444-445).

The world systems theory further suggests that cultural and linguistic links, also a legacy of former colonialism, are further reinforced, justifying particular migration flows of former colonies to the colonizing nation and vice versa (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 448).

A key factor of this model that can also act as its criticism is that it rejects any notion that migration is the result of a personal or collective decision, but rather the result of a changing global economy (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 27).

2.3.5. Network Theory and Cumulative Causation

Both migration network theory and cumulative causation suggest that while the models mentioned above can explain an initial migration process, the maintenance of the migration flow is affected by this initial migration, usually making future migration easier and thus more likely, but essentially altering the initial motivating factors (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 448).

On a micro-level, social networks between migrants are created and these networks enable information and capital to be more readily available for future migrants, facilitating the migration process. The collective or individual decision to migrate is now affected by the decline in migration risks and costs, making migration more favourable and thus increasing migration flows. Family, belonging to an established ethnic group with its own institutions and networks in the receiving country, and more recently maintaining transnational ties with respect to employment, are key factors that facilitate migration. On a macro-level, pre-existing connections between sending and receiving countries through culture, trade or colonization histories facilitate network building and justify particular migratory flows. This can be seen in the case of high migratory flows of Algerians to France as the two nations are connected through a colonization legacy and speak the same language, or the flows of Greeks to Germany as a result of trade and investment agreements. Both contribute to the flow of migrants and the influence of each one separately is often hard to determine (Castles & Miller, 2009, pp. 27-29).

2.4. Diaspora and Transnationalism

The theories and models mentioned tend to analyze the migration process focusing on the directionality of migrants reaching the receiving nation and their experiences integrating or assimilating into that environment. As a consequence, the processes and experiences in the sending and receiving nations are presented as independent of each other. However, interaction and contact between the two societies, in some form or another, is continuous. The advancement of communication and transportation technologies in more recent years has further facilitated this interaction, further highlighting this continuity; the relationships and connections established with the original homeland therefore go beyond the physical proximity for the migrant, allowing him/her to develop a unique identity beyond the national to the transnational (Itzigsohn & Giorguli Saucedo, 2002, p. 766).

The novelty of transnationalism as a theory is highly disputed. Castles and Miller (2009, p. 29) suggest that transnationalism theory - an attempt to understand the connections that transcend physical space between migrants and their place of origin in a globalizing world - is a recent development of migration studies; however they also suggest that the term, transnationalism and specifically transnational communities is the 'newer' and 'more neutral' term for diasporas, without the 'emotional connotations'. Transnationalism is in fact often associated with diasporas and diasporic studies, but the excessive popularity of both terms have led to their overuse and misuse. As a result, they have been categorized as complex, if not ambiguous, and most recent literature requires that authors present the arguments of the debates in order to justify their own position or understanding (Vertovec, 1999, p. 447; Tsagarousianou, 2007, p. 48).

Cohen (2008) attempts to trace the transformation of the meaning of *Diaspora*, identifying four stages (prototypical, expanded, social constructivist and consolidated), three of which occurred in the last three decades, influenced by key researchers and research interests.

The prototypical or original understanding of diaspora dates back to the Jewish exodus that occurred in the third century BCE into Hellenic land. The translation of the Hebrew text, *SEPTUAGINT* into Greek, allocated the term, *Diaspora*, derived from the Greek *diaspeirin*, which means to sow or scatter seeds to define the exiled state of the Jewish people. Rabbinical texts would continue to use this term well into medieval times to refer to the Jewish people's condition and experience, still in exile and unable or not allowed to fully integrate or be accepted into mainstream society (Evans Braziel & Mannur, 2003, p. 1). Their traumatic experience and victim status was heavily stressed and victimhood was integrated as part of their identity as a diaspora. The designation of dispersed people as a diaspora people would therefore suggest that the group in question, who shared ethnic and/or religious identities, also shared a traumatic historic experience, such as the Armenians of Turkey or the African slaves; their longing for return and the trauma of loss was thus incorporated in their identity. Cohen (2008, p. 1) mentions the Greek diaspora appearing 'off stage' (p. 1) in literature, somewhat later than the other groups, but it is not clear if he means that this is the case because the term has been extended to include Greek migrations due to their historic continuity and regardless of motivation, or whether he is referring to the more recent conditions of Greek migration that included political exile and thus victimhood.

The second stage of the term diaspora is described as expanded; there is loss of exclusivity, including more groups of migrants. Cohen cites William Safran's work as an eloquent example of this concept, which in his 1991 article in the first issue of *Diaspora*, is able to extend the term to apply to expatriates. The typology applied by Safran to designate a diaspora is adjusted to include, not only victims and large collective dislocations of whole populations and ethnic groups, as was the case for the Jewish exile, but also smaller migration movements dispersed to two or more regions outside their homelands, who continue to maintain a shared and often idealized memory of their place of origin and a desire for a possible return to, and restoration of, favourable conditions

in the homeland. These groups are also thought to not be entirely accepted into the society of the host nation (Cohen, 2008, pp. 4-7).

Following the second stage, a sudden popularity in the use of the term diaspora occurred that had gone well beyond the expanded version suggested by Safran and his peers. In addition, the social constructivist movement posed some critiques on the term identifying current limitations that could not be ignored.

In the 1990s, diaspora became a fashionable term to use and was essentially used to refer to various social groups whose shared characteristics did not necessarily include the key characteristics of the original notion, shared religious or ethnic identity or shared memory and attachment to an ancestral homeland. Diaspora now identified any group within society with a shared experience, a position that was embraced by some social scientists and criticized by others. Cohen (2008, pp. 8-9) here quotes both Dufoix in *Diasporas* (2008, p. 1) and Brubaker in *The "diaspora" diaspora* (2005, p. 1) the former criticizing the application of diaspora to engineers and football players and the latter warning that once diaspora applies to everything, then technically diaspora does no longer exist.

The social constructivist critiques were essentially focused on the role and significance of homeland within the notion of diaspora; Brah (1996), Anthias (1998) and Soysal (2000) argued that diaspora in its current condition could not adequately outline the immigrant experiences and identity. Soysal (2000, p. 3) argues that diaspora suggests that migrant experience continues to be directed by ideas of the country of origin, regarding all other aspects around as elements of 'foreignness', while Anthias (1998, p. 562) perceives diaspora as limiting in that it presents the migrant experience of each member belonging to a particular ethnic group to be the same, whereas factors such as gender, class, employment class, affect experiences even within the group. Finally, Brah (1996, p. 192) questions the physicality and reality of 'home' and the possibility of this notion to mean different things for different people.

Cohen (2008, pp. 11-14) reaches the consolidated phase where he acknowledges the critiques expressed by the social constructivists, reassessing the notions of diaspora once more. He maintains that although the homeland may be imagined, a connection to a homeland remains. He does concede however that the dynamics of a diasporic identity are complex or 'multi-axial', as membership and belonging to more than one group, in more than one place is possible. Diaspora can nevertheless be used as a base by which a group can be examined to determine the complex relationships that are present within the group. That being said, he clarifies that not all migrants belong to a diaspora; maintaining a diasporic identity or consciousness requires mobilization from the group that can only occur through the formation of communication networks among migrants, organization of events that bring the community together and diffuse and reaffirm the common history and identity of the group. A mobilized diaspora is able to maintain these networks even after some time has passed from the original migration.

In reaction to the excessive use and misuse of the term, Cohen (2008, p. 15) presents a readjusted typology of common features of diaspora. These features include the dispersion from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions under traumatic conditions and/or in pursuit of commercial aspirations, maintaining a common and often idealized memory of the homeland with a commitment to create or restore its safety and encourage its success as well as consciousness of common history and heritage over a long period of time and the support of a return movement. Moreover, there is compassion and understanding among co-ethnics in other settlement places and the possibility of a unique, resourceful, inspiring life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. Anthias (1998, p. 563) had previously criticized this typology as making the generalized assumption that the migration experience is driven by the motivating factors of migration, whereas this is something that needs to be determined and not assumed. Furthermore, she contests the idea that there is understanding of migration experience among co-ethnic members of the diaspora because this would again suggest homogeneity of experiences around the world, despite migration occurring at different times and under different conditions. This too is a concern posed by Tastsoglou (2009b, p. 5) who asks why then use the concept of diaspora at all. In agreement with Brah (1996, pp. 196-197), Tastsoglou, responds to her own query in that diaspora can act as an 'analytical tool' that enables the researcher to assess how factors of differentiation, such as class, gender, sexuality, race, which vary according to time and place, affect the development of members of a particular group within the migrating country that share a 'specific' 'home country'.

Returning to Castles and Miller (2009, p. 31), who regard transnational communities as synonymous to diaspora - only neutral - would essentially suggest that it is the approach of migrant communities as transnational communities they consider novel and not transnationalism itself. Itzigsohn & Giorguli Saucedo (2002, p. 767) suggest that with the shift of focus to transnationalism within migration studies, research now aims, or should aim to determine the 'extent of transnational practices' as well as the drive. Cohen further complicates matters when stating that 'not all migrant communities will *imagine* themselves transnational thus it is a fundamental error to allow the use of diaspora as a synonym' (2008, p. 13).

The alternative position that transnationalism is a new field and simply not a shift of focus is supported by Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt (1999) who although do not refute the presence of contact and interaction beyond physical borders in the past, assert that transnationalism is the reinforced application of these interactions experienced today. They stress that it is the regularity, extent and 'intensity' of this contact and interaction that have altered relationship structures and created transnationalism, which enables a growing number of people to now live 'dual lives; speaking two languages, having homes in two countries and making a living through continuous, regular contact across national borders' (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999, p. 217).

When going through the literature on transnationalism, it is evident that the field includes diverse logics of transnationalism. While both Itzigsohn & Giorguli Saucedo (2002) and Portes, Guarnizo,

& Landolt (1999) focus on transnationalism that Vertovec (1999, p. 448) describes as a social morphology - the structure and system of complex networks formed beyond borders - their disagreement is found as to whether transnationalism is a novel phenomenon, the result of technology reinforcing the complexity and regularity of the networks or whether it is a pre-existing phenomenon but the shift of interest is novel. Both reference migrant communities as transnational communities to prove their position, but as Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt (1999, p. 220) assert, the regularity of these interactions can create a different type of migrant community that cannot be described as a diaspora in that it does not permanently reside away from 'home' but maintains links and can actually reside in more than one place. Transnational entrepreneurs or a transnational workforce for instance, are people who are mobilized by economic initiatives to use contacts and resources across borders to gain capital without necessarily forming ties with a host nation. Therefore, diaspora communities are transnational communities but they are not the *only* form of transnational communities, disputing Castles and Miller's (2009, p. 31) position that diaspora and transnational communities are synonymous. Cohen (2008, p. 13) on the other hand repositions the debate altogether, addressing diaspora not as social morphology, but as a social consciousness, where by definition, a 'diaspora consciousness' suggests identifying with two or more places (1999, p. 449); assimilating into the mainstream would suggest not belonging to a transnational community and hence not being a member of the diaspora.

A diaspora therefore is argued to be a type of transnational community, the extent of whose transnational connections vary. The feelings and connections to a homeland, imaginary or not are transnational, and it is because of this lack of neutrality, that diaspora communities cannot be regarded simply as transnational migrant communities; they are diaspora communities with transnational properties. In research, as Tastsoglou (2009a, p. 5) asserts, they can act as an 'analytical tool' under which a group of people with a symbolic connection can be examined.

2.5. Hellenic Diaspora

2.5.1. Justifying Diaspora

Historian Richard Clogg refers to the Greeks as 'a diaspora people' (1999, p. 1). Dimitris Tziovas in turn, in his *Introduction* to *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, describes the Greek diaspora as 'one of the paradigmatic historical diasporas' (Tziovas, 2009, p. 1). Both authors are using the term to refer to the series of movements or migrations that occurred throughout Greek history that led to the formation of communities, which in turn maintained a combination of attributes identified as Greek. This classification is best equivalent to the prototypical designation of the term diaspora that Cohen describes (2008, p. 1), who also mentions the Greeks 'appearing' in this category, somewhat later than other diasporas. Rozen (2008) reaffirms the Greeks as 'diaspora people', compiling work on both the Jewish and Greek diaspora experience into one volume. This collection of work is not shy of underlining the differences between the two diasporic journeys, making reference to the tensions of the ancient past

between the Jewish diaspora wanting to maintain its identity at the expense of the Hellenic mainstream culture of the time and the initial diaspora being a result of exile for the Jewish people in contrast to being the result of colonizing aspirations for the Ancient Greeks. Yet with this work, there is an acknowledgement of the Greeks and Jews as two peoples with diaspora histories (Rozen, 2008, p. 22). The Hellenic diaspora nevertheless extends further than the historical scope; Greek communities of migrants and their descendants continue their vibrant and mobilized existence around the world.

A number of migration movements occurred during ancient, medieval and Modern Greek history that could easily justify the use of the term diaspora by the aforementioned authors and so many more. However, Tziovas (2009, p. 7) later reveals that with respect to the migration movements of Modern Greek history, further outlined in the History chapter, the Greek state was in fact the most 'reluctant' to apply this term for the Greeks abroad; terms such as 'omogeneis' (ομογενείς), co-ethnics (literally people of the same lineage), or 'apodoimoi ellines' (απόδημοι έλληνες), Greeks abroad, were used as official terminology. According to Tziovas, for the Greek state, acknowledging the Greeks abroad as a diaspora meant deviating from the ethnocentric position the state maintained with respect to the perceived significance of 'Greek origin' and the homeland for the Greek migrants. Acknowledging a diaspora meant accepting attachment to foreign lands and groups. Though, by the end of the twentieth century the Greek state reassessed their position, realizing the possible benefits of supporting a mobilized global Greek diaspora in an increasingly globalized world. A flourishing diaspora whose members were financially and economically established in societies abroad meant that the Greek cause could be promoted on an international context; Greece, a relatively small international power, could, in theory attain more leverage with the aid of their diaspora (Venturas, 2009, p. 137). The actual success of politically mobilized Greek diaspora groups have since proven that, while ideal for Greece in theory, no ethnic group could really shift the positions of another state if it is not to the benefit of that state; the strategic significance of Greece with respect to other nations in the region have often found the Greek state to be unsuccessful in swaying important political decisions in its favour (Kitroeff, 2009).

2.5.2. Hellenic Identity and Diaspora

The diaspora typology presented by Safran (1991) and later adjusted by Cohen (2008) stated that one of the characteristics of a diaspora community would be the support of the restoration or creation of the 'idealized ancestral homeland,' a characteristic present in the Greek diaspora communities of western and central Europe and southern Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These established merchant communities had developed a new appreciation of the Greek language as part of their distinct identity, which they transmitted to their succeeding generations. They were simultaneously influenced by the ideas of Renaissance and the revival of Ancient Greek doctrines that were resonating throughout Europe at the time. The combination of ideas for liberation and the rediscovery by the Greek diaspora communities of an ancient past that had faded

during Ottoman, Byzantine and neo-Christian pasts marked the beginning of the organized resistance for the liberation of Greek communities within the Ottoman Empire. That movement soon thereafter infiltrated the Empire and mobilized the Greeks residing in it. In this case, the Greek diaspora was not only pivotal in generating resistance, but also in (re)introducing an aspect of the Greek identity, its Classical heritage, that resonates to this day for both Greeks within Greece and Greeks of the diaspora; and it also shapes how non-Greeks perceive Greeks (Kitromilides, 2008, pp. 327-329).

Peter Mackridge (2008) appears somewhat critical when discussing the construction of the Modern Greek identity in that it has, through the years, chosen aspects of history to intensify and aspects to ignore or downplay. The Modern Greek identity is one that is proud of its ancient Greek, Christian and Byzantine heritage, but one that downplays influences from the Ottoman and Frankish periods of its history. It also downplays variations within its own society such as the existence of Greeks who speak Vlach, an endangered romance language (Mackridge, 2008, p. 299).

As Mackridge rightfully indicates, Greek identity is not the result of four thousand years of organic evolution (p. 303); there have been occasions within history that the Greek identity was not clear. During Ottoman rule, for instance, the identity of all Orthodox people was somewhat made vague as they were categorized under the Rum millet (Greek nation), yet what they shared was a common religion. Only after western influence questioned their homogeneity by drawing attention to their linguistic and cultural variations in combination with 'reawakening' ancient past lineages did distinct identities begin to develop. However during the initial phase of the revolution, membership in the resistance and belonging to the Orthodox faith was enough for groups with both linguistic and cultural differences to be accepted into the cause for the formation of an independent Greek state (Hirschon, 1999, p. 161). The purposeful construction of a collective, homogeneous identity only came after it became clear that the new territories that became part of the independent Greek state meant having diverse communities under its control who needed to now co-exist. With the developing schisms and weak political foundations of the new state government, pride in a collective identity was a survival mechanism; the ancient Greek past and Orthodox Christianity that encompassed most of the communities (there were Jewish, Muslim and Catholic minorities) were therefore intensified while the vague, recent and painful Ottoman reality ignored.

The issue remained complex since to be Greek could not simply be designated by national borders as ethnic Greek communities continued (and continue) to reside outside the state. It could not be designated based on language since certain indigenous Greeks spoke Vlach and Greeks of Asia Minor who moved to the Greek state following the population exchange were Turkish speakers. Finally, not all Greeks could be identified as Orthodox Christians because Orthodox Christians encompassed Serbs, Bulgarians, Russians, Albanians and Arabs, while the Greek state encompassed Catholic, Muslim and Jewish communities (Woodhouse, 1968). The issue of Greek

identity was so complex, it opted Eleftherios Venizelos, the former prime minister of Greece and head of the delegation of the 1922 peace treaty in Lausanne to declare,

> ***"A Greek is a person who wants to be Greek, feels he is Greek, and says he is Greek" (cited from Clogg, 1999, p. 16).***

Being Greek or a Hellene was ideologically a matter of national consciousness (for logistic purposes it would require an official definition and limitations identified).

The implications of this complicated relationship with identity can be viewed by critics as culminating into a current Greek perception of differentiation and superiority from other ethnic groups; as descendants of a past credited for the formation of western civilization and influencing western thought, and of a Christian and Byzantine past credited for transmitting religion and Cyrillic education to the Balkans and Russian Empire. At least this is perhaps what the government history books state. It could, on the other hand reveal the 'fluid and malleable quality' (Hirschon, 1999, p. 176) of Hellenic identity within the Greek borders and therefore by definition within the diaspora and the importance of the individual to designate his/her own identity.

When dealing with the Hellenic diaspora, a common question is 'What is a Greek?' What characteristics or attributes designate membership into a Hellenic diaspora and a Hellenic identity? Lineage, and connection to Greece may be considered an easy answer, but how diluted is this lineage, and what kind of connection to the Greek land, since diaspora communities may include Greeks born in Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor or modern-day Turkey, Albania, Russia, Georgia, Bulgaria and Egypt and their descendants? The answer is therefore based mostly on the perception of the researcher and the limitations he/she chooses to uphold.

2.5.3. Greek Diaspora literature

Towards the end of the twentieth century, historian Richard Clogg attempted to collect information on the Greek migrant communities that constituted the global Greek diaspora, an aspect of Greek history he considered of valuable significance. He soon realized that despite being regarded as a prototypical diaspora, there was 'relatively little attention...devoted to the study of Greeks outside Greece' (Clogg, 1999, p. viii). Attention and research had been directed towards the materialization of the independent Greek state, its attempts at (mostly successful) gradual territorial expansion and on nation-building. As a result, the migration waves that took place from the eighteenth century until the late twentieth century, the subsequent formation of Greek migrant communities around the world and the disappearance of Greek communities in the Near East were relatively ignored. However, during the past thirty years, there has been a considerable increase of interest in the Greek diaspora from various social science disciplines and a number of publications of various themes and on various topics that concern the migrant communities and their members have emerged.

The increasing availability of research material on Greek diaspora communities indicates that the Greek diaspora is a 'flourishing' multidisciplinary field with considerable potential (Tziovas, 2009, p. 2). Studies on the histories and socioeconomic development of various migrant communities, case studies of migration experience, Greek migrant representation in art, literature and media, gendered perspectives of migration, the implication of return migrations and changing relations of migrant communities with the Greek state are but a few topics of the Greek diaspora researchers are exploring.

2.6. Female Migration

> ***"The continuing neglect of women in studies of immigrant community and political histories and the paucity of gendered analyses of immigrant family and community life are obvious and glaring absences..." (Iacovetta, Draper, & Ventresca, 1998, p. xii).***

Just as there are various types of migration, there are various trends that differ spatially but also change with time. Transnational migration for instance, is arguably a new trend in migration or a new trend of *focus* in migration studies as mentioned above. The effects of World War II and the independence of former colonies saw great waves of migration occurring globally and migration research and policy was focused on labour migration. Since the 1980s, refugees, asylum seekers and forced migration have taken precedence over labour migration. Moreover, research on migration is produced under different frameworks, structured around noticeable changes occurring in the forms of migration (transnationalism, globalization) but also in migrant demographics (Salt, 1989, pp. 448-450). One of these changes is the increasing number of female migrants that Castles and Miller (2009) refer to as the 'feminization of migration' (2009, p. 12). Although a visible trend for the past few decades, there is strong criticism over the neglect of the role of women in mainstream migration literature (Pedraza, 1991, p. 303; Iacovetta, Draper, & Ventresca, 1998, p. xii; Ackers, 1998, p. 139; Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006a, p. 18).

Based on the most recent statistics provided by the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2011), the female migrants, at 49 percent, constitute nearly half of the international migrant demographics. Their mid-year estimates for 2010 identify the highest percentage of female migrants is in Europe with around 52.3 percent, followed by Oceania with 51.2 percent, while in Northern America, Latin America and the Caribbean, female migrants were at 50.1 percent, only slightly higher than half. Asia and Africa are the only two continents where male migration continues to be higher than female migration with 44.6 and 46.8 percent respectively. This highlights the change of the mid to late twentieth century onwards from the historic prevalence of males for the majority of the world. It is this trend of increasing female migrants that Halfacree & Boyle (1993, p. 3) credit as the reason for the heightened interest in gender migration. Arguably, however, the emergence of feminist theory from the end of the 1960s,

which resulted in a subsequent ideological shift in various disciplines, may have likely concurrently affected the shift in migration studies, as researchers gradually moved from studying sex to the study of gender (Nawyn, 2010, p. 750).

The dominant economic-centred models for explaining labour migration in the literature held the presupposition that males were the main source of income for the family and the decision to migrate was largely dependent on the males' ability to find work; a woman working was a secondary event not significant to the overall process (Ackers, 1998, p. 161). Under the 'new economies model' the decision was that of the household or family. The family was assumed to include a partnership between a man and a woman, and research determined that women felt pressure, both economic and cultural, to support the opportunities offered to their husbands at the expense of their own (Finch, 1983). However, at the end of the twentieth century, female labour, available in developing nations was in demand. There was also demand for skilled female migrants. This, in conjunction with the role of women within the family in transition, (particularly when the women were not also mothers) meant that families were now migrating due to female opportunities or females would choose to migrate on their own. Migration theory and policies were not developed in such a way that would allow them to examine female migration, participation in the labour market and determine differences in motivation and experience (Bondi, 1992).

Studies carried out using a feminist analysis approach were also unable to determine a single typology or model of motivating factors specific to female migrants. Nevertheless they have asserted that the migration experience and integration into society does differ from that of men (DeLaet, 1999, p. 2). This is attributable to the complex societal structures that are embedded with gendered inequity - of which family status is an example - that despite motions towards equality are difficult to rid (Grieco & Boyd, 1998). The 'new economies model' for instance, maintains validity, as kinship and gendered ideologies, practices and institutions affect household or family decisions of *who* now must migrate – as it is not (just) the male in demand, but gender and generational hierarchies indicate the decision is not always the decision of the female. Other factors such as race and class are also intertwined with gender to provide further differentiation of experience. Researching the different experiences of female migrants thus provides information that had previously been unattainable as a result of using inclusive or generalizing frameworks (Tastsoglou, 2009a, p. 2).

Mahler and Pessar (2006, pp. 29, 52) are hesitant towards the male versus female research approach, which they believe has sufficiently 'corrected' the previous male-only focus on a process (migration) that is undoubtedly gendered. They suggest that a female-only focus is also no longer necessary and that gender research should take a 'situational and relational' approach. This nevertheless, does not necessarily signify that work on female migrants exclusively should not take place, but that it should not be done for the purpose of comparison; it should take place as a way to understand the experience itself. Furthermore, it is evident from ongoing publications (Tastsoglou,

2006b; Agnew, 2009; Spitzer, 2011; Jibeen & Hynie, 2012)[2] and the presence of the women's studies sub-field that female-focused migration research enriches academia and policy, while scholars who continue to review migration history from a female or gendered perspective (Chilton, 2007; Ruiz, 2008; Schrover, Van Der Leun, Lucassen, & Quispel, 2008; Byfield, Denzer, & Morrison, 2010; Ward Crawford, Kaori Hayashi, & Suenaga, 2010)[3], it seems, do not agree that the past male-focus has been 'corrected.'

2.6.1. Histories and Legacy of the Female Migration Experience

> ***"Women, who...despite their 'contributions and legacy' as emigrants have received very little attention from those interested in the history of immigration and settlement" (Le Jeune, 2003, p. 11).***

The majority of researchers wish to focus on emerging trends in migration as opposed to the past and that is a reasonable position as this research can contribute to current policy-making and understanding of migration processes. However, there is some value in looking back to previous migration experiences using new approaches.

As quoted above, Le Jeune (2003) points to the significance of re-evaluating previous waves of migration, this time focusing on what was previously not included or deemed unimportant. The importance of history as a basis for comparison and reflection cannot be disputed in any social field much rather the field of migration. Personal narratives and experiences are just as relevant as successive migration policies for one cannot exist without the other; personal experience shapes migration policies, while migration policies affect experience. The literature indicates differences in migration experiences between the genders but female experiences are not adequately documented. Possible contributions made by women in maintaining a group identity and strong networks within the community are therefore legacies worthy of awareness.

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[2] The cited material is a few of the recent examples of the research on female immigrants in Canada with respect to a number of various topics: Tastsoglou (2006b) examines the sense of belonging of immigrants in Maritime Canada; the collection of essays edited by Agnew (2009) consists of research on immigrant women around Canada and the inequalities they experience as a result of their immigrant and female status; in an attempt to determine the reason(s) for deteriorating health of female immigrants around Canada, Spitzer (2011) serves as editor of a collection of work, which reviews the conditions and issues of health services availability for female immigrants; the article of Jibeen and Hynie (2012) is specific to married Pakistani female immigrants in Canada and determines whether various aspects of their lives have, in their view, improved since moving to Canada

[3] The citations are a diverse set of recent studies that have reviewed past waves of female migrations: Chilton (2007) explores the emigration societies in Britain between 1860 and 1930 before the government officially took control of emigration. The societies were managed by women who were responsible for the emigration of single women from Britain to Canada and Australia; Ruiz (2008) focuses on more the more recent history of Mexican female migrants to the United States, the communities they helped build following their settlement and subsequent generations; The edited collection of Schrover, et al, (2008) is a volume that addresses illegal migration around the world during the 19th and 20th century from a gendered perspective; Byfield, et al, (2010) edit a compilation of work that look back at gendered networks and identities of Caribbean men and women of the African diaspora of the historic Nigerian hinterland – mainly current day Nigeria and Benin and the point of origin of about forty percent of transatlantic slaves; Ward-Crawford (2010) uses oral history to record the life experiences of Japanese 'war brides' before and after their immigration to the United States.

Re-evaluating previous migration waves does come with a certain urgency and difficulty. Personal histories are more easily compiled if the actual people provide their own narratives and there is therefore a race against time to collect this information. Furthermore, female migrants were previously documented under 'family' and there is usually less of a paper trail for females than males, some countries being better than others, making personal narratives all the more important.

2.7. Migrant Community Research in the Canadian Context

The outline of the multifaceted field of Canadian immigration that follows, attempts to spatially contextualize the presence of migrant communities in Canada with respect to their development, as well as how the current decentralization of immigration policies have highlighted unique regional characteristics that affect experience and produced a wave of new research.

Canada belongs to a group of countries whose nationhood 'was forged and developed by immigration' (Boyd & Alboim, 2012, p. 124); with over three hundred years of settlement history, Canada's population is composed of over 95 percent immigrants or descendants of immigrants with the native First Nations and Inuit peoples of Canada constituting less than five percent of the overall population (Simmons, 2010, p. 2). An average 250,000 migrants enter the country annually (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), 2012) as migration to Canada remains a part of the 'nation-building endeavour' (Boyd & Alboim, 2012, p. 130) and is considered an economic and labour stimulus and a determinant of demographic growth. The criteria that currently drive Canadian immigration include humanitarian support, family reunification and economic utility. These criteria began to take shape as a result of the waves of immigration experienced in Canada throughout the twentieth century, which are discussed further in the History chapter. The degree of focus on each fluctuates however, influenced by the global and national political, social and economic climates (Boyd & Alboim, 2012, p. 130).

As ethnocultural diversity of Canadian society continues to become ever more diverse with new waves of migration (Simmons, 2010), the policies and programs implemented for immigrations and immigrants are increasingly under review internationally by nations and societies who are not classic migration destinations; these nations and societies look to Canada as an example of a peaceful diverse society with policies in place that can perhaps become a model for their own new realities (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2012, p. 16). The comparatively successful policies with respect to settlement and integration in society (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2012, p. 9) are attributes that enable Canada to remain in competition with an increasing number of receiving nations (Tolley, Biles, Vineberg, Burstein, & Frideres, 2011, p. 8).

Multiculturalism, a concept originally implemented in Canada, promotes,

> ***"The awareness and appreciation of cultural diversity and the value of such diversity, cross-cultural understanding, social cohesion and harmony, participation by members of ethnocultural groups in the***

economic, social and political spheres, preservation, promotion and sharing of cultural heritages" (Garcea & Hibbert, 2011, p. 48).

Within Canada, multiculturalism is adopted both federally and by provincial governments, with the exception of the province of Quebec that has adopted an interculturalism model, which, in essence, Garcea and Hibbert (2011, p. 46) argue, is very similar to the multiculturalism models of the other provinces. Multiculturalism has also been adjusted and applied by other nations but with varying results; in certain European settings for instance, the failure of integration for some populations has seen a withdrawal from multicultural policies and both populations and governments are divided in their views of immigrants as either beneficial or problematic. This division of views is probably the result of the current difficult economic conditions, historical migration policies that favoured temporary workers (and thus not settlement) and social perceptions of immigrants that persist in these nations. The divided and often polarized views on immigration are not experienced in a similar capacity within the Canadian setting where there is greater evidence that multiculturalism has been successful (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2012, pp. 10,12,14).

Yet, while Canada's immigration policies may be receiving heightened international attention, the significance they have placed on cultural awareness and understanding was a gradual historical progression from immigration acts that were exclusive, yet inevitably unsuccessful in preventing the entry of 'non-preferred migrants', as described in the History chapter. Moreover, shifts in immigration management in Canada suggest that Canada's model is mutually influenced by those of other nations in addition to the global economic and immigration trends. During the twenty first century, for instance, the main shifts or trends in immigration management include the increase in recruitment and admission of temporary workers, the shift to temporary family reunification as opposed to permanent and the allowance of prompt decision-making and change through a more adaptable environment. These shifts are perceived with certain hesitation by immigration scholars familiar with models of nations that were heavily dependent on temporary immigration. It has been documented that as a result of their temporary status, temporary migrants have faced issues with social cohesion, integration and their subsequent illegal immigrant status, in addition to being more vulnerable to discrimination and inequality (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010; Boyd & Alboim, 2012, pp. 142-143). The change to a Canadian context may, on the other hand affect possible outcomes for temporary workers (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2012). Yet, challenges with respect to social equality, discrimination and exclusion are still present in Canadian society, which lead to further policy and social examination and development. Thus, concern lies over the possible effects of the shift to policies that, where implemented, have resulted in more extensive social cohesion and integration problems (Li, 2012, p. 105; Poisson, 2012; Siemiatycki, 2012, pp. 241-244).

2.7.1. Decentralization of Immigration Management and New Research Directions

An additional trend identified is the decentralisation of responsibility of immigration admission and settlement to the territories and provinces; partnership in the form of agreements between the federal government and the provincial and territorial governments exist for most provinces and territories and have fared varying results. The process of decentralization, where the federal government delegates the management of settlement programs and policies for each province or territory to its respective provincial or territorial government, has been gradual. The programs have been diverse and with no centralized structure, somewhat difficult to organize and compare. This, as a result has caused some speculation over whether funds provided by the federal government for the regional programs, often run by small community organisations are appropriately utilised. Furthermore, the Provincial Nominee Program, which was introduced to allow each province to choose immigrants who meet certain labour requirements specific to their province to become permanent residents in Canada, have faced certain issues including that of the retention of the new permanent residents in the provinces where their credentials were initially required; once permanent residents, new Canadian residents are able to relocate anywhere in Canada and larger metropolitan centres are attractive options (Boyd & Alboim, 2012, pp. 138-140).

With the increasing responsibility of immigration, settlement and retention on regional and local offices, funds have been allocated for regional research; second and third tier Canadian cities[4] in particular, from a number of provinces that have in recent years generally experienced a decrease in population, rely on immigration to replace their dwindling labour force (Simmons, 2010, p. 2) and have therefore allocated funds for projects and have attracted research that reviews various aspects of settlement specific to each location (Krahn, Derwing, & Abu-Laban, 2005; Abu-Ayyash & Brochu, 2006; Akbari & Sun, 2006; Brochu & Abu-Ayyash, 2006; Lusis & Bauder, 2008; Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Wachsmuth, 2008; Ma, 2010; Walton-Roberts, 2011)[5]. In his study of immigrant integration in smaller urban centres, Frideres (2006) fittingly states that,

> ***"How physical environment impacts on people's thinking and behaviour is a much neglected foci of social science research and policy-making. The intersection of space and place emphasizes how the various dimensions of one's physical environment impacts on different***

[4] Second-tier and third-tier are terms often used to refer cities that are smaller than the main, economic centres of the country but with their own, distinct local economy or industry (Markusen & DiGiovanna, 1999, p. 3). There is no single definition since for each country the population size of its metropolis(es) varies(y), as do the smaller cities. Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto are considered the first-tier, main cities of Canada, while 300-350,000 residents is usually considered a second-tier city and between 300 and 100, 000 residents a third-tier city, although other criteria, which scholars consider relevant at times dispute the position of certain cities (Wachsmuth, 2008, p. 1).

[5] The above publications discuss immigrant attraction and retention for various second and third tier cities of Canada (e.g. in Ontario: Guelph, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, Niagara Falls, Ottawa, Peterborough and Windsor; cities of Atlantic Canada, in Alberta: Edmonton) and address possible regional issues and concerns to achieve the city goals.

> ***dimensions of one's social life – whether economic, spiritual, political or other...it should not be a big surprise that the size and structure of a city has an impact on immigrant behaviours, values and attitudes" (Frideres, 2006, p. 3).***

The regional projects that are now a necessity are addressing a field in the multifaceted literature on Canadian immigration that has had limited focus in the past; as the majority of previous case studies focused mainly on areas where immigrant settlement was high. The diverse, multicultural reality of Toronto, Canada's largest city, though, does not represent the reality of cities such as Kelowna, B.C., whose population is just over one hundred thousand. The objective of these studies, through various approaches and tools, is to identify physical and social characteristics unique to a region that can be utilized or that require adjustment in order to retain immigrants. Concentration on housing conditions and availability, demography, employment opportunities, social and community engagement and the presence of immigrant services, reflect the significance new residents place on these characteristics when making the decision to settle (Ma, 2010, p. 1) and remind government to address possible new residents as more than just as a country's workforce.

The conditions considered by immigrants and new residents with respect to settlement go beyond the policy aspect of immigration into the social and cultural, highlighting the clear connection between culture or experience with policy and once again, the many aspects and definitions of immigration (Simmons, 2010, p. 2; Siemiatycki, 2012). Collaborative work, such as the edited collection, *IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN ATLANTIC CANADA: CHALLENGES, NEGOTIATIONS AND RE-CONSTRUCTIONS* (Tastsoglou & Peruvemba, 2011), is an exemplary collection of intersectional studies that consider the experiences of female migrants in the Atlantic region of Canada, a region that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuies was not considered a settlement priority for the Canadian government, and where immigration continues to be considerably lower than other regions. Each chapter addresses a social and cultural issue of female immigrants within specific settings of Atlantic Canadian cities. The selected approach intersects gender and place as significant contributions to immigrant and migrant community experiences and advocates for further investigation with this approach. The edited work also inspires further inquiry into regional settlements beyond the presented intersections, since further and diverse inquiry can serve to enrich the data.

2.8. Greek Communities in Canada

The first available publication on the Modern Greek migrants in Canada was, *THE GREEKS IN CANADA*, by George D. Vlassis in 1942 with a second (available) edition in 1953. This book provided the first complete account of the history of the communities, their organization and various religious, cultural and business institutions. It also included listings of names of Greeks in Canada, Greek businesses and university graduates of Greek origin by province and city, outlining

from as early as the 1950s, the value the Greeks of Canada placed on both entrepreneurial success and advance through higher education. This initial publication, while informative, did not analyze any possible social issues and problems these communities may have faced, particularly with respect to their reception into Canadian society; focus was on community successes and the positive relationships established that were supported by official documentation of Greek and Canadian government declarations of appreciation and support[6].

Until the mid-1980s literature on the Greek migrant communities in Canada was somewhat contained with not even a handful of academics conducting research on the communities. Efrosini Gavaki and Peter D. Chimbos are two academics who emerged in the 1970s and have continued to carry out research within the field. Much of this early work was focused on the 'integration' and 'adaptation' of Greek migrant communities into the Canadian society and labour force (Chimbos, 1972; Chimbos, 1974; Gavaki, 1977), a theme Gavaki would revisit under the distinct focus on the Montreal Greek migrant community (1983; 1991), while Judith A. Nagata (1969) focused on the working class Greek migrants of Toronto. Chimbos would prefer a comparative and theme-focused approach in his early work, comparing various ethnic groups under various sub-themes such as 'adaptation (1972),' 'immigrant attitudes' towards interethnic marriages of their children (1971), 'ethnicity and occupational mobility (1974)' and the significance of 'kin and hometown networks as support systems (1983).' Gavaki also showed interest in family interaction, but focused on the structural changes or challenges of the immigrant family within Canada (1979; 1983).

In 1980, Chimbos would break away from his theme-focused work and publish, *THE CANADIAN ODYSSEY: THE GREEK EXPERIENCE IN CANADA*, a holistic publication of the Greek migrant experience that went beyond statistics and history, where he analyzed the way different communities were shaped within Canada. Perhaps it was because Canada of the 1980s was a more accepting society than Canada of the 1950s, during which Vlassis had published his work, that Chimbos could discuss the discrimination Greeks faced at times; the largest of such events occurring at the outbreak of WWI, when it was not clear who Greece supported and suspicion of alliance with Germany led to riots and damages to Greek property in the city of Toronto.

A shift in approach and dialogue towards ethnic groups in Canada was evident, not just in politics, but also in academia where 'cultural conservatism' (Nagata, 1969) was replaced by 'cultural continuity' and continued interest in homeland affairs was not regarded necessarily as 'disappointing' (Nagata, 1969, p. 59), but rather a reality of migrant communities worthy of

[6] The documentation includes: the July 4, 1942 address of King George II of Greece and Canadian Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King and the remarks made by the Ottawa Mayor, Stanley Lewis at Parliament Hill during the celebration of the United Nations; the July 2, 1942 broadcast by the Canadian Bureau of Information in honor of the Greek King; records of Greece discussed in speeches in House of Commons (1948, 1949, 1950, 1951) about problems in the country due to the civil war, the Greek war relief fund in Canada, the abolition of port masters for Greek ships in 1945 and its NATO accession; records of a visit from Commonwealth delegates to Greece (1948)

research. From a regional framework, research focus remained and was mainly conducted in the considerably larger Greek Canadian communities in Montreal and Toronto. Nevertheless, the early research on Greek Canadian communities continues to be significant as it includes important data and discussions on issues of occupational status and social mobility, family importance, involvement in both Greek and Canadian politics by the community, and integration and the maintenance of a distinct ethnic identity within Canadian society.

Gradually, the pool of Greek diaspora researchers would increase and interest would generally become more focused as outlined below; topics such as social mobility or family importance remain research foci with changing approaches, gender was introduced as a differentiating factor in experience and the holistic model is not always followed. In 2002, however, the publication, *FROM MIGRANTS TO CITIZENS: GREEK MIGRATION IN AUSTRALIA AND CANADA* (Tamis & Gavaki) was a significant and rather anticipated comparative holistic study of the Greek migrant communities in two traditional migration destinations, Canada and Australia, that shared similar histories of colonialism and nation-building and whose populations and migrant communities are regularly compared.

As Kontos (2009, p. 33) observes is the case for Greek migrant community research in Germany, the majority of research contributions on Greek migrant communities in Canada come from Greeks and Greek Canadians living and working in Canada, with this current study being no real exception. The subsequent sections present the research contributions of both specialized and comprehensive studies within Greek Canadian research and additionally pose questions, which stimulate further inquiry.

2.8.1. (En)Gendering (Greek Canadian) Migration

> ***"Histories, sociological studies, songs of migration focus on the hungry, unemployed male, who arrived with empty pockets but a willingness to work. The male migrant dominates images of Greek migration, for he was chronologically prior and publicly visible. But the process of Greek identity formation took shape... only after Greek women arrived. Women came to America with a charge that they recreate the Greek home and reproduce Greek national consciousness through the home, a charge repeated to the next generation of immigrant girls" (Leontis, 2008, p. 398).***

While the above quote is derived from an article on Greek American women, it does not cease to reflect the reality of migration research in Canada and the world overall. The situation is arguably more favourable in Canada, with consistent contributors such as Gavaki (2003; 2009), Tastsoglou

(1997a; 1997b; 2009a; 2009b; 2010) and Panagakos (2003; 2009) who have all tackled various themes under a gendered or feminist framework.

Some of the earliest female-focused Greek Canadian literature included regional studies of pre-War female migrants from Asia Minor in Toronto (Polyzoi, 1986) and women of the Greek communities of Nova Scotia respectively (Thomas, 1988). In the former, Polyzoi (1986) identifies a lack of research of the Greek refugees from Asia Minor, who were present during the foundation years of the Toronto Greek community. Through government, parish, newspaper records and oral histories, she is able to piece together the harsh reality many refugees had to face with the loss of their property back home that modified their perceived temporary settlement in Toronto into a permanent one. The women, much like their male counterparts, participated in the formation of Greek social institutions. Particularly through the formation of the Philoptochos, a charity with only female membership and the 'right hand' (Polyzoi, 1986, p. 115) of the Greek Orthodox Church that organized drives, bake sales and other events for the purposes of supporting the community, Greek ideals and as a way to ease transition into an Anglo-centric environment. Polyzoi (1986, pp. 116-117) indicates that the women were also important facilitators in the establishment of the Greek language schools in Toronto, reiterated by Tastsoglou (1997b, pp. 231-233) in her analysis of life history interviews of pioneer Greek teachers of the first Toronto Greek school who had immigrated from Asia Minor. Polyzoi's work is perhaps one of the first to clearly indicate female agency and the important role of women within the communities; supporting the above quote by Leontis (2008, p. 393) with respect to the women's significance in identity formation. Thomas (1988), who uniquely attempts to review the lives of female members of the Greek community in Nova Scotia, and not the common Toronto and Montreal case studies, points to the presence of a public and private divide Nagata (1969) had previously communicated with respect to the Toronto migrant workers; an assimilated public image and a culturally distinct private and social domain. Thomas' account however does not point to such a deep divide as Nagata had observed. Traditions remain strong, as knowledge of Greek language and cuisine is imperative, women continue to wear black for over a year when mourning, a wife's career interests never impose on the husband's ambitions, day-care is uncommon and young girls complain of fewer social liberties than their male siblings or relatives. Yet, some social values and community structures are seen to be dynamic as females are now able to join the parish council and education is perceived a right for both males and females. The two regional examples were an early exception as the majority of work on Greek female migrants that followed, either addressed Greek Canadian communities across Canada as a single community or focused on communities of Ontario and Quebec.

It should be noted, however, that the dynamic status of women within the family structure and by extension the Greek community was a difficult struggle and journey that required perseverance, as the case studies of Greek American women presented by Callinicos (1990) demonstrate. The

decision of a young, unwed woman to move out of the family home, for instance, was marked by intense objection from her family who feared for her, and their own, reputation. The woman reveals that contact following the move was sporadic and participation in her life beyond the family home and community avoided (Callinicos, 1990, pp. 232-235). Yet, the author herself shares a personal experience that led to her own realization of how people, even women, are agents of their own identity and culture. Visiting her sister for her birthday, the author is at the party her sister throws for herself in her own home. There is Greek food and music, and her sister's friends are encouraged to dance. Growing up in their Greek household, such celebrations were reserved for the men. The women dancing reminded the author how her grandmother would have disapproved of their behaviour as attracting too much attention. She had, until that point, thought that her sister's life, lifestyle and sexuality rejected or contradicted her Greek identity, but as she hosted a Greek celebration, much like the one their mother had, with the exception that it was for her, she realized that change does not equate to loss but a re-imagination of that identity (Callinicos, 1990, pp. 286-289).

Tastsoglou frequently adopts an ethnic and feminist framework in her work, with much focus on the Greek communities in Canada. Her work in Ontario (primarily Toronto) investigated the effects on 'the lived experience' during immigration and the process of settlement with respect to gender, class and ethnicity for four generations of Greek migrant women (Tastsoglou, 1997a) and the role of three generations of women 'in the process of social construction and ethnicity' (Tastsoglou, 1997b). Her data was collected through ethnographic and life history interviews. The four generations in her journal article reflected four perceived waves or trends of migration, which included; pre-World War II migrants, migrants who arrived in the 1950s to the mid-1960s, migrants of the late 1960s and 1970s and finally mature migrants. The topics analyzed included the decision-making process and conditions of migration and the experience of settlement. Tastsoglou determines that for all four generations, the motivation was economic, as they ultimately left Greece in order to support or raise their families. The first and second generation of immigrant women had a lesser role in the decision-making process than the third and fourth. Social and cultural values, class, level of education were all factors that determined the degree of participation in major family decisions. Moreover, the third generation, the most recent migrants cited an additional reason they migrated, personal growth. The presence of a Greek community and Greek institutions assisted female migrants in finding employment, residence and, for Toronto residents, learning the language, an added benefit, according to the author.

Although not within the Greek Canadian context, Karpathakis and Harris (2009) revisited the question of whether Greek immigrant networks, particularly with respect to employment and upward mobility, were gendered, which Tastsoglou touched upon (1997a, pp. 134-141) and which had been revealed in previous studies of Greek American communities (Patterson, 1989; Kiriazis,

1989; Thomopoulos, 2000; Frangos, 2004)[7] and other immigrant communities (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992; Pessar, 1999; Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). Karpathakis and Harris (2009) carried out their research in New York City and mainly in the Greek American communities of the boroughs of Brooklyn, which suggests that the Greek immigrant networks are in fact gendered, with male Greek migrants creating networks with other males within their social group, while female Greek migrants with other women, extended family, neighbours and the mothers of their children's friends. As the 'family's economic adviser, treasurer and public relations personnel' (Karpathakis & Harris, 2009, p. 49), when alone, women were only likely to cross gender boundaries beyond their family members to seek employment for family and friends if married or widowed and having achieved a greater socioeconomic status and community respect (Karpathakis & Harris, 2009, p. 52), yet such requests and announcements would occur by the women more freely and comfortably during social family gatherings (Karpathakis & Harris, 2009, p. 59). There were limitations, nonetheless, when employment was sought beyond the class of the female migrants whose networks were restricted, based on their socioeconomic status. A particular case study where the child of a working class migrant family sought a middle class job fitting their education triggered a network of women with many participants to try and trace a route of contacts that could lead to possible employment (Karpathakis & Harris, 2009, p. 58).

It may be worth noting that neither Tastsoglou nor Karpathakis and Harris make reference to hometown networks, which Chimbos (1983) includes as one of the key networks for Greek migrants. This could suggest that they are not distinct networks or that the area sampled has migrants from many parts of Greece and not a significant number from a particular town.

With respect to the three generations of women Tastsoglou (1997b) analyzed in her book chapter, *"Immigrant Women and the Social Construction of Ethnicity: Three Generations of Greek Immigrant Women in Ontario,"* it is revealed that there is a relationship between socioeconomic status or background with the way the Greek identity of the women is constructed; 'upper and middle class' migrants who have received some form of education are able to use the symbolic aspects of Greekness and/or have the time and in some cases education to participate in the institutional aspects of the Greek immigrant communities such as the Greek school and charity organizations; while the 'working class' Greek immigrant women are more 'pragmatic' in their identity construction with their daily life and surroundings shaping their Greek identity. She also indicates that the women from the more recent generation of immigrants she interviewed (1950s onwards) who perceived their settlement in Canada as temporary, delayed participation and limited involvement in the community maintaining a rather stronger connection to their homeland.

[7] The studies are of Greek communities in the United States (Denver, Rhodes , Illinois and Michigan respectively), which do not follow a gendered framework but have identified differences between male and female migrants, with the exception of the edited collection by Thomopoulos (2000), of biographies of Greek pioneer women in Illinois communities and their experiences.

In *"The Temptations of New Surroundings,"* (2009b), Tastsoglou looks back at the migration of female Greek domestic workers of the 1950s and 1960s. She examines the contradictory nature of this wave of labour migration composed of women who on the one hand fulfil their duties within a patriarchal structured family that requests they work to provide for their families, while on the other hand come to Canada alone and single, against that same patriarchal family model. During a time where women migrants' fates were controlled by men and the migration offices of Greece and Canada, Tastsoglou determines that they are able to defy expectations, break away from their required duties in favour of working within their own ethnic communities or in some cases break away and marry outside the group.

In *"Less Preferred Workers and Citizens in the Making: The Case of Greek Domestic Workers in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s,"* (2010), Tastsoglou remains focused on the female Greek domestic workers, this time analyzing the circumstances under which less preferred Greek workers are considered adequate for employment in Canada, due to the 'feminine and nurturing nature' of women and the need for employment due to the difficult socioeconomic conditions in Greece. While in Canada, nevertheless, employers seek to 'modernize' them and show concern, particularly with Greek domestic workers, over their lack of knowledge of the English language, in addition to their eventual choice to search and accept employment at ethnic establishments rather than remaining domestic workers.

Gavaki, a consistent researcher of the socioeconomic characteristics of Greek migrant communities, more recently engenders the migrant experience by concentrating on the Greek and Greek Canadian women (2003) and analyzing how the experiences varied for the two genders (2009). She states that the original Greek migration to Canada was predominantly male who married Canadian women. She asserts that as is the case for other ethnic groups, women are the 'gatekeepers of ethnic culture and ethnic identity' (p. 121) supported by the interviews conducted by Thomas (1988, p. 92) of Nova Scotia Greek immigrant women, and it was with the migration of women that a Greek community with distinct ethnic characteristics was formed (Gavaki, 2003, pp. 64-65; Gavaki, 2009, p. 121). She also traces the upward mobility of the communities; while the original pre-World War II migrants came to Canada rather 'randomly,' those who 'sent' for Greek wives married women who were not necessarily poor, and some were educated, yet they rarely entered the labour market as it was not socially acceptable, and if so, they did so within family businesses (Gavaki, 2003, pp. 65-66). The post-World War II wave of migration were Greek migrants who came to Canada with minimal skills and education (both genders); their children (both genders) are educated and work primarily in the financial, business and commercial sectors as opposed to the previous service and restaurant ethnic niche. She does show concern over the comparatively lower percentage of educated women of Greek ethnic background in Ontario and Quebec. However, she expects the high (and increased) value Greeks have for education, for both genders as opposed to just the male in the past, to gradually counter these results in the future, since

data suggest that it is the younger females of Greek ethnic background that received more education. The sole contrast to the high value of education is Nagata's (1969, p. 64) results, which suggest a general lack of interest in education among the working class Greek migrants in Toronto. The fact that this data is now dated in comparison to the works of Gavaki and other scholars could be part of the reason, but it remains an exception with older publications that also indicated a high or increasing value on education of offspring, at least where available or possible, suggesting that while there may have been cases of disinterest, this was not the norm.

2.8.2. Cultural Continuity

Beyond the engendered analysis, Gavaki (2009) expresses the inevitability of a general loss of central structures of 'Greekness' such as knowledge of the Greek language and Orthodox religious affiliation; the result of no new Greek migrants entering the community and the loss of the first original Greek migrant population who were Greek born and spoke Greek as their first language. Furthermore, she attributes detachment from the community as a result of upward mobility, suggesting that socioeconomic status affects the need for 'belonging' to an ethnic group. However, she also mentions opposing forces that will allow the sustainability of Hellenic ethnic groups at least for some time; the effects of globalization and advancement of new media used by the diaspora, enables transnational connections with the ancestral homeland reaffirming their Greek diasporic identity (Gavaki, 2009, pp. 132-133).

The Role of the Media

Panagakos (2009) argues that with the use of a combination of new and old media, new dimensions of diasporic identity are formed. Diasporas she determines, are no longer 'imaginary communities' since with the Internet, the imaginary becomes virtual and real connections and interactions take place (p. 149). She does however notice variation between generation, class and gender on the combinations of media used; the older, original migrants who are usually less educated showed preference to the old forms of passive media, while the younger generations were preferential to interactive media such as the internet. Panagakos notices that with the choice of old media by the older generation, they remain marginalized, while the younger generations who are able to express their own opinions through these new transnational connections are able to have their say on various issues. Her research reaffirms the possibility, which Gavaki (2009, pp. 132-133) also raised, with respect to how new media allows extended connections to the historical homeland.

Cultural Intersection with Religion

Hirschon (2010; 2012), as a result of a multinational poll that indicated a high percentage of religious population in Greece, seeks to clarify that this is due the primary role of religion in the construction of the national Greek identity of the Modern Greek state. Although at odds with current identity construction of other present-day western states, the intersection of religion with national identity and Greek culture is a historic development. Hirschon does differentiate between non-conscious displays of religiosity and actual religiosity among Greeks, as certain religious

practices are ingrained within daily activities. Furthermore, she indicates that even non-religious or non-believers within Greek society continue to practice and attend rituals and events of Greek Orthodoxy due to their perceived cultural significance as symbols of their heritage.

Byers and Tastsoglou (2008) examine the intersection of culture and religion for the youth of the Jewish and Greek communities of Halifax, NS, a unique study, both in terms of participants selected – subsequent generations as opposed to immigrants – and spatial context – a considerably smaller, disputed second or third-tier urban centre. The higher religiosity observed among the Greek youth of Halifax in comparison to the Greek youth of larger communities is likely a reflection of the religious foundation of the community and thus the limited 'secular space' (Byers & Tastsoglou, 2008, p. 25) available, and worthy of further review. The small size of the community was additionally attributed as cause for a heightened sense of invisibility among other cultural groups and a heightened sense of a necessity to participate in cultural and religious events, and if possible marry within the community or a similar community.

Inter-Marriage

An aged topic within Greek diaspora is the position of Greek migrants to marriage outside the ethnic group or outside the religious group. Chimbos (1971) first presented a comparative study between Greek, Slovak and Dutch migrants on how they would react to one of their children marrying outside the ethnic group. The Greek migrants were most against this, citing reasons of cultural and religious continuity. Subsequent research showed that the Greek ethnic group was by and large quite endogamous, although smaller communities showed greater acceptance, perhaps due to less availability of co-ethnics or the upward mobility potential of a Canadian spouse (Chimbos, 1971, p. 16; Tamis & Gavaki, 2002, p. 316). For Thomas (1988, p. 86), the research on the Nova Scotia Greek immigrant women indicated a strong objection towards inter-marriage, particularly from mothers, with a greater acceptance if done in the Greek Orthodox church.

Panagakos (2003) outlines the ideal husband for daughters of Greek migrants as,

> ***'Orthodox Christian, from Greek ancestry, economically mobile with either a successful business or a college education, have passable Greek language skills and be devoted to his Greek heritage...able to navigate in both the larger Canadian society and within the confines of the Greek immigrant community as well',***

while an ideal wife for their sons,

> ***'embodies many of these characteristics, however, like her mother, is more heavily invested in the daily practice of Greek culture, particularly with educating the children about their Greek heritage...responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the house and is expected to participate***

> ***in various Greek community organizations and activities as well' (Panagakos, 2003, p. 88).***

Greek men from Greece proper are not always regarded as ideal for the daughters of Greek migrants as a diasporic stereotype is that Greek men are 'lazy and shifty' (p. 88). Marrying outside the group is met with a range of reactions, from simply harmless gossip, to 'disowning' by the parents. This also depends on the selection of the spouse, since Greek migrant parents rank acceptable groups such that those of partial Greek ancestry or of Orthodox Christian faith as the best alternatives, followed by white Canadians from 'good families,' while non-Christians, people of the same sex and blacks are the least favoured. The author cautions however that while these are the ideals of the Greek migrant parents and while most of the subsequent generation do regard a spouse of Greek ancestry as ideal, some have distanced themselves from that notion, if not from the Greek Canadian community in general (Panagakos, 2003, p. 89).

Siemiatycki (2012, p. 239) cites recent studies that find Canada ranking high in number of intermarriages, a result he considers, 'the most personal indicator of immigrant integration' (p. 239) in a multicultural society. While he offers overall results and the Greek Canadian patterns are not isolated for review, the current high number of intermarriages could be the general progression of a more culturally accepting society and not necessarily the result of lack of options or for the purpose of upward mobility.

Return Migration of Subsequent Generations

In the article outlining marriage strategies, Panagakos (2003) introduces a second generation phenomenon not highly researched within the Greek Canadian context – return migration. She suggests that a small part of the female Greek Canadian population of the subsequent generation make the decision to return to Greece. Unlike most migration patterns, this decision is based not only on the nostalgia for the 'homeland' embedded in their identity through their upbringing, but also in search for a Greek husband. Their imagined perceptions of the homeland in contrast to the reality, pressures from family back in Canada and the forming of their own family are factors that push these women to once more return to Canada. Anastasia Christou (2002; 2004; 2006) has published a series of articles on identity and belonging of Greek American return migrants, while Georgina Tsolidis (2009) examines this from the female perspective of return migrants of subsequent generations from Australia, the USA and Canada.

Family Matters

The amount of pressure and expectations towards a female offspring of Greek immigrants, which led to the migration to Greece for some Greek Canadian women (and their return to Canada in some cases) is not only indicative of the conservative, traditional and patriarchal structure of the Greek immigrant family, but also of the great responsibility towards kin present in Greek families. Tastsoglou and Stubos (1992, p. 176) suggest that the strong kinship ties observed in Greek

immigrant families are the extension of the strong kinship ties in Greece, the result of a modern history of uncertain circumstances where family wellbeing was entirely dependent on the family unit. Migration itself was not usually a rash decision but one that considered the benefits for the family itself, something, which continued until the post-World War II waves of migration (Gavaki, 1997, p. 72). This strong dependency, coupled with a foreign and often unwelcoming environment for the first immigrants to North America, in effect, made Greeks maintain a rather closed, 'defensive' (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992, p. 179) community where family structure and gender roles seem to have been frozen in time, but in reality were gradually, changing. Beyond the somewhat rigid structures were also the strong emotional ties between parents, particularly the mother and if present the grandmother, and their offspring. The children were considered the most important members of a family, representing the future of the family (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992, p. 184) although gender roles and expectations were distinct; the son was favoured while the daughter had to maintain a reputation that would lead to a good union, not with respect to happiness but 'function' (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992, p. 183). The immigrant household engrained both a strong sense of responsibility and created strong, important emotional connections between kin, regardless of structure and, while less available, it is interesting to determine whether this is the case for households of the Greek Canadian offspring.

Customs and Traditions

Customs and traditions are usually physical or visible practices and activities, which differentiate the distinct culture of ethnic groups, with regional and even family variations resulting in further diversity. These practices are often the source of a shared, but unique identity and sense of belonging. Studies have been dedicated to the illustration, analysis and understanding of these practices, in addition to their evolution within the diasporic content of a hyphenated identity (Tripp-Reimer, 1983; Rouvelas, 1993; Papanikolas, 2002). The curiosity of academics has, at times, led to the discovery of the origins and meanings of the customs and traditions unknown to the people who practice them as second nature and symbols of their 'Greekness' (Papanikolas, 2002, p. xi). As previously discussed (*Cultural Continuity*), the concern for cultural continuity arises during studies of migrant communities, due to the loss of certain symbols and practices particularly associated with legend, myth and superstitions, and their affiliation with the 'host' society (Constantinou, 1989; Gavaki, 2009). Therefore, the amount of responsibility, for transfer and concern of loss, for women as the bearers of cultural knowledge (Thomas, 1988, p. 92; Gavaki, 2003, p. 121) in the context of Canadian cities that 'lack options of identification' (Byers & Tastsoglou, 2008, p. 27), is an ongoing discussion different to that of cities such as Montreal, whose numbers and resources allow the presence of a thriving community with visible traditional practices (Tamis & Gavaki, 2002).

Festivals

The growing literature on ethno-cultural events and festivals is founded within various fields relevant to the festival process that include, events as tourist attractions (McKercher, Sze Mei, & Tse, 2006), event and festival management (d'Astous, Colbert, & d'Astous, 2006), cultural policy (Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007), marketing of place and urban planning (McClinchey, 2008), the economic impact of events (Bramadat, 2001; Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007) and the effects of such festivals on the sense of community and identity of the people involved (Bankson III & Henry, 2000; Bramadat, 2001; Derrett, 2003; Shin, 2004). The positive economic impacts and tourist attraction potential of festivals have in fact generated policy makers, regional and urban planning authorities to review and create or modify festivals and events in order to acquire these benefits for their cities and neighbourhoods, at times calling into question the 'authenticity' of the culture or ethnic group represented (Shin, 2004; Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007).

In the article, *Shows, Selves and Solidarity: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Spectacles in Canada*, Bramadat (2001) defines the ethnic cultural spectacle as 'an organized event in which a group represents itself both to its own members and to non-members.' The events are reviewed as spectacles because 'they are highly dramatic, entertaining, and (in a literal sense) extraordinary' and are therefore, 'special occasions or periods in which audience members are expected to be engrossed and often entertained' (Bramadat, 2001, p. 80). Ethno-cultural festivals, which are common throughout multicultural Canada, according to Bramadat, are prime examples of such spectacles and hold particular roles in the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity (2001, p. 80). He continues throughout the article to outline these roles, which include; the representation of alternative economies of status, whereby participation in the festival of both community members and visitors serves as validation of their life experiences and empowers their position for a set time; the reconstruction of identity due to the dialogue and selection among members of the ethnic community of the aspects of their identity they wish to present to the public; the ability to influence the greater Canadian society and allow better understanding of possible cultural characteristics that are unknown or controversial and the occasion to inform the general public about various such characteristics.

Subsequent studies on cultural and ethno-cultural events or festivals around the world tend to resonate with one or more of the roles discussed in Bramadat's article with respect to identity maintenance and creation. McKercher et al (2006, pp. 55-56), for instance, state that cultural or ethno-cultural events are 'organised by and for the benefit of local community' for years, 'inviting the general public to participate in public cultural rituals, which conserve or resurrect cultural traditions.' Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007, p. 103), reinforce the notion that cultural events are tools, which facilitate community acceptance of a group and its cultural continuity. An earlier article by Bankson III and Henry (2000) challenges the effects of ethnic identity and discusses how in the case of the Louisiana Cajuns, the evolution of their ethno-cultural festival is a reflection of

their rise in socioeconomic status, which as a result saw cultural value assigned on commodities available at the festival for purchase; the cultural significance of these commodities are thus modern fabrications and rather the result of assimilation to American consumerist culture. Quinn (2003) further supports the notion of negotiating or contesting cultural meaning in festivals by people involved in order to support their own objectives or goals rather than the group identity.

The Halifax Greek Fest, an ethno-cultural festival serves an acknowledged financial goal, which is to raise the majority of funds that enable the operation and maintenance of the Greek Orthodox Church and community centre (Thomas, 2000, pp. 134-135). The commodification of culture is in essence presupposed, as is the marketing of Greek cultural characteristics, albeit responsibly. The possible indirect effects on cultural continuity for members of the Greek community, and the relationships between Greek community members, other volunteers and visitors of such festivals have not received adequate academic attention. Research in this field could therefore lead to interesting or significant findings.

2.9. The Research Site

> ***"Research into Greek Diaspora communities must go beyond the questions posed by Greek historiography to a realization that these communities comprise a key chapter in the historical development of the geopolitical area in which they are formed" (Katsiardi-Hering, 2008, p. 169).***

Research into the Greek migrant community of Halifax or the HRM extends to demographic data used to form an overall picture of the Greek migrant communities in Canada. *GREEKS*, by Geraldine Thomas (2000) as part of the *PEOPLES OF THE MARITIMES* series is perhaps the most descriptive account of the Greek migrant communities within the Maritime Provinces, including the Greek community of Halifax, with a select number of immigrant case studies. The Greek Orthodox religion, present churches and other community organizations, such as the Philoptochos (for women), Church Council, the Sunday school and the Maritime provinces chapters of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America Hellenic Student Association (GOYA), American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) for men, and the Daughters of Penelope for women (2000). Thomas also describes certain customs and traditions, which are practiced variably within the communities and observes the great importance of family and the presence of partnership between immigrant couples who have long worked together. The book is more analytical when documenting the significance of education, the concerns for language and culture loss. While immigrant women may have not learned the English language, and men only acquired enough to communicate, Thomas (pp. 89-91) suggests that the significance of education is high for subsequent generations. Childcare, Greek cuisine and language are features of the Greek culture, which are perceived to have changed; women no longer stay at home to raise their children full-

time; not all women maintain the level of pride in knowing the Greek cuisine as the immigrants; and while 'larger' communities such as Halifax run a bi-weekly language school, the younger generations do not speak Greek as fluently and regularly as past generations (pp. 86-87, 91-93). There is an ongoing Greek pride and cultural responsibility (pp. 87, 135), although inter-generational disagreements have distanced some younger Greek Canadians (p. 115), who the author believes are now responsible for the cultural continuity of their communities (p. 136). The festival, too, is mentioned as a successful fundraiser for the church, which mainly focuses on entertainment and food, although event organizers ponder over possible changes. The book itself is able to touch upon a number of topics, but the brevity of the non-academic format makes it somewhat difficult to expand on the themes identified. Thomas is clearly familiar with the community, as her previous more specialized work suggests, but is restricted in the development of her results, which, over a decade later, could be updated and expanded.

Academic research on the Halifax Greek community is limited to the Byers and Tastsoglou (2008) comparative article on the intersection of culture and religion for the Greek and Jewish community youth (discussed in the *Cultural Intersection with Religion* section of this chapter) while Thomas' (1988) study on the lives of women of the Greek community of Nova Scotia (discussed in the *(En)Gendering (Greek Canadian) Migration* section of this chapter) includes data from Halifax, although some data have been determined outdated by the information provided in *GREEKS* (Thomas, 2000). In addition to the academic material, during fieldwork, it was revealed that certain members of the Halifax Greek community conducted research and collated material related to the community on their own, which were published as newspaper articles in Halifax, N.S. and as a community anniversary yearbook in 1984, which was made available to the community members. This material is part of the research findings of this study discussed and analyzed in subsequent chapters.

2.10. Research Objectives

Anthias (1998, p. 563) suggests that case by case examination is necessary to understand the migration process and experience. In addition, the paucity of Greek diaspora literature, female accounts of historic migration, gendered research on subsequent generations and regional-specific analysis, has led to the development of a study that will consider various themes within the context of a small community of the global Greek diaspora. This study will examine the reality of Greek female migrants and Greek Canadian females, members of the Greek community. It will seek to analyze the motivating factors that led the original migrants or migrant families to choose to come and stay in Halifax when other destinations within Canada were so heavily promoted. In addition, it will attempt to assess the female social networks that exist within the community, their extension to the Halifax community and other Greek communities in Canada and their dynamism through time; it will reflect not only on the changes of the social structure and organization of the Greek family, community, and the Canadian society but also query about possible current concerns of the

Greek community. Finally, it will assess the dynamic female roles in employment, family and community. The two chapters that follow provide the historical context that led to the formation of the Halifax Greek community and the rationale for the selected methodology and research design applied to obtain the data for analysis.

3. History of Modern Greece and Migration to Canada

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the context and background of the establishment of Greek migrant communities in Canada. An introduction to the history of Modern Greece and migration to Canada, examines the developments of each country, which led to migration at the macro-level. What follows is the history of Greek settlement, community creation and growth within Canada, yet primary focus is on the city of Halifax and its Greek community, our case study. The chapter is a concise version of in-depth historical texts and sources, summarized for the purposes of the development of a background chapter. Additional detail is therefore available through these sources.

3.2. Modern Greece

Independence Day for Greeks around the world is celebrated every year on the 25th of March. This day is a remembrance of the beginning of an organized resistance in March of 1821 against the Ottoman rule. The purpose of this resistance was the liberation of Greek lands and populations from the Ottoman Empire and the formation of an autonomous Greek state. The significance is in fact twofold as it also marks nine months before Christmas Day and thus regarded by the Greek Orthodox faith as the day the archangel Gabriel visited the Virgin Mary to tell her she was with child. This double significance is exemplar of the intricate influence of an historic 3,000 year legacy over the Greek people, their identity and society. It is therefore a difficult task to determine the actual turning point that marked the beginning of *modern* Greek history, since to this day the ancient and Byzantine medieval pasts continue to influence the processes and decisions that shape what is regarded as modern Greece. The organized resistance of 1821 nevertheless, marks the beginning of a struggle, which led to the creation of the current Greek nation-state. The gradual transfer of political legitimacy from multi-ethnic empires to nation states has formed the present day geopolitics, and it is for this reason that this day is usually selected as the beginning of the history of a modern Greece.

Figure 1: Modern Greece with borders of territorial expansion 1832 – 1947 (Map created using WorldMap, referencing the map in Doumanis, 2010, p.178).

3.2.1. The Road to Revolution

By the 18th century, the Ottoman army began to experience permeability in its ranks. The Russians from the north were seen as a threat but fit the old Byzantine prophecy of the 'fair nation' saviours, a prophecy passed down through generations of Greeks (Doumanis, 2010, p. 165). Irrespective of the key positions assigned to a group of Greeks, which primarily dealt with the foreign affairs of the Empire, generally, the Greeks were regarded as the most unruly of peoples within the Empire (Crawley, 1965, p. 91; Clogg, 2002, p. 18). When war did eventually break out between the Ottomans and the Russians resulting in Russian victory, the Russians were established as protectors of all Orthodox Christians within the Empire (Darby, 1965, p. 87). However, the Greek loyalty was not the only concern for the Ottoman central powers, as anarchy broke out within its own ranks - its territorial governors (Doumanis, 2010, p. 171).

Perhaps the most important precursor, to the revival of a Greek nationalist ideology, though, was the development of commercial aspirations among the Greeks that saw a number of them leave the Ottoman Empire during the 18th century for Western Europe, Russia and Egypt. Many became successful in trade and shipping and new communities of Greeks were established (Doumanis, 2010, pp. 166-167). These Greeks grew critical of the conditions within the Ottoman Empire that

they felt made it impossible to achieve the successes they had acquired elsewhere. In addition, interaction with the Classicist and Romanticist movements in Western Europe, heavily focused on doctrines of classical Greece, meant the Greeks of these new communities were re-familiarized with their distant past. For some, this translated to an active transfer of ideas of mobilization and liberation. For others, this led to funding of books and education that would enlighten the Greeks within the Empire to take action (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, p. 16).

By the early 19th century, nationalist ideas had become quite prominent; as did the distaste over the fact that they were still under Ottoman rule. As the Empire was seen to weaken, the Philiki Etairia or Friendly Company was formed in 1814, a group of Greeks of the Russian diaspora. This group was the first to initiate an attack on the Ottoman army in 1821. While the army was preoccupied in an attempt to overthrow a defiant Ali Pasha, they attempted an attack at the borders with Russia where they expected less military concentration. The initial attack was met with defeat, but it did lead to a series of attacks in the Peloponnese on March of the same year. These attacks occurred throughout the region and it seemed as if it had taken the form of an all out rebellion (Doumanis, 2010, pp. 171-172). Upon hearing of the victories of the Greeks in the Peloponnese, Western Europe was quick to mobilize financial support in what they envisioned as the rebirth of a Greece they so revered, which was very idealistic and certainly unrealistic to implement (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 21-23).

3.2.2. An Autonomous Greek state

By 1822, most of the Peloponnese was under Greek control and the first constitution of an autonomous Greek state was drafted. Problems began to arise, however, over the division of power; warriors and the Greek elite of the Ottoman Empire were now in competition over who was going to rule what. This led to civil war and great disappointment among warriors who had, until then, been under the impression that they were fighting against the Turks, not each other. The civil unrest also served as a distraction to the events unfolding around them, which saw the Ottomans acquire a new ally in Egypt. An attack on the now weakened Greeks led to inevitable defeat (Doumanis, 2010, pp. 172-173).

The Greeks required the aid of the Great Powers of Europe (Great Britain, France and Russia), as they found themselves in an economically and militarily weakened position. A new constitution was drafted, the first president of Greece was elected and a 'peaceful interference' (Clogg, 2002, p. 39) by the Great Powers was agreed upon whereby Russia, France and Britain would act as guarantors and lend their support where required and Greece would, in return, instate a hereditary monarchy in its newly formed state selected from one of the European royal families (Doumanis, 2010, p. 175; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, p. 27).

The new autonomous kingdom of Greece comprised of the land between Arta in the west and Volos in the east, and from southern Roumeli in the north to the Peloponnese, as well as a number

of islands. Population-wise however, this land included less than one third of the total Greek inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. The cause to liberate land inhabited by Greek populations or land that was historically Greek during Byzantine or even classical times would dominate Greek politics for the next 100 years, often at the socioeconomic detriment of the residents already within the Greek state (Clogg, 2002, pp. 43-47). This cause differed from the Western European colonization aspirations in that their motivations were first cultural and historical; they were only interested in areas where other Greeks resided, lands which in the past belonged to Greek empires.

In 1864, the Ionian Islands, which were at the time British protectorates and the historically Greek area least affected by the Ottoman Empire were yielded to the Greeks. Thessaly in central Greece and a part of Epirus followed after the Congress of Berlin ruling in 1881, while Britain had acquired Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire 3 years earlier, in 1878 (Clogg, 2002, p. 67).

The focus of the cause subsequently shifted to liberating the culturally diverse Macedonia. With a population of Greeks, Serbs, Albanians, Turks, Vlachs and Bulgars, many people had conflicting interests over this area and many Greeks thought it be best to act quickly (Clogg, 2002, p. 67; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, p. 55). Fears for Macedonia heightened, following the creation of the Young Turk movement, a new Albanian national movement and an attack on Ottoman Libya by the Italians. These were enough motives for the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians to act against the Empire as well. The three became allies in the Balkan War of 1912 and were victorious. The Greeks acquired the Aegean islands, Thessaloniki, the centre of the Young Turk movement and went as far up as Ioannina, the capital of Epirus. The Serbs and Greeks agreed to divide their Macedonian victory and excluded Bulgaria. The Bulgarians were clearly dissatisfied with the results of their allied war and decided to fight back against the Greeks and Serbs who were still in alliance. However, Romania also joined, in the side of the Greeks and Serbs, hence, Bulgaria was again at a loss. Later that year, at the Treaty of Bucharest, sovereignty of Greece over Crete was also recognized, while northern Epirus was granted to Albania (Clogg, 2002, pp. 67-81).

With these victories, Greece saw a seventy percent increase in its territories and an addition of two million people to its population who were now quite ethnically diverse, assigning the difficult task of integration on to the Greek government (Doumanis, 2010, p. 192).

The start of World War I in Western Europe meant that these efforts were put on the back burner as a new, even greater divide developed within the Greek population, caused by the disagreement of Venizelos, the most important Greek politician of that time, and King Constantine. The King was honorary Field Marshal of the German army and married to the sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II, while Venizelos favoured Britain and France and thus the Triple Entente. Meanwhile, as the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria sided with Germany, Britain annexed Cyprus in 1914, and Bulgaria ceded western Thrace to Greece following defeat (Clogg, 2002, pp. 83-84).

In 1920, part of eastern Thrace and west Asia Minor was ceded to Greece in addition to the temporary control granted by the Entente for the next five years of Smyrna, after which a referendum could determine official cession to Greece (Doumanis, 2010, p. 194). In Greece however, the king urged the Greeks now to continue with their attempt at securing Asia Minor for Greece, much to the distaste of the Entente. In 1922, the Greeks, with a weakened army, were willing to withdraw from Asia Minor provided the League of Nations would protect the Greeks of Asia Minor. It was too late for them to come to an agreement, as the Turks knew that military action would now be in their favour. Defeat for the Greeks was fast and brutal. The army withdrew to the coast and attempted to evacuate from Smyrna. Smyrna was set on fire and massacre of Greeks and Armenians ensued (Clogg, 2002, pp. 96-97; Doumanis, 2010, p. 195).

Greek and Turkish representatives attended a peace conference in Lausanne where the lands originally granted to Greece at the Treaty of Sevres, were now recognized as part of Turkey (Clogg, 2002, p. 99). In addition, Greece and Turkey were to agree on a population exchange; over one million Greeks continued to reside in Asia Minor that was to become Turkey, and there was a significant Muslim or Turkish population living in Greece. This was seen as a liability; possible future uprisings could occur with the purpose of liberating one's people. Therefore, Venizelos and Mustafa Kemal or Ataturk agreed to a population exchange where 1.1 million Greeks from Asia Minor would be transferred to Greece and 380,000 Muslims were to be transferred from Greece to Turkey. The Greeks of Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Muslim Greeks of Thrace were exempted from this exchange, while Cyprus was excluded since it was under the control of Britain at the time (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 93-94).

The resettlement of the Greeks of Asia Minor, overseen by a Refugee Settlement Commission was quite difficult. The population was proportionally skewed with a considerably higher ratio of women and children to men, many of them being widows and orphans. Integration proved difficult since many Greeks were Turkish-speaking or spoke a Pontian dialect the Greeks of Greece could not understand; prejudices were expressed by both sides. In a country that had just gone through a series of wars and was still economically unstable, life for these refugees was quite difficult. The majority of refugees had settled in the outskirts of the urban centres of Greece and lived in conditions of poverty. An estimated 150,000 migrated to the United States, Egypt and other British colonies in the late 1920s and 1930s (Clogg, 2002, pp. 99-101; Thomopoulos, 2012, pp. 104-105).

The population exchange did however create a more homogeneous Greek population within the borders of Greece; the only Greek populations that were not within the nation were those of the Dodecanese, Cyprus and the minorities in Albania and Turkey (Clogg, 2002, p. 104; Thomopoulos, 2012, p. 105). The refugees also imported somewhat more radical politics into the government of Greece, which saw the formation of a communist party, a strong support for Venizelos, who they saw as the man that had tried to liberate them, and an even stronger antipathy for the king, who

they saw as the man that led them to their defeat (Clogg, 2002, pp. 101-104; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 94-95).

3.2.3. World War II and Occupation

At the brink of World War II, the prime minister of Greece was hoping for the exclusion of Greece from Germany and Italy's plans, a hope that was quickly crushed by Mussolini who attempted to take over control of Greece (Woodhouse, 1965, pp. 139-140). The Italians were met with overpowering resistance by the Greeks and were thus forced to call on Germany for support. This time, the Greeks were overpowered. Following a ceasefire negotiation, Greece would now be controlled by Germany, Italy and Bulgaria (Doumanis, 2010, p. 199). However, it was also clear that resistance against the tripartite regime transpired as early as May 1941, with the removal of the Nazi swastika from the Acropolis (Clogg, 2002, p. 122).

3.2.4. Post-World War II Greece

War devastation in Greece was everywhere and affected every aspect of society; a quarter of the buildings in Greece were destroyed leaving over a million displaced or homeless as whole villages were destroyed almost routinely as retaliation for the organised Greek armed resistance; the country's telecommunications, road and railway infrastructures were almost entirely ruined, harbours damaged, cultivation shattered and livestock diminished. The human loss was also great as one in fifteen Greeks lost their lives either during battle, air raids, disease or hunger (Clogg, 2002, pp. 126-128). Furthermore, as was the case for most other European countries under Nazi occupation, the Sephardic Jewish population that resided mainly in Thessaloniki, a population of approximately 75,000 (with 55,000 in Thessaloniki), was sent to Auschwitz with only a few survivors (Doumanis, 2010, p. 202). This devastation was not greatly alleviated by the cession of the Dodecanese from Italy; recovery was therefore the key task for any post-war government (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, p. 120).

The euphoria over the liberation from the Nazis and their eventual defeat was quickly overshadowed by the political and ideological divisions of the people who sought to establish a post-war Greek government. The division had become apparent while fighting the Nazis in the mountains, which also led to attacks on each other, escalating into two periods of civil war between communists and nationalists. The last war ended in 1949 with the defeat of the communists, yet, relative political stability did not occur until 1952 with the victory of the right wing Greek Rally party. The extreme right wing, however, would engage in intimidation and repression tactics towards communist supporters, strengthening the communist party position as the government opposition in the process (Clogg, 2002, pp. 123-145; Doumanis, 2010, pp. 201-207).

With the new government came a new constitution. While the political field was still tense, the 1950s saw the gradual and steady improvement of the Greek economy, monetary stability that lasted for twenty years, a rise in living standards and per capita income and the right to vote finally

granted to women. Construction was a major investment in Greece as the population trend saw Greeks moving from rural areas to urban centres, investments in shipping resulted in Greece becoming the largest merchant marine of the twentieth century and better communication and air travel boosted tourism and the service sector for Greece. Greece was nevertheless, still very much dependent on the United States and their funding and while improvements were made, this was not experienced by the whole population; between 1951 and 1980, twelve percent of Greece's population migrated to places like Australia, Canada and Germany for work (Clogg, 2002, pp. 145-148; Doumanis, 2010, pp. 206-208).

Greece also successfully joined the NATO alliance in 1952 along with Turkey. The relationship of the two neighbours had seen some improvements as did that with Yugoslavia, yet both were about to change, Yugoslavia finding favour with Russia once again and a crisis in Cyprus leading to riots in Istanbul against the Greek minority (Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 131-134).

The Greek Cypriot population of Cyprus that made up approximately 80% of the total population was in favour of union with Greece, supported by the Greek prime minister. While Britain was slowly granting independence to its colonies, it had expressed no such thing for Cyprus, but rather the opposite. An organization of Greek Cypriots, EOKA launched a movement that would often include violence that urged civilians to disobey the British authorities until union with Greece was granted. Britain pushed for a Turkish reaction to these demands and actions, which came in the form of demand for partition. The representative of the Greek Cypriots was the island's Archbishop, Makarios, who after immense pressure announced that he would be willing to consider complete independence of Cyprus instead of union. The deal was finally accepted in 1959 at a meeting in Zurich. That following year, Makarios met with his Turkish Cypriot counterpart, Kutchuk to sign the country's constitution with Greece, Turkey and Britain as guarantors. A constitution that granted 30% of the seats of parliament to 18% of the population (the Turkish Cypriots) would prove impossible to work with. The new independent Cyprus left many quite disappointed of not achieving union with Greece. The new prime minister of Greece, Konstantinos Karamanlis, who had been in office during these proceedings, was criticized for considering foreign interests at the expense of Hellenism (Clogg, 2002, pp. 148-151; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 131-136).

In the 1960s, the ruling political parties clashed with the monarchy, which led to the resignation of two prime ministers. Furthermore, trouble in Cyprus ensued with additional external influences affecting the stability of the government. On 21 April 1967, a group of relatively junior officers directed a coup against the government that was completely unprepared to react and easily seized power (Doumanis, 2010, pp. 209-210; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 136-142).

The group of officers justified their acts as a mode to avoid the seizure of power by the communist and the defence of the Hellenic and Christian values from the secular western ideas. The officers

were not acting in favour of any party as they expressed resentment towards all. They did however express a stronger resentment towards communists, and any Greek suspected of supporting communism faced the possibility of internal exile or imprisonment. Any attempt at opposition failed and a new constitution was ratified in 1968. The economic situation in Greece surprisingly continued to remain stable justifying the lack of mass opposition to the dictatorship from the beginning of its rise to power (Clogg, 2002, pp. 161-164; Doumanis, 2010, pp. 210-211).

While the tactics of the dictatorship were criticized abroad, there was no direct interference in order to improve conditions in Greece. The Americans saw the dictatorship as the most stable administration in the very volatile eastern Mediterranean and chose not to intervene (Clogg, 2002, p. 162; Doumanis, 2010, p. 211).

3.2.5. Return to a Republic

By 1973, patience had slowly run out. Student demonstrations at the Athens Polytechnic in November 1973 were suppressed using the brutal force of a tank. These demonstrations were enough for a naval mutiny, but the new prime minister, Ioannidis had to now deal with an oil dispute that arose with Turkey. As a means of increasing his popularity, he launched a coup in Cyprus with the desire to unify the island with Greece. The coup was unsuccessful and caused the Turks, also guarantors, to invade Cyprus on 20 July 1974. A counter-attack on Turkey by Greece was refused by Ioannidis' own military and it was now clear that he had failed. Karamanlis was called in to Greece after being in exile in France for eleven years to oversee the dismemberment of the dictatorship and take on the role of prime minister (Clogg, 2002, pp. 166-168).

The Turkish invasion nearly drove Turkey and Greece to war once again and it was Karamanlis' first critical task to relieve this tension. Talks held in Geneva were a failure and a second invasion quickly followed. The Turkish military was able to take control over approximately 36 percent of the island, displacing about 200,000 Greek Cypriots who fled to the south, refugees in their own country. Some of these refugees would choose to leave Cyprus completely in search for political stability and security. Britain had chosen not to intervene, and the US response to the crisis was heavily delayed, partly due to it being overshadowed by the Nixon resignation. This, coupled with a general 'quiet support' of the seven year military dictatorship by the members of NATO, led Karamanlis to opt to remove Greece from NATO (Clogg, 2002, pp. 166-168; Thomopoulos, 2012, p. 164).

Back in Greece, it was now necessary to form a democratic government that could reinstate the people's trust in their leadership. Karamanlis was keen to legitimize his leadership and believed the best way to do so was to prove that the government was going to be completely democratic; he therefore legalized the communist party that had been illegal since 1947, called for elections and a referendum that would once again have to determine whether royalty was to return to Greece. Karamanlis and his political party, New Democracy, were the victors of the elections that also saw

a new party, PASOK do quite well, considering its novelty. As for the referendum for the return of the king, about 70 percent of the population voted against his return. By 1975 a new constitution had been drafted and royalty officially abolished from Greece. Moreover, those responsible for the dictatorship were sentenced to death, but later commuted to life imprisonment (Clogg, 2002, pp. 174-177; Koliopoulos & Veremis, 2010, pp. 153-155).

During his leadership, Karamanlis was quite focused on the country's foreign policy; he re-established good relations and trade with Greece's Balkan neighbours and began the push for membership into the European Community. In 1979, Karamanlis obtained official assurance that as of 1 January 1981, Greece would become a full member of the European Community (Thomopoulos, 2012, p. 164).

Following Greece's entry into the European Community, parliamentary elections saw the first socialist government of Greece with the victory of PASOK. The most notable changes that occurred during the first term in office within the country included the right of civil marriage, the removal of adultery as a criminal offence, the dowry system being abolished (at least in theory), the establishment of a national health service, an increase in rural hospitals, the shift in favour towards women in family law, the democratization of universities, administrative decentralization and finally permission for communists of the Democratic Army, exiled in countries of the eastern bloc, to return to Greece, a permission that did not extend to the Slav Macedonians that at one time made up 40% of the Democratic Army (Clogg, 2002, pp. 178-181; Doumanis, 2010, pp. 214-215; Thomopoulos, 2012, pp. 164-165).

3.2.6. Greece of the Twenty First Century

PASOK would dominate Greek politics for over twenty years, with the exception of a few years in the early 1990s, until 2004, when New Democracy returned to power as the majority party, re-elected once more in 2007. During the 2009 elections, however, PASOK once again became the majority party, although would lose its majority later that year and form a coalition government with New Democracy and the Popular Orthodox Rally (Thomopoulos, 2012, pp. 163-167).

In 2009, the levels of government debt reached a point Greece could no longer repay. The government turned to the Eurozone and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans, which it was granted on the condition it implement austerity measures, which included rise in taxes, pension and labour market reforms and serious cuts in spending, weakening its economic growth (Thomopoulos, 2012, pp. 182-185). The government-approved measures are unpopular with the Greek people who regularly show their distaste. The government has experienced numerous reshuffling and a coalition government is presently in power with a New Democracy cabinet. Currently in recession, the people of Greece are experiencing poverty and high unemployment, reportedly at 50% among young people who look to other countries for opportunities (Woestman, 2012; Dinas & Rori, 2013).

3.3. Canada: Classic Migration Destination

European exploration between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries led to the discovery and subsequent colonization of lands previously unknown. The United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina for instance, had at some point in their history been colonies of one or more European nation. For the colonizing powers, these lands were exceptionally large in mass, sparsely populated by indigenous peoples that had not exploited their great potential. With the onset of industrialization, there was a push to exploit the abundant raw materials, initially for the benefit of the colonizers, but following acquisition of autonomy or independence for the benefit of the land itself. In the case of Canada, both France and Britain had established colonies and settlements on the land, which led to war between the two powers and the final cession of France's territories to Britain (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998, p. 12; Hoerder, 1999, pp. 6-7).

Development of these lands required the import of labour migrants from Europe, who established pioneering settlements. Further development led to more waves of migration and settlement. The creation of distinct nations such as Canada was thus the result of these first migrations and their descendants who established a distinct society that acquired autonomy from its colonizers (Hoerder, 1999, pp. 7-10).

3.3.1. History of Immigration Policy

Canada was officially declared a confederation on the 1 July 1867 comprising of four provinces, Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The government was set on expansion towards the Pacific and immigration towards the west was heavily promoted to the established Canada, Britain, the United States and northern Europe - in that order. The Northwest Territories were next to join the confederation in 1870, followed by British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, the creation of the Yukon Territory in 1898 and Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. Newfoundland and Labrador would not join until 1949 and the territory of Nunavut would come to being in 1999. Attempts to entice farmers and farm labourers to migrate to the prairies and the west would continue to be the government's migration priority up until the mid-twentieth century and rapid urbanization (Knowles, 2007).

The first Immigration Act of 1869 was not restrictive in character, yet reaction from Canadians would gradually see limitations being added in the form of amendments. With respect to ethnic or racial discrimination, the first arose from the strong reaction from white Canadians in British Columbia towards the increasing population of Chinese migrants. As a result, the government imposed a head tax that quickly rose to $500 (Knowles, 2007, pp. 71-73).

The flow of migrants was rather minimal until the 1890s when Canada saw the development of its farming and agricultural techniques and a government focused on allowing skilled farmers into the country to develop the land and less concerned with origin. Farmers from central and Eastern Europe began to settle into the prairies and were again faced with dislike by the Canadians. Thus,

with the turn of the century, Canada's immigration policy became increasingly exclusive and restrictive (Knowles, 2007, pp. 82-104).

The Immigration Act of 1910 was not specific in its restrictions of any race or ethnicity, simply stating refusal of entry to those 'unsuited to the climate or the requirements of Canada' (Statutes of Canada, 1909-1910) and deported migrants perceived to display 'political and moral instability' (Knowles, 2007, p. 111). In 1911, the promotion for immigration into Canada from the United States saw the first racial exclusion, that of Black American farmers who attempted to migrate to Canada from Oklahoma following serious racial tensions. While restrictions began to appear in the Immigration Acts of the Canadian government, the demand for labour expressed by manufacturers, railway companies and resource extraction industries overpowered legislation and a great number of skilled and unskilled labour migrants entered the country from all parts of Europe, much to the distaste of the 'nation-builder' politicians of the east (Knowles, 2007, pp. 118-126).

Between the two World Wars, economic conditions and high unemployment were such that the notion of immigration developed an even greater dislike by Canadians. Nevertheless during the 1920s, whilst restrictions were imposed in the United States, there were certain admissions made by the Canadian government and a much contested agreement with the railway company saw an influx of migrants from the 'non-preferred' European countries (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998, pp. 183-199).

Following the Second World War, Canada received pressure from a number of international and national organizations as well as criticism for the way it had rejected refugees of the war, particularly Jews, and interred enemy aliens (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998, p. 256), and was seen to finally make concessions by accepting refugees or displaced peoples from central and Eastern Europe. The government also passed legislation that allowed Canadian nationals to sponsor first-degree relatives and orphaned nieces and nephews from Europe, provided they were financially able to care for them (Knowles, 2007, pp. 156-161). By charter of the United Nations, discriminating against race or ethnicity when accepting migrants had to be abolished and Canada had to comply. However, it did not cease to impose restrictions; the issue of Chinese migrants was still a controversial one and the government complied by differentiating between the allowance of Chinese male family members and rejection of female family members of Canadian nationals, the rationale being that while Chinese men could fight for Canada if necessary, Chinese women would reproduce and increase the Chinese population (Hoerder, 1999, p. 292).

The, *IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1952,* did not mirror the changing global conditions; while decolonization and fights for national liberation occurred around the world and dependence by developing nations on developed ones saw a shift in migration patterns away from western Europe, Canada's restrictions and preferences remained unchanged (Hoerder, 1999, p. 292). The *Preferred Classes* section of the Immigration Act divided immigrants into four classes by order of preference.

The first class included British subjects born or naturalized in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand or the Union of South Africa and citizens of Ireland, the United States and France who could prove that they could support themselves until attaining employment. The second category included skilled citizens of all other European countries not under Soviet control (Austria, West Germany, Finland, Italy, Greece, Spain etc.) and refugees. The third class included citizens of any country of Europe, the Americas, Egypt, Lebanon, Israel or Turkey sponsored by a family member who were relatives of a legal Canadian resident that could prove ability to care for them. Finally the fourth class included citizens of countries not mentioned in previous classes who were spouses, parents or children of Canadian citizens that could again prove ability to care for them. It often was up to the discretion of the officer reviewing the application whether an applicant could fulfil the required criteria of sponsorship (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998, pp. 328-329).

Once again, the attempt at maintaining an 'Anglo-Canadian' pseudo-identity was not as easy as expected, since the result of this legislation saw a great number of unskilled migrants, sponsored by family, particularly from Italy and then Portugal, enter the country as well as a backlog of applications. Society was still not warmed up to the idea of welcoming new members as various polls throughout the country indicated. Yet, there was a shift towards a more accepting and open society as migrant communities were becoming more organized and more vocal at expressing their rights and supporting their fellow migrants. It was clear that the need to review old policies was pressing (Hoerder, 1999, p. 292).

In 1967, a points system was introduced under which ethnic and racial discrimination of selection was eradicated and selection was based on whether migrants attained attributes of skill and knowledge beneficial to the nation. However, there was some assumption that although no longer explicitly stating so, applicants from Asia, Africa and Latin America would be less likely to meet the requirements and therefore, the system continued to be selective (Hoerder, 1999, p. 292).

Multiculturalism – Current Status of Immigrants

The work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism began in 1963 as a response to the concerns of French Canadians who felt their identity was marginalized in favour of an English Canada. The report produced by the commission was able to influence the legislation process to the point where, by 1971, the Canadian government had finally abandoned past restrictive approaches and proposed the 'ground-breaking' policy of multiculturalism that would take full effect in 1988. The policy required reforms by governmental institutions that would reflect the diverse origins of Canadian society and not just the English or French traditions and act against discrimination, racism or preferential treatment of various cultures (Hoerder, 1999, p. 293). The policy proclaimed support of groups,

> ***"that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada...assist members of all***

> ***cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society...promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interests of national unity...assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages" (Canada House of Commons, 1971, pp. 8545-8548; 8580-8585).***

Canada's pluralist model has been praised by various international organizations[8] and academic research (Kurthena, 1997; Banting, 2005; Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010), but has also faced recent criticism, particularly from European officials[9], but also from within. Migrant scholars, such as Trinidad-born Neil Bisoondath, argued that multiculturalism in fact decreases freedoms of ethnic groups by generalizing their variations and creating stereotypes from which the groups have difficulty dissociating (Hoerder, 1999, p. 300). Furthermore critics from the predominantly French Canadian province of Quebec described the policy as offensive to the Quebecois, reducing their status as just another ethnic group. An official report in 2008 of Quebec's Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences suggested the alternative for Quebec, interculturalism, be applied, forming a diverse French Canadian society (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). Interculturalism has since been receiving increasing favour and attention, particularly from within the province.

Multiculturalism if anything is indicative of the complex reality of Canadian society that boasts people of more than 200 ethnic backgrounds. Their experience is eloquently phrased by sociologist Evangelia Tastsoglou:

> ***"Immigrants in Canada live for the most part a fluid cultural and mental borderland between Canada's politically dominant culture, their socially constructed ethnic communities, other socially constructed immigrant and ethnic communities as well as various transnational 'encountered' and 'imagined' communities" (Tastsoglou, 2006b, p. 202).***

[8] Kymlicka (2004, p. 833) mentions the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the International Labor Organisation and the World Bank amongst the organizations, which have adopted some form of multicultural policies or declarations due to its application within the Canadian context.

[9] In 2010, German Chancellor, Angela Merkel stated that multiculturalism 'utterly failed' in Germany (Evans, 2010); in 2011 British Prime Minister, David Cameron, declared the 'doctrine of state multiculturalism' (Cameron, 2011) failed'; in 2011, former Prime Minister of France Nicholas Sarkozy stated that in France, 'multiculturalism does not work' (RFI, 2011).

3.3.2. Halifax

Figure 2: Locating Halifax. The city of Halifax is located in the province of Nova Scotia, east of the three major cities of Canada, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Map created using WorldMap, 2013)

Governor Edward Cornwallis originally founded the town of Halifax in 1749 under the direction of the British Board of Trade and Plantations, a privy council of the United Kingdom. The town was named after the President of the Board at the time, George Montague Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax. Its foundation was the result of its strategic – to the British – location near a large natural harbour that could be easily protected, where a naval base could be erected as protection from the French, who Britain regarded as a threat. The British, in contradiction to their emigration policy at the time, sought to populate the area of Halifax with British citizens, loyal to the crown in an attempt to maintain supremacy of the area over the French and also made Halifax the capital of Nova Scotia. Populating Halifax, however, proved to be rather difficult. At first, it attracted Scots, Germans, Dutch and New Englanders but the wild terrain led to the relocation of many of those settlers to other townships of Nova Scotia or New England (Knowles, pp 38-39).

The positioning of Halifax on the Atlantic and near the United States border was to prove strategic during the war of American Independence, the Napoleonic wars and the American civil war. Halifax would see its first population boom following the American war of Independence where loyalists fled to the remaining British North America (Knowles, 2007, p. 39).

By the time of the Confederation, Halifax was quite a prosperous city and the province of Nova Scotia enjoyed autonomy within British North America. It had formed strong commercial ties with New England, England and the Caribbean. Much to the disagreement of its residents, Nova Scotia

was one of the four provinces that joined the Confederation in 1867. Autonomy was now a thing of the past, as decisions for the province were made in Ottawa (Choyce, 1996, pp. 170-171).

In 1917, Halifax suffered a heavy blow when two ships in its harbour, carrying explosive material, collided causing a great explosion, civilian death and casualties and the destruction of most of the north end of the city. Reconstruction would take years to be fully completed (Choyce, 1996, pp. 222-223). Nevertheless, the Halifax harbour would prove vital during the two World Wars of the twentieth century.

Following the Second World War, Halifax gradually developed and grew, though at a slower rate than other urban centres of the country. This was partly due to its hilly terrain, but also due to the focus of the Canadian government on the development of the west; Halifax was a founding city and thus established city of the nation, while the west was not. Moreover, its central trading position was slowly shifting to remoteness (Choyce, 1996, p. 257).

In 1996, the city of Halifax that had now expanded considerably, the neighbouring city of Dartmouth, the town of Bedford and the Municipality of Halifax County merged to form the new Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). The former city of Halifax is now the Halifax Metropolitan Area, a community of the HRM, which has also replaced the city of Halifax as the capital of Nova Scotia (Halifax Regional Municipality, 2010).

The HRM is the largest urban centre of the Maritime Provinces and the most culturally diverse, yet with a population of fewer than four hundred thousand, it is considerably smaller than the major urban centres of the country. The federal government is often criticized of neglect or 'side-lining' the welfare and development of the Maritime Provinces, showing greater concern for the rest of the country (Halifax Regional Municipality, 2010).

Figure 3: The Halifax Ocean Terminals, including Pier 21 (the lighter building). The visible ocean liner is likely the RMS Aquitania on one of its final journeys that brought European immigrants to Canada (Four-Funnelled Liner at Halifax Ocean Terminals (Image), 1950).

In 1924, an immigration complex named Pier 21 was completed at Halifax harbour. Pier 21 would serve as a gateway for over one million migrants to Canada until its closure in 1971. Pier 21 was one of the four entry points into Canada from the east along with analogous complexes in Montreal, Quebec City and St John (Pier 21, 1978).

Upon arrival, migrants would undergo initial inspection and after they passed a physical examination and obtained all necessary paperwork, would be directed to 'special immigrant trains' (Duivenvoorden Mitic & LeBlanc, 1988, p. 22) to continue their journey west or continue on boat journeys to other ports. If their journeys were not scheduled soon after landing, they were directed to places that could provide them food and shelter until their scheduled travel. A series of volunteers and aid organizations would be stationed at Pier 21 translating and directing these new migrants. All religious groups sent representatives to Pier 21 to provide aid and support to these newcomers. Some volunteers were members of ethnic communities that had settled in Halifax (Duivenvoorden Mitic & LeBlanc, 1988, pp. 18-27).

Pier 21 would also serve as the point of departure for the Canadian military during World War II and a vital route for refugees and displaced people of Europe of these wars, when the war ended. Much like previous transatlantic operations, the proximity of Halifax to Europe made it the

quickest, safest and cheapest way to get to North America and thus often was the preferred route (Duivenvoorden Mitic & LeBlanc, 1988, pp. 61-103).

Pier 21 would continue to welcome an increasing number of migrants into Canada until the 1960s when the maintenance of an extremely overused, aging building was too costly and could no longer compete with the faster, air travel that gradually became more affordable (Duivenvoorden Mitic & LeBlanc, 1988, pp. 131-156). In 1971, Pier 21 finally closed down, but has recently gone through renovation and re-opened as Canada's Immigration Museum (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21).

3.3.3. Greek Migration to Canada

Since the 1821 revolution for the formation of an autonomous state, conditions of war, political instability or persecution, and economic distress have contributed to waves of emigration from Greece. From the 1930s onwards, pioneer settlements of family and relatives through marriage would facilitate additional migration, especially after the end of World War II (Gavaki, 2009, p. 119).

The Greek migrants came from all regions of Greece, although as Gavaki (2009, pp. 119-120) states, there was a prevalence of migrants from rural and semi-urban villages of the counties of Lakonia and Arkadia in the Peloponnese in southern Greece, the counties of Kastoria and Florina in northern Greece, the islands and greater Athens. Greeks migrants also came from Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey), Egypt and Cyprus, mainly as a result of the population exchange in 1922, the 1952 Egyptian revolution and subsequent rise of Pan-Arab nationalism, and the fight for the union of Cyprus with Greece (1955-1959) and Turkish invasion (1974) in Cyprus, respectively.

The first immigrants were mainly young, single males, who arrived either as sailors that decided to abandon ship or unskilled workers in search for opportunities (Chimbos, 1999, p. 88), who chose to leave the Greek kingdom or Ottoman Macedonia as a result of the political and economic unrest (Tamis & Gavaki, 2002, p. 27). These pioneer Greek migrants, in their majority, selected settlement in urban centres, namely Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. There, they found work in street sales, but many quickly established new businesses. Chimbos (1999, p. 88) argues that Greeks were not willing to settle in rural areas because they perceived farming in Canada a risky investment and preferred the work and opportunities available in the cities.

The early 20th century saw a slight increase in Greek male immigration to Canada, a response to the demand for cheap labour in Canada, coupled with the addition of restrictions for immigration to the United States (Tastsoglou, 2009b, p. 84). Public sentiment in Canada, however, was not in favour of southern European immigrants, with discrimination towards Greeks at its highest at the outbreak of WWI, when it was not clear who Greece supported. Suspicion of alliance with Germany led to riots and damages to Greek property in the city of Toronto, a city with one of the larger Greek communities within Canada (Chimbos, 1980, p. 38; Chimbos, 1999, p. 90). After WWI, Greek

immigrants also entered Canada through the United States where the Great Depression had led to diminished opportunities for the whole population (Gavaki, 2009, p. 118)

The first immigrants of the early twentieth century attempted to recreate the small, tight-knit communities they were accustomed to back in Greece. Moreover, they formed ethno-religious communities, Pan-Hellenic organizations and brotherhoods for purposes of education, religious practice and maintenance of traditions. The Church served as the centre of community life, although following the influx of migrants post-World War II, larger communities were able to form smaller groups without the religious centrality (Tamis & Gavaki, 2002, p. 202).

The resistance and struggle of the Greek population while under Nazi occupation were praised by European, American and Canadian leaders and media, who perceived the Greeks as heroes and reported on the great losses of the nation. Their heroism supplemented the more positive perception Greek immigrants gradually built within their communities in Canada as a result of a hard work ethic. The Greek settlers were also able to raise money for the Greek War Relief fund (Chimbos, 1980, p. 39; Gavaki, 2009, p. 118).

The devastated Greek nation suffered further with two civil wars and an unstable government. As a result, there was an influx of immigration in the 1950s and 1960s. This new wave of migrants was considerably greater in numbers than before the war. Furthermore, migrants included single males, single females and whole families. The Canadian government introduced a program, which helped Greek immigrants with travel costs they could repay within two years, if they had proof of assured employment in Canada. Sponsorship of relatives and dependants was also a significant motivator for immigration, resulting in kin chain migration and extended kin networks among Greeks (Gavaki, 2009, pp. 118-119). According to Tamis and Gavaki (2002), for instance, 81% of immigrants in 1965 alone entered Canada as a result of sponsorship by relatives.

A significant shift in the demographics included the increase in the proportion of female Greek immigrants who arrived in Canada either as part of a family unit or single. Between 1955 and 1960 the number of Greek female immigrants was 36%, from 1961 to 1970 this rose to 42%, and between 1971 and 1976 to 44% (Gavaki, 2009, p. 119). Furthermore, over 10,700 women entered Canada between 1950 and 1970 as domestic servants (The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada, 1980, p. 59). Many female migrants were single women who eventually sponsored future husbands. The nuptials were usually arranged by family members and sponsorship served as a form of dowry. Gavaki (2009, p. 119) suggests that the change in demographics is perhaps indicative of a wave of migration with more permanent settlement plans than their predecessors, however, it may arguably also be reflecting the changing demands of the labour market.

The change in Canadian immigration policy to the points system in 1967 coincided with the regime change in Greece and the repatriation of a number of Greek migrants who originally immigrated to

western European cities on a temporary basis (particularly Germany) to work. The conditions in Greece were disappointing and a number of these migrants left again, this time coming to Canada. These new migrants had acquired skills and knowledge from western European urban centres that allowed them to qualify through the points system (Tastsoglou, 2009a, p. 11). Hence, 1967 witnessed the highest number of immigrant arrivals from Greece (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1983). Between 1961 and 1970, Greece would be one of the top ten countries of origin of immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2002). The eventual fall of the dictatorship in Greece and the road to stability meant a fall in Greek immigration, which all but halted by the end of the 1970s. Greece entered a new chapter, which saw the country now at the receiving end of labour migration (Gavaki, 2009, p. 119).

It would take nearly thirty years for a new wave of immigration. The recession that has hit Greece since 2009 has affected employment and the standard of living. Highly skilled young people with university education (some from international institutions) have been affected the most, as there are minimal opportunities available to them. They are therefore required to look elsewhere and Canada once again has become a Greek migrant host (Woestman, 2012; Dinas & Rori, 2013).

The latest census, which recorded ethnic origins for the people of Canada, recorded 252,955 of single or mixed Greek origin. The municipality of Toronto holds the largest population with 96,430, followed by the municipality of Montreal with 65,690 and Vancouver with 13,290. The largest Maritime population is found in Halifax with 1,815 (Statistics Canada, 2013).

3.3.4. The Greek Community of Halifax

Figure 4: The St. George Greek Orthodox Church and Community Centre on Purcell's Cove Road, Halifax (Photographer unknown, image retrieved from St. George Greek Orthodox Church and Community Centre website, halifaxgreeks.ca, 2013).

Although Halifax served as a gateway for so many new migrants into Canada, the majority of these migrants did not stay in the city but continued west, in accordance to the promotion of western settlement by the government. The demographic composition of Halifax, the largest and most multicultural city of Canada's Maritime Provinces remained comparatively homogeneous. Greek migrants were no exception with the majority settling in the larger cities of Montreal, Toronto and

Vancouver. Nevertheless, during the years of random and sparse settlement, a number of Greeks chose to remain in Halifax and establish a community there (Vlassis, 1953; Thomas, 2000, pp. 39-40).

The Greek community of Halifax, although officially founded in 1934, was gradually established since the early 1900s by a handful of male migrants that came from various parts of Greece including; the islands of Tenos, Spetses, Rhodes and Euboia; Greater Athens and the regions of Akarnania, Arkadia, Lakonia of mainland Greece, and Asia Minor. The pioneer migrants arrived in Halifax in search of opportunities. Some had been sailors of ships that docked at the Halifax harbour; others had previously worked as labourers in the United States or South America, while others came directly from Greece where they had worked as farmers and shepherds. Through hard work and dedication, they were able to build their own businesses, which included restaurants, candy stores, food markets, cigar shops and coffee shops (Vlassis, 1953; Thomas, 2000, p. 40).

The group of early Greek settlers would also establish a Greek Orthodox Church, community centre, Greek language school and various cultural associations and charity groups. During World War II, the Halifax Greek Community charity fundraising for the Canadian Red Cross and Greek Ware Relief Fund was extremely efficient and praised in the local press and through official correspondence (Thomas, 2000, p. 41).

Although to a lesser extent than larger urban centres, the Halifax Greek community also experienced an influx of Greek migrants after WWII, which was proportionately significant. The new immigrants were sponsored by the settled migrants and, in time, these new immigrants sponsored additional family members, partners and acquaintances. The extended kin and ethnic networks established after the end of WWII, led to Greek kin chain migration to Halifax. As a result, the origins of most members of the Halifax Greek community can be traced to the Peloponnese, the island of Mylos, the greater Athens area and Cyprus, which correspond to the origin of those first sponsors (Thomas, 2000, p. 40).

Much like the rest of Canada, Greek labour migration to Halifax effectively ended in the late 1970s. The tertiary education institutions of Halifax, however, would continue to attract Greek and Cypriot students and academics, albeit temporarily (Thomas, 2000, p. 82). The possibility of a new wave of Greek labour migration was not considered plausible until mid-2011, when the effects of the most recent economic recession in Greece resulted in immigration queries by Greek nationals addressed to the Halifax Greek Community and Nova Scotia provincial government. This, in turn, mobilized the community to cooperate with the provincial government should these queries translate to new application for immigration to Halifax (St. George's Greek Orthodox Church and Community Centre, 2012).

The Halifax Greek community remains an ethnic community integrated within the Halifax society. The children and grandchildren of mainly the post-WWII migrants have succeeded the migrant

generations as leaders of the community and its associations. The descendants of the pioneer migrants, due to their fewer numbers initially, past effects of detachment following inter-marriage outside the Greek Orthodox Church, and internal migration are represented within the community in comparatively fewer numbers.

3.4. Conclusion

Since the early rebellion in favour of an independent Modern Greek nation and the country's economic and political instabilities, at times further strained by international concerns, Greek people have searched for opportunity and stability beyond their historic lands. By the early 20th century, Canada, an immigrant nation, became an option for settlement, despite Greeks being considered 'non-preferred' candidates. Halifax, an already established Atlantic city, was not promoted for settlement. Yet, certain Greek migrants, decided to make Halifax their home. This led to more settlement by co-ethnics, followed by the creation and growth of a small ethnic community, of which the participants of this study are members. This chapter has perhaps enabled the situating of the Halifax Greek community within a historical context, but individual experience will be further examined, case by case, in the chapters that follow *Methodology*.

4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology adopted for this study in an effort to present to the reader how the research was conducted and the suitability and the integrity of the chosen approach to examine the themes or topics of the chapters that follow. The qualitative study utilized semi-structured life history interviews, historical records, media and new media data, and participant observation to obtain and triangulate the research data. The multi-method approach is representative of ethnography, the methodology selected due to its ability to examine, understand and perhaps theorize the dynamic social networks, concerns and economic development of the female members of the Halifax Greek community. The beginning of the chapter considers ethnography as a methodology, its role, and its limitations, in the study of human geography, of migration and of gendered immigrant experience. The second part of the chapter continues with a comprehensive account of the fieldwork and analytical processes.

4.2. Ethnography

Ethnography as a methodology is a diverse approach with no single, unchallenged definition that could adequately incorporate these variations. Generally, it is recognized as an in-depth investigation of social life and immersion within a social world or culture, 'concerned to make sense of the actions and intentions of people as knowledgeable agents; indeed, more properly it attempts to make sense of their making sense' (Ley, 1988, p. 121). Hence, the researcher is required to observe and study various social conditions and interactions of a particular group within a set amount of time and identify the cultural meanings of these observed actions and interactions.

Historically, ethnography flourished within the discipline of Anthropology as a primary methodology and traditionally signified the study of different, unfamiliar (non-Western) cultures in remote places. The colonialist influence from which anthropology as a field developed and, as a consequence, ethnography, is indicative in early twentieth century anthropologist, Branislow Malinowski's, description of the duties of an ethnographer, 'to attempt to grasp the native's point of view, their relation to life and to realise their vision of their world' (Malinowski, 1922 cited in Tedlock, 1991, pp. 69-70).

Through time, due to its suitability in researching the intricate notions of culture and social life, which are difficult to research and to embody through quantitative techniques, ethnographic research has been adopted by various disciplines within and outside the social sciences. This has enabled postmodern and social constructionist reforms in ethnographic approach; ethnography has evolved beyond and away from the study of remote cultures and the 'other' and encompasses studies of Western culture, the study of the researchers' own social groups or even themselves in

autoethnographies (Denzin, 2006). Moreover, the significance of virtual social networks has seen the adaptation of ethnography into Internet ethnography or 'netnography' (Kozinets, 2006).

While the 'other', the unknown, ignored and different within even the same social group continues to fascinate, ethnography has also served as a critical re-evaluation of what *is* known in an attempt to locate what perhaps must change. Through ethnographic research of aspects of social groups researchers are familiar with, since they are members or have been members of these social groups, the researchers critically examine the practices, policies and dynamics within the groups to identify possible problematic activities and determine possible solutions or changes that can alleviate these negative effects (Ybema & Kamsteeg, 2009).

Regardless of the discipline and chosen point of view, the fundamental purpose of ethnographic research is to examine and understand everyday life, activities and social interactions and their cultural meanings to those who enact them, for 'events and objects are never neutral' (Herbert, 2000, p. 556).

Goffman (1989, p. 125) maintains that for the researchers, ethnographic inquiry entails "subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation." Ethnography therefore requires participant observation; presence of the researcher in order to observe how the actors react to daily situations and interactions, but also for the researcher to experience these events for themselves and thus be a participant to these events (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). The level, or rather, balance of participation and observation during fieldwork varies according to the researcher, the objectives of the study and the occasions and events witnessed by the researcher during the study.

Although participant observation is fundamental to ethnography, methodological pluralism is highlighted by theorists of ethnography who support the application of a combination of a number of methods during fieldwork to attain close engagement with the group. Methods implemented include interviews, focus groups, narratives, life histories in addition to the basic, participant observation during which the other methods can also occur. The field notebook or a form of record-keeping throughout the process accompanies these methods as a way to capture the aspects of the culture under investigation and critically probe the research process. As Bernard (2006, pp. 390-398) asserts, there are different types of field notes; *jottings*, short notes that serve to trigger further details of experiences at a later time, the personal *diary*, a non-public outlet for the feelings and emotions of the researcher, the *log* of planned and conducted activity, and the *field notes proper*, a combination of expanded methodological, descriptive and analytical notes.

4.3. Ethnography in Gender Migration and Geography

4.3.1. Geography

In 2000, geographer George Herbert attempts to make a case for ethnography within the field of geography. While the application of ethnography in geography was not novel, in his article, he maintains that ethnography is underrepresented and underused within geography, which could benefit from this methodology. Among the themes, which Herbert argues ethnography is suited to investigate, is the intersection of place, a central theme of geography and gender,

> ***"Importantly, place is intimately implicated in the production and reproduction of gender. Place provides cues for how men and women are to behave, and thereby shapes how gender roles are staged...Gender roles are also replicated and challenged in the manipulation of the landscape. Gender is thus constructed, challenged and spatially inscribed in daily processes that mitigate between macrological processes of economic development and more localized struggles over the sexual division of labour" (Herbert, 2000, pp. 554-555).***

A decade later, a book chapter by Watson and Till (2010) proclaims that 'Geographers have brought our theorisations of space, place, scale, landscape and environment to develop further understandings of spatial processes and concepts in ethnography' (Watson & Till, 2010, p. 122). Ethnography, they maintain, has become a 'prominent' methodology in geography, particularly in the 'subfields of cultural ecology, development studies, feminist studies, social, political, cultural and nature society-geography' (Watson & Till, 2010, p. 122).

Their book chapter, which is part of the *SAGE HANDBOOK OF GEOGRAPHY* (DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2010), provides a guideline for conducting ethnography and participant observation in geography, indicative perhaps of this prominence discussed by the authors. Examples of ethnographic research in the geographic subfields of feminist studies distinguish the application of ethnographic research to examine gendered immigrant social relations and regional studies of identities of distinct social groups such as the LGBT community of Cape Town (Watson & Till, 2010, p. 124). Moreover, Watson and Till, suggest that through the introduction of new tools or methods by geographers for conducting ethnography, the methodology has been fully embraced.

4.3.2. Gender Migration

> ***"...the program first to study migration systematically, ethnographic research has enjoyed a long and valued place within immigration studies...and a wide range of social scientists around the world has***

> ***fruitfully adopted it. In the hands of most anthropologists and those who consider themselves to be ethnographers in other disciplines such as sociology and geography, ethnography...stresses a holistic and contextual approach that is particularly useful for examining complex concepts and practices such as the relations between males and females," (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 31).***

With reference to a number of ethnographic studies that examine the engendered immigrant experience, Mahler and Pessar (2006) argue the significant role of ethnographic research in 'bringing gender centrally into the field of migration studies' (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 29). Female migrants were not addressed independently in migration research until the late twentieth century and, although no gender-specific migration theory has developed, a difference in migrant experience and process was determined. Mahler and Pessar (2006, p. 30) suggest the characteristics of ethnographic research allowed the focus on gender and thus the engendering of migration studies, which in turn has resulted in the contributions with respect to this difference in migration experience, process, settlement and employment in the host country. They continue that, since the essence of ethnography, as previously discussed, is to understand the daily interactions and activities of a social group and its organisation, analysis of social networks, family units and homes are central to the study and it is in these environments where the perceived kinship and gender roles of the social groups emerge as they are observed by the researcher. Migrant communities as discrete social groups were no exception; ethnography with a gender focus is applicable and can provide insight not only on the social organisation of the group and the role of gender but also with respect to migrant-related issues such as settlement, assimilation, social stratification, identity maintenance and negotiation by migrants and subsequent generations.

Mahler and Pessar (2006, p. 30) nevertheless assert that experience is not affected by gender alone as reiterated by Tastsoglou (2009a, p. 2); experience, rather, is affected by an intersection of biological, social and cultural features of which gender is among the primary. Furthermore, as previously discussed, geographers, Herbert (2000) and Watson and Till (2010) extend this intersection to include place and space as does McHugh (2000) who in an article similar to Herbert's, attempts to make a case for ethnography in migration studies by geographers. Ethnography, with its pluralistic methods and diverse approaches is once again commended for its suitability to study the complex and multifaceted layers of experience and examine how each component contributes to that experience.

4.3.3. Critiques

Despite the advocacy for ethnography in geography and gender migration studies, Herbert (2000) and Mahler and Pessar (2006, p. 32) do not hesitate to disclose that ethnography is often criticised within research circles. Mahler and Pessar (2006, p. 32), in fact, argue that gender migration research is found in an antagonistic state since ethnography, on the one hand, contributes to bringing gender in focus, but on the other hand, its criticism keeps gender migration research on the sidelines. The three main criticisms identified are outlined below but are not considered adequate by the authors to discourage ethnographic research, and they provide justifications and different approaches that are discussed as a possible means to reduce the criticism.

'Soft' Science

A main critique of ethnography is the reliability of an interpretive and subjective approach to develop theoretical assertion when compared to the alternative quantitative and presumed objective methods, which allow testing of the recovered data. From this perspective, the interpretive nature of ethnography is overly dependent on the researcher's inclinations and a 'test' or study by a different researcher could possibly provide different findings, which results in the questioning of the validity of both results (Herbert, 2000, p. 558).

This critique highlights the obvious and rather necessary process of interpretation in ethnographic research; ethnography searches for the meaning in social interactions and activities that is often inexplicable by the actors themselves and can only be unearthed when context is provided to the researcher, through actions and reactions of these actors. As the researcher examines social interactions, they continuously must interpret their surroundings and reflect on their interpretations as they gradually become culturally proficient and develop an understanding of the social organisation and interactions. With respect to gender and gender roles, for instance, the necessity for interpretive approaches must perhaps be highlighted since both are social constructs, therefore difficult to quantify through objective and quantitative approaches (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 32).

Whether one interpretation is better than another, Herbert (2000) argues, is determined as the one that can 'help orientate more successful social action than others' (Herbert, 2000, p. 559), but the significance of context may make it difficult to engage in an identical situation for study to that of a previous researcher. It is thus necessary for researchers to be overt and clear about their process, which led them to their conclusions and understandings. They must elaborate on their 'logic of the interpretation' (Herbert, 2000, p. 559) and acknowledge possible alternative interpretations and the reasons for their rejection as most applicable. This critique has proved to some extent constructive since it has served as the driver for a more explicit account of the research process by the ethnographers, which have led to their conclusions.

The current conditions according to Small (2009, p. 7) show a deviation from the past intense criticisms of qualitative techniques as both quantitative and qualitative research is seen to thrive

with researchers from both 'camps' often citing material from each other, indicating a mutual understanding for the benefits of the various techniques. Yet, with respect to the fields of urban poverty, social inequality and immigration, he is concerned that the 'cooperative spirit...has only spread so far' (Small, 2009, p. 7); quantitative research remains the most published, favoured for funding, while ethnographic research is often reviewed by quantitative researchers when submitted for publication and the necessity of in-depth study in these fields continues.

Generalisation

The second criticism for ethnographic research is that it lacks the capacity to offer generalisations, which can be applied to a greater or different population. Due to the in-depth study required, the focus is usually on a smaller number of people or events, which lead to a debate over whether the conclusions reached, can be considered for generalisations (Herbert, 2000, p. 560).

Once again, Herbert (2000, pp. 560-561) and Mahler and Pessar (2006, p. 33) collectively present four measures employed by ethnographers that lead to at least a modified generalisation to suit the qualitative perspective, which the authors are confident weaken the validity of this criticism. The four measures include; the selection of sites which allow for 'transferability' (Herbert, 2000, p. 560) where characteristics are analogous to other settings or where the conditions observed are expected to become more prevalent; conducting comparative analyses or multi-site ethnography where more than one social group is concurrently examined to identify differences and similarities (Herbert, 2000, p. 560; Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 33); employing a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques where quantitative techniques can be used to identify a 'pattern' and qualitative techniques used to reveal the dynamics of these patterns (Herbert, 2000, p. 560; Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 33); and entering the study with the objective to 'improve upon existing theories' (Herbert, 2000, p. 561) where the fieldwork and experiences are examined based on the expected observations of the current theories and evaluated 'accordingly.' The final measure could render even a single case study extremely informative as they can clarify the nuanced forms of 'broader social dynamics' realised in day-to-day settings, provided the analysis is conducted with both rigor and logic. This is particularly significant to geographers who value the importance of context and place in their research.

Small (2009, p. 20) supports the ability of ethnographic case studies to provide ample empirical data or 'extending the extended case study,' (Small, 2009, p. 20), but is apprehensive about the former three suggested measures, and concerned that they are attempts to conduct research using the unsuitable language of quantitative and statistical research rather than 'developing alternative languages and clarifying their separate objectives' (Small, 2009, p. 10). He also directs attention to the logic behind conducting interviews where he differentiates between the sampling logic and case study logic (Small, 2009, pp. 24-25). Sampling, he maintains, has foundations in survey research and aims to reflect a greater population, perhaps more suitable for descriptive research, while the case study logic treats each 'extended' interview as a different case study 'in a sequential procedure

that enables an increasingly accurate understanding of the question,' more suitable for the questions of 'how' or 'why' (Small, 2009, pp. 24-25). The first interview results in some findings, used to inform the next interview and so forth, with the final interview unlikely to expose many new findings.

Dismissing Generalisation

The debate about generalisation includes the position that generalisation is in fact incompatible within ethnography (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 110; Denzin & Lincoln, Transforming Qualitative Research Methods. Is it a Revolution?, 1995; Small, 2009, p. 18). 'Ignoring the problem,' according to Small (2009, p. 18) is fitting under certain situations or goals, which are motivated by different theoretical perspectives. In narrative theory for instance, the narrative identity of each person is unique to that person as it is shaped by the accumulation of experiences that can only be that person's; no other can share identical experiences. Moreover, if under the viewpoint that meanings are materialized under particular situations, it does not matter if other situations show similar features because in both cases it would be wrong to assume that the same circumstances could lead to the same experiences elsewhere.

Perhaps what is important to consider is that aside from the total dismissal of generalisation in ethnography, the proposed strategies are not mutually exclusive and could, increase the power of an 'ethnographically derived generalisation' (Herbert, 2000, p. 561) when they are combined.

Representation

The third, perhaps newest critique in fact arises from within ethnographic research. Postmodern influences in research lead to inquiry over the adequate representation of the researcher in their work. The issue lies over whether the researcher adequately addresses their own position in the study, as part of the world they attempt to understand; the power differentials and their own experience and perspective or bias that may affect observation, techniques and analysis (Hodgson, 1999; Herbert, 2000, p. 562).

The critics' 'ethnography of ethnography' (Herbert, 2000, p. 562) suggests that the researcher must be 'more self-critical' and 'interrogate the conditions under which they produce ethnographic knowledge' (Herbert, 2000, p. 562). The power differentials usually present between the researcher and the observed or participants must be addressed, and the researcher must never lose sight of the ultimate goal to produce an ethnography that adequately presents the social world of the culture or group in question, though it may not adhere to the evidence or perceived social order of current available texts. Forthrightness, reflexivity and modesty are the proposed means researchers can adopt in their work to achieve successful representation.

Forthrightness

The power differential between the researcher and the researched cannot ultimately be removed from the research equation. Yet, it is important that the researcher is open about the objectives of

the study, and clearly explains to the participants any possible agendas on their part or whether the study is part of any collaboration with other people or institutions. It is imperative that although the relationship may not be that of 'equals,' that there is full disclosure. Furthermore, the same level of full disclosure should be directed to the audience who will read the study; the nature of the relationships developed with the participants, the amount of access to the social world, the reactions of the participants and any degree of bias should be discussed as part of the study (Herbert, 2000, p. 562).

Reflexivity

> ***"The ethnographer needs to be reflexive about how his or her own cultural and intellectual position shapes his or her apprehension and discussion of data" (Herbert, 2000, p. 563).***

The reflexive outlook requires that a researcher recognize the influences of both their perspectives and presence in the field has had on the research; throughout the fieldwork and analysis there is a need for a conscious attempt to reflect on how the researcher's worldviews and background have shaped the study, examining and highlighting possible motivation that may influence drawn conclusions (Brewer, 2000, p. 131). The process is on-going as the differences and similarities are perceived by the researcher based on their own experiences, but additionally influenced by the interactions, exchanges and relationships with the participants through time. There is a constant back and forth and renegotiation of these perceptions; therefore, the recording of these perceptions by the researcher throughout the fieldwork process is strongly supported (Brewer, 2004, p. 317).

Modesty

The effort for researchers within ethnography to reflect and be forthright about their position, both physical and ideological, throughout a study should provide insightful and critical research that can enrich and further present discussions on the 'dynamics of social life' (Herbert, 2000, p. 563). They do not cease to present only a partial picture of the social group, one that is directed by a certain perspective, albeit assessed, and during a set time in history during which fieldwork was conducted. Due to the fact that researchers can never view this full image, there is a need to remain modest about the findings and their applicability, as they are part of an on-going discussion and changing reality

4.4. Introduction to Fieldwork

Having provided a brief review of ethnography as a methodology, its application within geography and gender migration studies pertinent to this study, the following sections will outline all aspects of fieldwork, analysis and interpretation. The researcher motivation and position that shaped the study, the methods and the rationale for use, the sampling process, questions of representation, a

detailed account of the analytical process and the ethical considerations raised during the study are considered and discussed.

4.4.1. Motivation and Reflection on Position

Reflection on my position within the study began from the initial application proposal for this study (as described in the *Preface*) that included details of both my education and personal experiences, and how they could provide the framework to design the study and direct me to conduct the fieldwork required to provide results that would contribute to the 'on-going conversation' about everyday life of social groups. It was necessary, as discussed in the above critique section, to begin the process being transparent, and thus forthright, indicating how both academic and personal background could affect the study, something that would continue throughout the study.

The insider/outsider negotiation when conducting ethnography is always present. Factors that affected my position when conducting research, which required consideration included the fact that my immediate family had migrated, I had contact with Greek Canadian communities in the past (albeit not regularly) and spoke Greek and English. The lack of a language barrier would suggest direct access to all participants, and perhaps my own family migrating could be viewed as a connection that would further ease the participants. At the same time, I was a stranger, a person that would request to study them and their life, regardless of whether I spoke the same language or shared the same origin. Furthermore, as a researcher, I had to be cautious about making any presumptions or assumptions about their experiences based on what I had learned from my family; experience, relationships, education and interaction all affect research direction, but it was important to attain full accounts, distance myself from what was known so that I remain critical.

Following the first visit to Halifax, NS, a research period commenced where background research and extensive literature was reviewed. The initial contacts were established in addition to a research design. The research methods selected are discussed in the next section in addition to the rationale for this choice, while the subsequent section includes further reflection of my role as a researcher during fieldwork, once the study had begun.

4.5. Research Methods

The data collection for this research involved the use of participant observation, qualitative interviews and the study of historical documents. Participant observation occurred mostly within the grounds of the Greek community centre where informal interviews occurred, while the more structured life history interviews were conducted with forty members of the Greek community (full list in Appendix). The term historical documents range from archival federal, provincial or community documents from the early twentieth century to online social media content that may have been published during the study.

Data collection occurred during stays that ranged from one to three months between September 2010 and June 2012 (August/September 2010, January 2011, June – August 2011, January 2012

and June 2012) for a total fieldwork time of seven months or six months if the introductory and pilot study of August/September 2010 is not to be included. Winter fieldwork was rich in interview work and summer fieldwork in participant observation and historical data collection. The 'division of methods' by season was the result of a combination of conditions and considerations; the first August/September 2010 pilot visit indicated that the time was not ideal for participants who were unavailable or harder to reach, away on holiday or just returning. The archives and libraries were open to full-year researchers and less busy with students who use these resources during the school year, thus more accessible and available during summer. The early summer was active for the community with the organization and hosting of the annual cultural festival in addition to other events and a popular wedding season. January was ideal for interviews because it was after a holiday season where people returned to a routine, while the weather did not allow for great mobility or travelling. These months corresponded with my own availability to travel. The months in between fieldwork were designated for other research duties such as transcription, on-going analysis in addition to conference preparation and attendance, and teaching responsibilities.

4.5.1. Participant Observation

> ***"Participant observation characterizes most ethnographic research and is crucial to effective fieldwork. Participant observation combines participation in the lives of the people under study with maintenance of a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data" (Fetterman, 1989, p. 45).***

The main objectives of this study include the investigation of the social networks and cultural continuity of the female members of the Greek community through time. While the past interactions and social dynamics are addressed and validated primarily through interviews and historical documents discussed next, the present status can be observed and experienced. Participant observation can therefore 'clarify the results of more refined instruments,' such as interviews and provide a way to 'explore the context' (Fetterman, 1989, p. 45) of the data collected. Conversely, through participant observation, relationships with community members can be created, who can become study participants (Fetterman, 1989, p. 45; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999, p. 91).

As Fetterman states (1989, pp. 46-47), participant observation in an applied setting is conducted intermittently and irregularly over a given amount of time where gradual familiarization with the participants and social norms enable a 'cyclical' pattern of research where the researcher first acquires a panoramic scope of the social group, then identifies the details, which are then applied to answer the greater questions. This process is expedited when the researcher is examining their own culture, although extensive familiarity can lead to missed or unnoticed nuances.

The above considerations reaffirmed the selection of participant observation as the ideal method to conduct data with respect to cultural continuity and social networks of the community (Bernard, 2006, p. 142). The ability to apply the method non-continuously allowed me to travel to the community centre site at times when the community was present, during a range of events such as the festival, church services, language school, dance practice and youth charity events, and balance the degree of my participation. Language and cultural knowledge expedited the familiarity process for me, although as a non-member of this particular community, there was some degree of non-familiarity and distance.

I observed members of the Greek community and their interactions, focusing on generational and gendered variations in addition to interactions of members of the Greek community with non-members, particularly during the festival setting, where they were both visitors and volunteers. Moreover, as a volunteer (or participant observer) and as an observer, casual exchanges and conversations occurred. Some were single occurrences, which varied in significance, while others developed into deeper conversations and formal interviews.

Role as Researcher

> ***"...it signals the difficulty that some researchers have with an idea of interacting, or even accepting that they might or should or are allowed to interact, in any setting where they also claim to be observers" (Woolcott, 2008, p. 51).***

The pursuit of objective data attained through observation-only techniques is perhaps a thing of the past, yet there is a lingering concern about the degree of interaction and participation that concerns researchers during participant observation. For Laurier (2010, p. 118), there is a need to embrace the participant aspect of participant observation in order to produce good geography through what is achieved from the commentary about the social group and place from the researcher following their participant observation activities.

De Munck (2009, pp. 185-187) identifies three stages of participant observation or 'hanging out' during which researchers realize they go through 'after the fact;' the stranger stage, acquaintance stage and intimate stage as 'one moves from a formal, intrusive, and incompetent beginning stage, to an intimate, welcomed, and competent end stage' (DeMunck, 2009, p. 185). The progression is of an ideal scenario, which, in my case, was expedited somewhat to the middle 'acquaintance stage' mainly due to the language and cultural knowledge, and the relative eagerness of the majority of the community members I interacted with to participate in the study, only hindered slightly by my nervousness and anxiety upon entering fieldwork. The transition from being perceived as 'social entities' to 'individuals' (DeMunck, 2009, p. 186) with shared experiences was quite organic.

During participant observation, I alternated between the detached and more active participant based on my objectives (DeMunck, 2009, p. 193); during Greek Fest for instance, I volunteered for various posts as requested by the organizing committee and while non-community members were also able to volunteer, the previous interactions suggested an increased level of familiarity between the organizers, other community member volunteers and myself, regardless of whether I had in fact interacted with them specifically. During times where I had no volunteer responsibilities, I walked around the grounds and held a more detached, observational role.

4.5.2. Qualitative Interviews

> ***"They are appropriate ways of participating in so-called Western lives. We do not have to observe them to know about them; people are very capable of 'showing' us at least some of the intricacies of their lives through what they tell us through projects of engaged listening" (Hockey & Forsey, 2012, pp. 83-84).***

Hockey and Forsey (2012) challenge the central status of participant observation in ethnography versus the interview, which, as an ethnographic method, is described as a 'moment of engagement, a site of participation in the life of the person we meet and talk with' (Hockey & Forsey, 2012, p. 75). The authors collate a series of reflective material from previous studies about the ability of interviews to 'reflect and replicate the realities of social interactions,' (2012, p. 83) that are displaced in space and time. They further challenge the 'scepticism' around the truthfulness of interviews, arguing that in the experiences of most interview projects, researchers have indicated that participants who volunteer are in fact willing to speak to them openly and often end the interview with worry that they did not sufficiently assist the researcher in the study (Hockey & Forsey, 2012, p. 84). Moreover, they reaffirm Fetterman's value on 'factually inaccurate' accounts as, 'invaluable', since they are testimonies to how individuals perceive the past, how they think and 'how cultural and personal values shape' these perceptions (Fetterman, 1989, p. 61; Hockey & Forsey, 2012, p. 84).

Participant observation was used in the study and highlighted as the basis of ethnography. However, the merits of interviews discussed by Hockey and Forsey (2012) are appreciated and applied extensively in this study, which is dynamic in nature; the social interactions and cultural and economic developments are dynamic and as a result, many are dislocated both in time and space from the present. Though physical observation is not possible, interviews realize these conditions as we get 'inside people's heads' (Hockey & Forsey, 2012, p. 84) for a period of time.

Unstructured interviews – 'Guided Conversations'

DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006, p. 315) argue that no interview is strictly unstructured and equate it to a 'guided conversation' since the interviewer does in fact have some reason or

motivation to carry out the interview. Such guided conversations occur during participant observation as they did in this study, where conversations with members of the community developed into an explanation of my presence and research interests and a subsequent request, for some, to conduct a more formal, semi-structured interview at a scheduled time, provided the participants were in agreement of this progression. Certain conversations were insightful within the context of participant observation but did not require further in-depth examination.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Unlike unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews usually take place at a previously scheduled date and time outside any other activities or events (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315). Questions and topics that the researcher wants to address are predetermined, yet the researcher also provides an atmosphere where the interviewee can further expand on their responses for additional information and at times in directions that the researcher may not have considered or unique to the interviewee that may prove beneficial to the study (Bernard, 2006, p. 212). The semi-structured, in-depth interviews in this study, which ranged in time from 45 minutes to over three hours, are termed life history and key actor interviews based on the focus of the questions.

Focused Life History Interviews

Life history interviews are 'rich, autobiographical descriptions' from participants and are usually quite personal accounts. Although an individual account may not be entirely representative of the group because they are about a single person, the accounts 'provide an integrated picture of the target culture' (Fetterman, 1989, p. 61). Focused life history interviews are an amalgamation of a chronological autobiography and the structured interview, which Fetterman (1989, p. 63) suggests is employed when time or resources are limited. However, focused life history interviews are also employed when the study itself is focused on certain aspects of a participant's life, as is the case for this study. Fetterman (1989, p. 61) also raises the issue of verification, indicating that life histories are verifiable through other means and when they cannot be, or when accounts do not reflect actual facts, the participants' perceptions of the past are also informative.

The participants of this study included female migrants, subsequent generations of Greek Canadian women and women whose membership in the community was through marriage. The life history interviews were focused on experiences of migration and life in the community, being raised in the community and entering the community respectively. There was therefore some adjustment to the questions for each group, affected by time, space and conditions of 'membership,' all within an autobiographical chronology framework prescribed in this form of semi-structured interviews.

Life History Interview Schedule

To ensure that all relevant topics were discussed during the interviews, an interview schedule was developed prior to the official fieldwork commenced, which can be found in the *Appendix*. While the interview would ideally trigger a 'free-flowing' narrative and discussion of experiences from

the participants, the interview schedule served as a general outline of themes I wished to address under specific headings and possible questions that would encourage conversation about the relevant topics.

Since I was interviewing migrants, subsequent generations and members of the community who joined through marriage or partnership, a slightly different schedule was created for each, to complement the likely experiences. I opened my interviews with migrants, for example, by asking them about their origin and the circumstances of their migration, while I opened my interviews with second generation Greek Canadians by asking them about their childhood and being raised in a Greek immigrant family in Halifax, NS. Moreover, I asked women who were married to or partners of Greek Canadians about their background in order to determine whether they shared a connection to an ethnic community or identity. Thus, the different approaches were tailored to the experiences of each participant, but supported the development of a loosely chronological narrative of their lives.

The objective of the key questions and topics of the interview schedule was to trigger a narrative of lived experience in Halifax, NS within which, constructions of identity and dynamic networks and views of Greekness of the female participants can be acquired. Direct questions on reflection over the meaning of identity or Greekness, for instance, were not always favoured, since it was important to determine this through narrative of their daily lives and experiences. Based on the experiences and discussions, follow-up questions would be used to prompt further detail or clarification, without leading the participant, to provide their own personal account and perspective. There was an expected overlap of the topics and occasions where more than one topic was addressed by participants during a single narration or following one single question; the schedule served as a general outline or checklist of the interview process. Participants were not discouraged from expanding their discussion, using the full potential of the chronological autobiography (Fetterman, 1989, p. 63) of the life history interview, talking directly about a topic and around it.

The topics I attempted to address during the interviews roughly addressed the following; for interviews with migrants, I began by asking about where they were originally from and the conditions, which led to migration, but also their reason for settlement in Halifax, in an attempt to determine whether the suggested migration theories of the new economics collective decision making (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 436, 439) or the network theories facilitating subsequent migration supported the participants' migration (Castles & Miller, 2009, pp. 27-29). I also asked about their first impressions of settlement in the city and the role of other co-ethnics and the people of Halifax as networks of support (Tastsoglou, 1997a). Based on the direction of their own experiences, I asked them about their participation (or not) in the Greek community and its associations, the future of the Greek community in Halifax, their relationships and interactions with other co-ethnics and not, about their experiences in Canada, their personal sense of Greek identity,

their participation (or not) in the Halifax labour force and society, their relationship with present-day Greece, and generally about the future. The questions would also address their experience as women, single and married, mothers, etc. For interviews with subsequent generations, I began the interview by asking them about their upbringing and their childhood, memories of 'being Greek' and being raised in a Greek migrant family in Halifax, before going on to discuss many of the same topics as listed above, but more tailored to second generation experiences. The interviews of women who later became members of the community, I once again asked about their background and childhood in an attempt to determine if they were from a migrant background also. The interview followed with questions about them meeting their partners and whether the Greek community and identity were features in their partners' lives from when they met and whether this may have changed. The interview continued with discussing their own membership and acceptance into the family and community and the role of the community, Greece, the place, and Greekness plays in their children's lives and in their family as a whole. The responses to these narratives would serve to examine the diasporic nature (Tastsoglou, 2009a, p. 1) of the Greek community and determine whether its dynamic transnational qualities suggest an ongoing ethnic presence (Gavaki, 2009; Karpathakis & Harris, 2009) in a city with limited symbols of ethnic identity (Byers & Tastsoglou, 2008).

Key Actor or Informant Interviews

> ***"Key actors can provide detailed historical data, knowledge about contemporary interpersonal relationships (including conflicts), and a wealth of information about the nuances of everyday life" (Fetterman, 1989, p. 58).***

A number of reasons, such as time constraints or extensive knowledge can direct a researcher to 'rely' extensively on a few participants during fieldwork for information on the community although the objective remains to interview as many participants as possible (Fetterman, 1989, p. 58). In the case of this study, three participants developed into key actors or were interviewed rather, as key actors. The interview of female members of the community was a way to voice their perspective, yet with respect to historical data and the community structure, I was directed to speak to two male members of the community who had dedicated personal time acquiring oral and archival data about the community for their own and the community's benefit. One, a second generation Greek Canadian was the grandson of two of the first settlers of the community and provided valuable information about the community dynamics prior to World War II, one of the few actors who lived in Halifax at the time and conducted personal research in an effort to preserve the history of the earlier migrants. The second arrived in the 1960s but had an interest in the history of the community and valued the oral history of all the members of the Greek community. Both, in addition to their own life history accounts, shared information about the history of the community that contextualized experience and verified the context of other accounts. The third

key actor was a first generation Greek Canadian female born in the 1930s. Originally approached as a life history interviewee, she served as the sole female participant who was raised in and experienced the community prior to the influx of migrants in the 1950s and 1960s. She was therefore the sole outlet of primary data of female experience prior to the influx, albeit not of a migrant. She was also very involved in the community and its development, thus informed in its dynamic organization and history.

Interview Sampling

> ***"First choose who and what not to study...Second, select who and what to study" (Fetterman, 1989, p. 42).***

The two straightforward ways in which a researcher is likely to select their fieldwork and participants, as stated above, can in reality be the result of a number of steps or procedures, where literature and access limitations can shape and reshape these decisions. The aforementioned journey to Halifax and subsequent research determined that my field site would be Halifax and the focus would be the female members of the community. With this decision, I essentially decided not to study another site or the male members of the community, although interviews of male members did take place for historical and community organization knowledge purposes, in addition to 'guided conversations' (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315) recorded during participant observation fieldwork.

While I did choose to focus on women I did nevertheless use the 'big net approach' favourable to participant observation, whereby all females of the community were plausible candidates, their selection was random, the result of meetings and conversations. Subsequent suggestions from selected participants were also considered and women were contacted in this way. There were women who refused the request for participation on the grounds of time constraints, the request to not discuss experiences they perceived as difficult and emotional, and the unfortunate perception that their experiences were 'not that important' to be discussed. All responses were respected although, admittedly, the last reason was contradicted by me, as I did inform these women that to me and to the world, their experiences were important and valuable. Nevertheless, I did not wish to pressure anyone in doing something they were not comfortable doing.

I did not turn away any participant, as I believed that each person further completed the 'cultural fabric,' but I did wish to include participants that represented the variety of female members of the community. I divided the participants into four main groups, female migrants, first generation Greek Canadian women, subsequent generation Greek Canadian women and female members who entered the community through marriage or partnership. The female migrants that arrived in Halifax and Canada were further divided into those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s and after the general end of Greek labour migration to Canada. First generation Greek Canadians in this study are the children of Greek female and/or male migrants, either born in Canada or

migrated at a very young age, while subsequent generations are women born to at least one first generation Greek Canadian parent. They too were divided between those born before World War II, in the 1950s and 1960s, and those born in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s (no women under the age of 18 were interviewed). In a number of studies (Christou, 2002; 2006; Panagakos, 2003; 2009; Byers & Tastsoglou, 2008), the people I address as first generation are considered second generation and there is some confusion over these terms, which have made me debate over what term to use. I eventually selected first generation after realizing that the participants who were born to Greek migrant parents address themselves as the first generation, and so, I address them as they do.

4.5.3. Historical Documents

Archives, libraries, educational institutions, organizations and communities may all supply a collection of documents and artefacts as historical records. These sources are commonly investigated by researchers conducting ethnography in an attempt to provide historic and geographic contexts for the social group examined. This historic context is especially significant when the study is concerned with change and continuity within a social group. The sources are therefore 'most effective if they offer effective parallels and contrasts to the ethnographic data and if they offer insight into historical processes, links and causes (Murchison, 2010, p. 163).

The 'parallels and contrasts' (Murchison, 2010, p. 163) offerings to the ethnographic data are effectively triangulation, 'the heart of ethnographic validity' discussed by Fetterman (1989, p. 89) where the researcher compares various sources of information to determine their quality, and allow the researcher to 'put the whole situation into perspective' (Fetterman, 1989, p. 89).

Time at the national and provincial archives, libraries, the immigration museum at Pier 21 and online navigation of digital archives was dedicated to recovering sources of information that not only could support the oral histories of the participants, but also provide historical context of the settlement in Halifax and any specific spatial characteristics. The results of this research included the gathering of statistical records of demographics, birth and death certificates (of people who have passed away more than thirty years ago), pictures, newspaper articles and past community publications used to triangulate ethnographic data.

Media and New Media Sources

More recent traditional and media sources were additionally consulted as potential evidence of 'a more widely set of ideas and understandings' (Murchison, 2010, p. 164); the sentiments and relationships between members of the Greek community and the greater Halifax community discussed in interviews and observed at events, such as Greek Fest, were further investigated through the review of traditional editorials or online material in order to determine whether the perceived relationships discussed are supported by the greater community. 'Contemporary cultural

artefacts' such as newspapers are, according to Murchison (2010, p. 164), sources of comparison and possible corroboration of current ethnographic data.

The social media presence of the Halifax Greek community and Greek Fest were followed and read on an ongoing basis (official website, Facebook page and Twitter account), in a form of online detached participant observation or 'deskwork' rather than 'fieldwork,' where the data collection derives from websites rather than the field (Rutter & Smith, 2005, p. 84). There are two forms of data collection from social network sites, the duplication of relevant data directly from the website and the observations made by researchers about computer-mediated interactions on sites. For this study only the former was required since the objective was to determine how the community uses social network outlets to distribute information to the greater Halifax community. The sentiments and relationships are addressed with the use of editorials and blogs as discussed in the previous paragraph.

4.6. Analysis

All data was analysed thematically with the aid of the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo. Data analysis is an iterative and on-going process where the researcher revisits original questions and themes based on the patterns emerging from the data collected, interpreting their meaning and organizing and reorganizing the structure of the research (Fetterman, 1989, p. 88; Murchison, 2010, p. 175). The repetition and continuous nature makes it difficult to determine when one process begins and the other ends. This section illustrates what data is analysed, the process of analysis and a discussion on the use of NVivo in the analytical approach.

Data for Analysis

The data analysed included field notes collected during fieldwork and the transcriptions of all the interviews. As indicated in the first section of this chapter, the approach to note-taking was similar to that described by Bernard (2006, pp. 390-398), where I kept two different notebooks, one for keeping a log of activities and for jotting during fieldwork and interviews, and a second, personal diary, which was not referred to for analysis. The majority of interviews were recorded by audio, with the exception of three participants who expressed some discomfort over the idea of an audio recording. In these three cases, the interviews were recorded on paper. The notebook was always present in order to make note of any emotions or other observations I was concerned would not translate on audio. The jottings were revisited following the end of a fieldwork or interview session in order to expand these short notes into field notes proper. These notes were descriptive, analytical and reflected on methodology and provided the material that would undergo the process of analysis discussed in the following sub-section.

Process

The ethnographic research commenced with a set of central research questions developed from an initial idea and following an extensive literature review. The analytical process began at the early

stages of fieldwork and continued throughout until the completion of the final written draft. As I completed more and more interviews for instance, patterns and inconsistencies became clearer or easier to identify since the completion of each interview further informed subsequent interviews (Small, 2009, pp. 24-25) and narrowed the research focus. Following the completion of fieldwork and data collection, and the establishment of an analytical framework there was nevertheless an extended period of time dedicated to extensive analysis before the more organized writing of the thesis from the research data (Murchison, 2010, pp. 174-175).

NVivo is a qualitative and mixed method data analysis software package that, according to its developer, QSR International, can assist in the collection, organization and analysis of data (QSR International, 2012). With every upgrade, the software has incorporated the ability to support diverse sources of data and go beyond 'straight forward analysis' (Lewis, 2004, p. 461), yet for the purposes of this study it served an administrative role, organizing and managing the large amounts of unstructured data.

Welsh (2002, p. 3) highlights that there is a common presumption that NVivo is rooted in grounded theory, where themes are developed during data collection (Fielding, 2008, p. 276). The software design, she continues, does support the process of grounded theory, but is applicable for use in research with predetermined research objectives as was the case for this study. Following the input of the interview transcriptions and field notes into the program and an initial reading for a general synopsis of what material was available, I created thematic charts, each representing the broad themes of the original questions. I then coded the contents, 'tagging' key words that were then placed into the relevant thematic charts and organized into sub-topics. The original themes included; *migration, economic mobility, identity and continuity*, and *social networks*. Key words that were tagged for the migration chart, for instance, included *home, dowry, family, job, opportunity, sponsor, marriage, engaged, ship, travel,* and *immigration*. For economic mobility, they included *community, opportunity, women, education, school, language, business* and *partners*. Sub-topics that developed within the economic mobility theme, for instance, were *female agency and role in family business* and *value of education*, to reflect the themes and outcomes of participant interview experiences. These charts allowed for a transparent count of who said what and when, which adds rigor to the qualitative data (Welsh, 2002; Murchison, 2010, p. 180).

The organization of data into thematic charts was the first phase of pattern or theme development however; the original source, which could be identified within the charts, was always revisited for context and thus verification. Admittedly, the 'making sense of themes' (Welsh, 2002) was a more manual process, where after organizing and reviewing the participants' words, it was my responsibility to look beyond the words and explore the social context and answering the 'big picture questions' (Murchison, 2010, p. 176).

Reflection within Analysis

The conscious attempt to understand how background and experience affect analysis in addition to design (Brewer, 2000, p. 131), highlighted in the critique section of this chapter, led to an additional section with details of my background, which not only triggered the motivation to conduct this study, but determined the analytical approach. In the following chapters, however, discussion of subjectivity and my presence is limited to where relevant, an attempt to follow Wolcott's (2009, p. 31) suggestion to 'be factual in what you report; save the controversial or contestable for your interpretative comments.'

4.7. Ethics

Ethnographic research requires certain ethical considerations by the researcher with respect to their conduct during fieldwork, their execution of research methods and towards the participants. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, p. 211) determined that the main concerns in fieldwork that must be tackled in order to conduct ethical research are competency, informed consent, protection of confidentiality, relationship maintenance and ethical publication.

4.7.1. Competency

Before entering fieldwork, the researcher must have the research training and skills to conduct the study in order to yield a given objective. The training and skills obtained by the researcher prior to fieldwork must enable entry into the field and the development of relationships with participants where the researcher is conscientious and aware of their limitations and the needs of the participants. The review of previous research material of a given or similar social group, and familiarity with the code of ethics of their establishment is therefore important (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, pp. 212-213).

Ethical considerations in fieldwork were required and essential modules within the undergraduate course in Anthropology, which I have completed, followed by applied and more extensive fieldwork experience during my graduate degree. The literature review also identified the experiences and approaches of researchers who conducted similar studies, which were carefully reviewed in order to identify possible social concerns relevant to my own fieldwork. In addition, two scholars who had conducted research within the Halifax Greek community for larger, comparative projects were contacted to discuss their own experiences when conducting research. Moreover, the required postgraduate training modules at Kingston University included the completion of an ethics module where greater ethical debates were reviewed as per the official code of ethics of the university to ensure that research design would be in accordance to these codes.

4.7.2. Informed Consent

Data collection in any form must ensure that participants are always treated with respect. As DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, p. 215) reiterate, participants should have control over what will or will

not happen to them and therefore must be aware that they are the subject of a study, but also know that they can choose to refuse participation in discussion that may be uncomfortable to them in some way.

An information document about the study and a consent form in both English and Greek were created to provide a concise and clear description of the research and process, indicating the rights of the participants to decline comment or stop participation during the in depth interviews. Participants were encouraged to ask questions for further clarification and take time to consider the requirements of this study before agreeing to continue. There were few occasions when upon explaining the study further, possible interview candidates declined to participate, for a range of reasons, which was fully respected by no more requests.

Participant observation is more problematic with respect to consent. This is because the researcher is participating along with the community members in activities or just 'hanging out' (DeWalt, DeWalt, & Wayland, 1998, p. 273). The community members may not realize that the researcher is in fact recording this work for research. This, DeWalt, DeWalt and Mayland (1998, p. 273) argue is irrespective of whether community members are actually informed that the person is in fact a researcher and will record these activities for a subsequent report, which suggests that the informal conversations with the researcher may not be regarded by the members as information that should, in their view, be published.

There is extensive literature on how acquiring informed consent from all the people that are observed in public is impractical and at times unrealistic (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 215; Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013, pp. 101-102, 331). Nevertheless, at events that I attended or volunteered, I tried to make my position known whenever possible and had previously contacted a number of participants who were hence already aware of my presence and research at these events. Furthermore, I have made conscious decisions throughout my research over what to report that would neither harm the participants nor jeopardize the quality or objectives of the study.

4.7.3. Confidentiality

The anonymity of individuals and communities can provide a certain degree of protection since their identity is essentially only revealed to the researcher. In participant observation, where casual interactions may include information that the participants do not realize or forget are documented, this anonymity could protect them from any perceived social repercussions. In cases where researchers investigate issues that are legally sensitive, anonymity within even the field notes could protect the identity of their participants. Access to information in the current media age has affected the degree of anonymity, which makes the process somewhat more difficult (DeWalt, DeWalt, & Wayland, 1998, pp. 273-274).

In this study, the community as a whole is not anonymous since its spatiality is a significant theme. The participants, nevertheless, were guaranteed anonymity in their informed consent and any

casual interactions included in the analysis refrained from the use of names or distinct characteristics. It should be noted that initial contact with participants in the pilot study indicated that the participants did not wish to remain anonymous. Nevertheless, ethical responsibility necessitated that this remain an option for the participants of the study. During the sampling process, some participants did request anonymity and therefore anonymity was granted to all participants as a whole. The small size of the community may facilitate in determining the identity of other participants from members of the community who know them personally, although efforts have been made to minimize this possibility.

With respect to the study of Internet blogs and social network sites where computer-mediated-communication occurs, what can be classified as public and what as private is a main ethical debate (Kozinets, 2006, p. 134). The Facebook Page and Twitter account of the Greek Festival, for instance, was observed and membership or access is open to anyone who has an Email address, as are the blogs analysed for this study. Therefore, one can deduce that this information is public. Nevertheless, a researcher must be considerate and respectful of people's opinions and views and not manipulate this power to distort facts (Kozinets, 2006, p. 135). For this study, the computer-mediated communication aspect of these sites is not what is reviewed but rather the layout and information provided about the events and all efforts are made to be respectful of the message and opinions of the Internet bloggers.

4.7.4. Relationship Maintenance

When conducting participant observation, DeWalt, DeWalt and Wayland (1998, p. 274) argue that researchers 'need to be aware of the implications of relationships and obligations they incur in the field.' The development of relationships is important for the researcher when their task is to understand the daily lives of a social group, yet there is a decision to be made about the roles the researcher wishes to take in order to develop these relationships since ultimately, their time with the social group is likely to end. Furthermore, the researcher must consider that their participation may require limits especially when participation involves illegal or dangerous activity. Researchers must also decide whether they should intervene when witnesses of activities they perceive require intervention but that the social group in question may not. These considerations are highly dependable on the nature and conditions of the study and the background of the researcher.

For this study, my time with the community was in short intervals, which did enable the development of relationships, but the temporality of the situation was not easily forgotten. Moreover, the activities recorded were socially accepted by mainstream society and legal, while I share similar cultural attributes with the community and therefore did not find myself in a situation where my perceptions required the negotiation of an intervention.

4.7.5. Ethical Publication

When work is published in any form, this information is public and can in theory be used for a different purpose than the one intended by the researcher. The colonial ties to ethnography for instance, are a continuous reminder of how such research can affect the perceptions of social groups at times in harmful ways. The ethical obligations for beneficence, 'to maximize benefit and minimize harm' (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013, p. 318); justice, 'to treat each person with what is morally right and give them what is due to them,' (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013, p. 318) which can indicate that participation is not beneficial to them; and respect for the autonomy of the participants, but also the provision of protection in situations where their autonomy is 'diminished or impaired' (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013, p. 317) are obligations that have been applied in all stages of the study in order to produce a positive contribution to knowledge.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter has argued for the suitability of the ethnographic approach adopted in the study. I have described in some detail the way in which I engaged with the people who participated in this study. The following chapters will outline the research and my understanding of the participants' experiences and lives. While I make no claim to know the full extent of their social interactions or ways of living, by describing a number of significant aspects of their lives, I show awareness about 'who' they are. Throughout the chapters that follow, I bring together information obtained from participant observation, interviewing, historical and contemporary documents and resources. In a straightforward manner, I report directly on the information obtained from these methods with descriptive accounts, augmenting these descriptions with my interpretations and relevance to my research questions. My focus is located within a diverse body of literature reviewed in chapter two and within the historical and geographical context of chapter three. Reference to this literature in the following chapters is continuous, but directly addressed nevertheless, in the analysis and discussion chapter.

5. Arrival

> ***"I'm telling you all this now, and I know it happened to me, but it now feels like it was all a dream...but it wasn't"*** - Nicole P., female migrant, arrived 1958 at age ten).

5.1. Introduction

The arrival in Canada marked an important turning point in the life of every immigrant. Whether the person realized it at the time, their decision would be life altering. Moreover, on multiple occasions it would lead to the settlement and subsequent foundation of communities such as the community examined in this study. This chapter marks the beginning of the narrative for the women of the Halifax Greek community through the first-hand accounts or, '"lived experience" of the migration process' (Tastsoglou, 1997a, p. 119). Participants who immigrated are asked to recollect the events and conditions that led to the decision to migrate to Halifax, the preparation for the journey, the journey and their first impressions of their new home. Their accounts are presented in 'generations,' the format followed by Tastsoglou (1997a), although for this study the generations are divided differently, to correspond to the sparse pre-World War II migrants, the labour migration by sea of the 1950s and 1960s, the 1970s migration following the closure of Pier 21 in Halifax, and the non-labour migration of the 1990s.

5.2. Pre-World War II

Attempts to obtain accounts of arrival prior to World War II (WWII), particularly of women, were rather difficult. In addition to the number of female migrants being comparatively fewer in numbers than subsequent waves of migration, the majority (if not all) of these immigrants, the 'old Greeks' as they were called by the post-World War II immigrants, are no longer living. Thomas (1988; 2000), whose research began in the 1980s, was able to interview or survey immigrants of this generation, although the story of only one male migrant from Halifax is developed in her work (Thomas, 2000, p. 42); her research was in Nova Scotia, not only Halifax and included mainly survey work (Thomas, 1988). The chapter therefore begins with an exception in that the pre-WWII account is second-hand, from a first generation Greek Canadian, daughter of immigrants, familiar with her family's story.

Persephone R.[10] was born and raised in Halifax by parents who migrated to Halifax. Her father was born in Istanbul, but was originally from the city of Caesaria or Kayseri in the province of Anatolia, Asia Minor, now modern day Turkey. His older brother first left Turkey in the early twentieth century, prior to the population exchange (around 1906) venturing beyond Greece to

[10] Thomas (2000) had also interviewed Persephone R. (pseudonym) in her book, where we can find some slight overlap in background information.

North America[11]. It is uncertain whether Persephone R.'s father left with him or decided to follow some time later, but he reached Halifax in 1922 where his brother had settled in around 1913. Together, they ran a candy making shop and then a restaurant. Their eldest brother would later also join them. Persephone R.'s father, however, decided to travel to Athens where he remained for some time and married her mother, whose family, originally from Istanbul, resided in Athens. He then returned to Halifax in 1932, this time with his wife where they stayed permanently, while both his brothers eventually moved to Greece. Persephone R. is unsure as to why her uncle and father chose to settle in Halifax and can only speculate based on what she has heard served as a possible motivator to remain in Halifax during that time,

> Persephone R.: *They were making train tracks here. I know people who worked on those...they came to work on those.*[12]

Although her uncle and father did not work on the train tracks but opened a business, her assumption was that with the addition of railway tracks and a station (and the new shipping terminal), Halifax, and particularly the area near the station and terminal would become busy. This would lead to an increased demand for services and thus, the presence of business opportunities. The choice to settle in Halifax and open a candy making shop was perhaps the result of her uncle noticing potential in the city, and her father likely wanted to support and join him in his success.

> Persephone R.: *I feel bad because people ask why he chose Halifax and these are the questions that I should have asked but we didn't ask these things back then.*

Persephone R.'s mother, Dora, was raised in Athens, where she met Persephone R.'s father during his time there. In Athens, her father stayed with his aunt, who arranged for a meeting with her neighbours', Dora's family, with the intention to find a bride for her nephew. Although the plan was to make the introduction for the second oldest daughter, Persephone R.'s father showed interest in the eldest daughter, Dora, whom he chose to marry and who accompanied him to Halifax. They travelled to Canada by ship. According to the passenger list, the only immigration

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[11] There is some inconsistency in the records with respect to dates and routes. The participant is uncertain of the exact years of her uncle's and father's settlement. Community records (1984) indicate that original settlement of the older brother was in Prince Edward Island in 1907 before coming to Halifax in 1913. His Ellis Island entry record (ship manifest) on May 10 of 1913 from Patra, Greece, indicates he had previously come to North America, (possibly through Halifax) in 1906 (Ellis Island), which is not too far from the community records of 1907. Thomas (2000, p. 40), however, suggests that both brothers spent time in Greece and Syracuse, NY from 1912 to 1920, when they moved to Halifax, NS. The participant also recalls being told that her father spent some time in Syracuse, NY. An Ellis Island, 1922 ship manifest (Ellis Island) indicates that her father was headed from Constantinople to Halifax, NS permanently to stay with his brother and that he had previously come to the United States in 1913, but it does not indicate port of entry or previous address, and there are no other ship manifests that correspond to his name (or similar) and description. Hid death record (Nova Scotia Archives, 2012) suggests that he settled in Halifax in 1922 with no previous time spent in Canada. Therefore, we can deduce that the older brother arrived in North America around 1906 and in Halifax in 1913, while the younger brother joined him in Halifax in 1922 and may have spent some time in the United States prior to this.

[12] In 1913 work on the construction of a planned large shipping terminal (later Pier 21) and an attached railway began. The railway was completed in 1928 (Pier 21 in 1924). The project required labourers, while upon completion, it would remain busy for years to come with new immigrants, passengers and visitors (Taschereau, 1982).

record at the time, Persephone R.'s mother (her father likely travelled with her, but only immigrants were recorded), arrived in July 1932 with the Empress of Britain to Quebec City (National Archives of Canada, 2007) and likely made their way to Halifax by train; the ship did not stop in Halifax in the summer (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2012).

When discussing being raised in Halifax by immigrant parents and their everyday lives, Persephone R. believes that her mother must have had the hardest time adjusting to life in Halifax,

> Persephone R.: *So my mother, got married when she was twenty, came over here, she was educated, she came from a very nice family and she spoke Greek fluently, beautiful Greek, she spoke English, she spoke French...and so she comes, and lives upstairs (from the restaurant) and we just...it was hard...she had three men, to look out for, to wash, and iron and cook for, and we also cooked down here (at the restaurant) of course, but she never complained. She had a kitchen, with no sink; she used to do all the washing with the washboard in the bathtub. And she never complained, you know, 'cause my dad was such a nice man. My mother... was much more educated than my father. But she, you know, she raised a family, the three of us, my sister who's older, 16 months, me and my brother who's nine years younger than me, the three of us. Yeah, so .... when I think of it and my mother, the way that she was brought up and then coming here...she didn't have conveniences, not even the ones she had in Greece...but you know, in those days, "America"(gestures amazement) everything was "America"...she did it the hard way.*

Dora fits the profile of migrants who arrived in Canada in the early twentieth century that had acquired a certain degree of education and maintained a somewhat comfortable lifestyle back in Greece or Asia Minor. Furthermore, as Persephone continues, she confirms that her mother participated in the establishment of the Philoptochos association in Halifax and in activities and events of the community throughout her life. Persephone's reflection over the possible disappointment or hardships her mother may have endured, having suddenly forfeited the luxuries she had been accustomed for the mythical 'America' reflects why she regrets not discussing these experiences more with her parents. She would have liked, more than recording her family history, to have been able to support her parents with what she saw from new migrants, to be a difficult transition.

5.3. The 1950s and 1960s

5.3.1. The Decision

The female participants who embarked on the journey to Halifax during the 1950s and 1960s shared an underlying economic reason that led to their decision to emigrate from Greece. Interviews indicated that the reason for settlement in Halifax was usually the network of kin, family friends or acquaintances who originated from the same or neighbouring villages or towns in Greece

and that led to chain migration. The conditions and actors that facilitated or were responsible for this decision, however varied for each participant.

Vera T. arrived in November of 1953 at the age of 22 from the village of Xerokampi near the city of Sparta in the Peloponnese peninsula. Vera T.'s father had spent many years overseas before deciding to settle and start a family back in his village in Greece. He would tell his children of his travels and experiences that Vera T. and her siblings always thought were fairy tales,

> Vera T.: *My dad went to America. When he would tell us that the houses were made of wood, we would laugh and think it was just a story...that stairs were made of metal and some could get larger and smaller (escalators), we'd laugh...that they'd make compotes from berries and drink juice made from apples and tomatoes...all these things that I discovered to be true when I came here, yet my father with all that travelling, ended up back in Xerokampi where he didn't even have a stove in the house!*

The tales from America and the new world intrigued Vera T. and her siblings. Vera T.'s older sister was the first to leave Xerokampi and reach Halifax, sponsored a few years earlier as a domestic worker, by a Greek family, a common occurrence and preference of Greeks in Canada (Tastsoglou, 1997a), from Asia Minor (Turkey), who had settled in Halifax following the population exchange. She had been referred for sponsorship by another Greek immigrant living in Halifax from Vera T.'s village of Xerokampi that had maintained correspondence with Vera T.'s family. Vera T., who was also keen to leave the village, sent her sister a letter asking her if there was any way for her to come and join her. In order to be able to sponsor someone, however, Vera T.'s sister had to fill certain criteria,

> Vera T.: *My sister had to have money and a home to sponsor me, which she did not. Her boss's sister lived in Montreal, but was visiting at the time...When my sister read my letter her face changed and they (employers) asked her if everything was alright with her family in Greece...she told them all was fine, but that I wanted to come but she couldn't (afford to) bring me. The boss's sister immediately called her husband in Montreal, who agreed to sponsor me. They bought the ticket and before you knew it, a gust of wind blew and, I was over here! I stayed in Halifax for Christmas with my sister and was then sent to Montreal...Both my sister and I were eager to be together, but I needed to first work to pay off my ticket in Montreal before I could move back to Halifax to be with her.*

Vera T. had hoped that her new life would be with or near her sister, the only family she had in Canada. It was necessary, though to first repay her debt of her ticket, which was paid by her employers before she would consider leaving her employment.

Petra W. came to Halifax in 1959 from a seafront neighbourhood of the city of Kalamata in the Peloponnese peninsula at the age of 20. She too had a sister, who had reached Halifax before her, although the invitation was originally meant for her,

Petra W.: *We were three sisters and two brothers. My uncle (father's brother) lived in Halifax, married here and he corresponded with my father. I don't know who started this, but my father told us that my uncle had asked if any of us girls wanted to go to Canada and help him and his wife. My father asked me, but I said no; I didn't want to leave Greece, I had finished hair dressing (school) and I had just opened up a little shop in Kalamata, but my younger sister said she would go. So she went. About two years later, my father asked me if I wanted to go and "keep my sister company" because she was lonely or he was worried she was lonely, I don't remember exactly. I agreed. I felt that this was what my parents wanted...my father informed my uncle that I agreed and he sent me an invitation, he sponsored me...my brother and other sister also came a few years later, but I sponsored them...I also sponsored my fiancé.*

While at first hesitant, Petra W. explained that the reason her father, in particular, wanted them to go overseas was because supporting a large family was difficult,

Petra W.: *Well, they weren't easy times; we were five siblings and two older half sisters. That's a lot of mouths to feed... My parents wanted us to be well taken care of (comfortable)...not to worry...my mother tried to find someone for my sister to marry in Kalamata... she said my sister was her last chance to keep one of her children near her...but it did not work out and she came to Canada too. Only one brother remained in Greece, but he moved to Athens.*

Both Vera T. and Petra W. did not at first outright discuss dowry, but in Greece, a dowry was expected, if not a condition, from the family of the bride. The greater the dowry, the better the chances that a wealthy groom would be willing to marry the women and thus, the women would enter a family where they would be comfortable. Large families, particularly with many daughters, and the difficult years experienced in Greece did not fare well for the prospects of the women for many families, which resulted in migration, with some women more willing than others. Petra W. was hesitant to leave because she had hoped that her training and new business could help her family financially, but after her sister had left, her father asking a second time suggested that perhaps the current input from herself and her siblings would not suffice.

Magda N., who arrived that same year from the village of Papari, near the city of Tripoli, also in the Peloponnese, was already married with a seven year old son when she reached Halifax. She was joining her husband, who had arrived a few months earlier to prepare for their arrival. To this day, Magda N. remains uncertain of their decision to move to Canada,

Magda N.: *We ran a small convenience store in the village and we were saving to buy a car, but we decided to (use the money to) come to Canada instead. My husband's brother said things were good here, so although I was hesitant at first, because... we weren't starving, we had a business, I agreed and we came with our son...we were actually making more money in Greece than what we did here the first few years.*

Rita R., on the other hand, was fulfilling a lifelong dream when she arrived in Halifax in 1967, a few months after her fiancé had immigrated to Canada,

> Rita R: *You know the saying? We really did believe that in Canada "the roads were paved with gold" and it had always been my dream to come here...Before I came to Canada, I had moved to Athens from my village and was working there when I met my husband. We got engaged soon after. One day I noticed some papers on his desk and asked what they were...an invitation from his older brother to come to Canada!! He'd had them for a while, but when I saw them I got excited and I showed it...I told him it was my dream...That's what convinced him to go through with the process for us to move here.*

Eliana H. moved to Halifax in 1968 to be with her husband. She had met her husband when he was visiting Greece from Halifax on an extended holiday. He had already settled in Halifax, established businesses with his brothers and was able to purchase his own home. His intention was always to return to Halifax, something he made clear to Eliana H. when they had first met,

> Eliana H.: *I knew that if I were to agree to marry him I would be moving to Canada, but I was okay with that because I didn't feel that the village life was for me, I felt that I would have been better at doing something else. The work in the village...the manual labour, agricultural work is difficult work that I felt I wasn't cut out for. My parents were not too happy with this, they only had one daughter (and two sons)...that was the hardest part, leaving them.*

Eliana H. and Rita R. were both eager to come to Canada, because both felt that their lives in Greece were not the ideal for them and that life in Canada had greater potential. For Rita R. it may have just been a personal dream, but Eliana H. had proof from her fiancé that an immigrant could go to Canada, build businesses and buy a home, a life far different from the life she had experienced thus far or expected to have if she stayed in the village. Magda N. on the other hand, was torn because she had been content with the life she had in her village and hence more apprehensive to change.

5.3.2. Preparation for the Journey

Figure 5: The *Queen Frederica*, of the Greek National American Line. From 1955 to 1967, it would leave Piraeus for North America, with a stop in Halifax, NS (Photographer Unknown. Ship image courtesy of Canada's Immigration Museum at Pier 21,2012).

The majority of immigrants that travelled to Halifax in the 1950s and 1960s arrived by ship. At Piraeus, the Athens seaport and port of departure for Greek immigrants, they would board the ships, on most occasions either the *Queen Frederica* or *Olympia* (depending on date of departure), and two or three weeks later would dock at Pier 21 in Halifax. Before they were allowed to travel, however, Greeks wishing to go abroad had to complete the necessary paperwork and pass a medical test to receive their travel documentation.

Aliki P. arrived in Halifax in 1961 from a village outside Corinth, sponsored by her late husband who was at the time her fiancé. She remembers the preparation process quite vividly,

> Aliki P.: *After my fiancé felt he had saved up enough money to ensure that I would be okay if I came to meet him in Halifax, he sent me the invitation. I was twenty years old and my parents took some convincing, they didn't want me to go, I was so young. But, I wanted to be with my Taki and they eventually agreed and the process began. I had to get a letter from the president of the village where I lived to take to Athens. When we arrived in Athens, I had to go for a medical check-up to make sure I was healthy. They were particularly concerned at that time of tuberculosis. Once that check-up was through, I had to go to the Canadian embassy where all documents were translated to English. My father had to accompany me as he had to sign that I had his consent to travel. The state did not allow single women below the age of 21 to leave the country on their own and I was only twenty. We had to state that I was engaged, after all it was my fiancé who was sponsoring me, and that we would get married within six weeks of my arrival to Canada. It is my understanding that in the past, there had been reports of young girls reaching Australia, and being taken advantage and so the state had passed a law to avoid such things happening to young girls reaching a new and strange land, no matter where this was. So, they put all the documents together, both the Greek and English translations that we were told to hold on to because we would need thrm on arrival to Canada.*

Although currently at 18 years of age, in 1961, the age of majority in Greece was 21 (The Law Reform Comission, 1977), which was the reason Aliki P.'s father was required to provide his signed consent in order for her to leave Greece. Though it is undetermined whether the protection of Greek women abroad affected this decision, the issue of perceived protection and general safety does not seem an unreasonable reason to support or maintain such laws, especially at a time of internal unrest and extensive travelling outside the country for labour. The legislation, however, was not bulletproof; a female participant confides that she immigrated to Halifax, sponsored by relatives, in the late 1950s at the age of 17 on her own. She was able to do this because she completed the paperwork back in Greece using an older sister's birth date and amended the 'clerical error' a few years later after she had settled in her new home.

Arguably, the age of majority of 21, did not inhibit migration or discriminate, but rather protect. A law that affected immigration in a more negative way and divided society in Greece, however, was one passed in 1948 and involved the issuing of the *Certificates of Social Conscience* or *ideals*. Police and military authorities in Greece were able to issue a certificate, which indicated, in addition to an individual's personal details, whether they were a communist or sympathetic to communist ideologies (Karafillis, 2008, p. 2). Such a 'label' would then inhibit the prospects of employment in the public sector and many private sector establishments, affect access to university education, the purchase of a car and the permission from the Greek state to emigrate. Furthermore, labelling was not an exact science; the actions of family members, friends, acquaintances and colleagues could all affect each person's perceived political affiliations. In addition, the system was corrupt, since government connections and bribery served as important forms of protection. Rita R. explains,

> Rita R.: *My husband, then fiancé, had received the invitation in advance but did not act upon it until I showed interest; he had a job and loved Greece. He did have other concerns too, however. A few years earlier he was caught up with the certificate of social conscience and because he supported the political left, he assumed there was no chance for him to make it...after I expressed my interest he tried and sent in his papers. He arrived in Halifax in 1966 and I followed.*

In 1964, the Prime Minister of Greece, George Papandreou, officially abolished the certificates as requirements. Other measures of political bias, nevertheless, were still in place and in 1967 the dictatorship reinstated the certificates (Karafillis, 2008, p. 4). Rita R.'s fiancé was able to leave for Halifax at a time when the certificates did not affect mobility. Had they waited some time, their story could have fared a different outcome.

5.3.3. On Board

When all the documents were completed, the women were officially ready to travel. For many, the journey is something they do not wish to talk about. The winter journeys, in particular, were attached to memories of high waves engulfing the ship, suitcases slamming into the cabin walls,

nausea and illness, the sadness of leaving home, and a great amount of waiting and worry for what they would encounter.

Rita R.: *When I got onto the ship, the Christopher Columbus, they called my name on the speakers and asked me to go to the office...I had no idea where that was, such a huge ship! I'd never seen one before. I asked around and eventually found it. They informed me that I didn't have the visa to enter Canada! So, I began to leave, get off the ship, without any of my things, but as I was leaving, two sailors stopped me, they didn't know and told me to go back inside. I went back to the office and they told me that if my visa didn't arrive by the time we reach Italy, they would leave me there, in Italy! So imagine a girl, who'd left her parents for the first time, travelling alone being told there's a chance I'd be left in Italy! What did I know to do in Italy? Thankfully, my visa arrived... we arrived on February 4th, but the night before we had such terrible weather, the suitcases slamming onto the walls and no one dared go upstairs because we were all sick...we were crossing ourselves and praying...one man said, "Lord if I get out, I'm going to kiss the ground." He did!* – **(Travelled in winter of 1967)**

Magda N: *I left January 1st with my seven year old son and travelled 18 days on the Olympia. In the heart of winter....storm after storm. My son was well but I fell ill...I was nauseous all the time...my son was caring for me, feeding me! I couldn't eat or sleep...It was so bad I remember people holding onto ropes to walk around the ship.* – **(Travelled in winter of 1959)**

Nicole P., born in the village of Skoutari near the fishing port of Gytheio in the Peloponnese, was ten years old when they shipped out of Piraeus with her mother and five year old sister in the spring of 1959. They were meeting their father who had left a few months earlier, sponsored by a distant cousin who resided in Halifax. Her memories remained intact and her account was perhaps the only positive one of the journey,

Nicole P.: *We were on Queen Frederica. It was a fun trip...so many things to do. My mother always had us by her side, but we sailed with a young girl, 18 years old, so full of life and it was fun...I remember the stops, oh yeah...Palermo, Italy, Barcelona and I remember going through Gibraltar...I really remember the rock, I can still see it in front of me...On the ship there was dancing. The ship was full of Greeks and Italians and they were dancing and dancing, it was fun!* – **(Travelled in spring of 1959)**

At ten years old, she had the curiosity and thirst for adventure of a child. Coupled perhaps with better conditions at sea in the spring allowed her not only to capture every moment of the journey, but also savour it.

5.3.4. Reaching Halifax: First impressions

Figure 6: Immigrants in Immigration Hall 7 at Pier 21 in May of 1963 (Elliot, 1963)

When reaching Pier 21, passengers could get a first look at Halifax and the people waiting for them from the deck of the ship before docking. Once off the ship, for those who would stay in Halifax, they had to go through customs before reuniting with loved ones or meeting relatives and sponsors for the first time. The first glance of Halifax, however, seemed rather disappointing for the passengers who had spent weeks on board and months of preparation building an image of their new home.

Magda N., who arrived in 'the heart of winter,' was flooded with emotions when she remembered that first sight of Halifax, her voice breaking,

> Magda N.: *The door opens and I don't see a single house...I see a mountain...a Colossus of white...snow everywhere, I couldn't see anything...my husband and his brother came to meet us, we took a picture by the statue near Pier 21 and then we headed home...we would stay with my husband's brother and his family.*

Petra W., who arrived a few months later, in April, after the snow had melted was also surprised with the weather in Halifax,

> Petra W.: *When I got out at Pier 21, my sister and uncle were there and when I got out, all I saw was black, darkness and I thought we were somewhere outside of Halifax, in the fields somewhere...So I asked my sister if the house was a long drive. "No," she replied,*

"we're nearly there"... "This is Halifax?" I thought...When we got to the house, too, I thought, okay, nice house, my uncle was comfortable, but this was no palace! I thought to myself, "What is this village?" My goodness!

Both Magda N. and Petra W. were rather reluctant and uncertain of their decision to move to Halifax, but even the young Nicole P., who so fondly remembered the journey to Halifax and Vera T., who had asked her sister to bring her over were disappointed,

Nicole P.: *It was so grey and cold! We arrived in May but we were dressed for Greek weather...with some ankle socks! My father came to get us...the only thing I was impressed with was those big trains...I wanted to get on them...but we didn't.*

Vera T.: *There was so much snow and we walked around the seafront. I asked, "Is this really a city?" They said yes, but I thought, "Oh God, I'm in a jungle!" I couldn't sleep that night, thinking about what I had left behind. My sister's boss offered me a cigarette to calm me down, but my sister stopped her. "Don't let her become like us," she said.*

Rita R. was perhaps the one most upset with her new home,

Rita R.: *I cried for years. It was not what I thought my dream would be. It took me five years to stop crying and I went back to visit Greece on the seventh year. When we returned to Halifax, I started my crying all over again. We almost decided to move back to Greece."*

While Halifax was not what the women had envisioned, their solace was that they did not have to go through it alone. Other Greeks would try to reassure them of this as soon as they arrived to Halifax.

Vera T. was greeted by her sister, her sister's boss, who she still refers to as 'aunt Milia,' and the Greek community's priest.

Vera T.: *As soon as I got off the boat I hear them call out my name. I was startled, thought I'd done something wrong, but it was my sister, she wanted me to see her and wanted to guide me so that I could come out of immigration first. I was introduced to everyone and shook hands with everyone, but my sister scolded me for not kissing the priest's hand. I didn't realize he was a priest, he was not wearing the gown, had no beard, just a collar.*

As the years went by, an increasing amount of Greeks would go to Pier 21 and greet the new immigrants, perhaps to ease the worries they too had felt when they made the trip. When Aliki P. arrived a few years later, she was greeted by her fiancé, his sister, two Greek neighbours that lived in the same apartment building and another friend who owned a car. Other Greeks were also present,

Aliki P.: *So I came with the boat, dressed like a Greek, open-toed shoes and white dress, as if I was going to Africa! I get here and it's raining, the rain you can't see and I'm shivering from the cold and the weariness. I was on deck trying to look out, you couldn't see much with the fog and I saw my Taki standing in the rain. Inside, my sister-in-law covered me in her coat and Taki went to get me coffee to warm up...I could see him putting milk in the coffee and I thought I was either delusional or he had gone mad. I asked another Greek lady who is now a friend who was there what he was doing and she reassured me that in Canada, they put milk in their coffee.*

Nicole P., whose mother had also found the transition to life in Halifax rather difficult explained how greeting people at Pier 21 was to support the new immigrants arriving, but was also something that helped the Greeks already there,

Nicole P.: *You know, every Greek would go down there and waited for the boats, whenever they could, to see if there were any Greeks on the boat, passing through (continuing to other cities) or staying. So each time there may have been a different group of us. We tried to help them with the little English we knew, whatever we could do to help, give them some guidance...See, my mother didn't like it here at first and really wanted to just make enough money for the tickets to go back to Greece....but when she started getting involved with the community and going to meet people on the boats, it was better, she loved going down there...my mother would act as an interpreter and she hardly spoke any English!... (It was a way) Just to reassure them, give them some support, maybe get a taste of home too.*

The presence of volunteers and associations at Pier 21 was a documented (Pier 21, 1978; Duivenvoorden Mitic & LeBlanc, 1988) reality soon after it had opened. The female migrants did not necessarily organize themselves into volunteer groups or associations, but rather ventured to Pier 21, when able, because they too had wished or appreciated a familiar face and they missed home. For those whose final destination was Halifax, the presence of other Greek migrants at Pier 21 was the first contact with the Halifax Greek community and a point of entry into the social and economic networks of the community beyond the original sponsor.

5.4. The 1970s

Greece continued to face political and economic unrest in the 1970s, while Canada maintained its status as a main destination for migration, embracing, more inclusive migration, multicultural policies and programmes (Hoerder, 1999, p. 293). Following the closure of Pier 21 and the transition to air travel, Halifax no longer was a point of entry for immigrants that would continue on their journey. Immigrants did continue to settle in Halifax, including Greek female migrants, although in fewer numbers. The underlying reasons remained economic, although kin chain migration was not the only form of migration that occurred; settlement in Halifax as a result of career development was a new form of migration, which occurred in the 1970s.

5.4.1. The Decision

Gina U. moved to Halifax in 1972 after meeting her husband in Greece. He had family that had previously settled in Halifax. When they got engaged, they had agreed to move to Canada for a few years to work and save some money before they returned to Greece.

> Gina U.: *I left Athens in 1972 at the age of 16. We got engaged and then left for Canada... Pier 21 had closed by then...and, yet, I still came here! We landed in Montreal first, where we got married...My husband's family was in Halifax, but the extended family was in Montreal and that's why we had the wedding there, more convenient for more people...then we came to Halifax.*

Ekali K. came to Canada in 1973 from Korinthia at the age of 18. She considers herself one of the last immigrants of the wave of labour migration of post-civil war Greece,

> Ekali K.: *I met my husband while he was on holiday in Greece. He already lived and ran a family business in Halifax. We got married and I came here...I am one of the last ones of that wave...after us came women who were educated, came for business, for other reasons, you understand...* "

Ekali K. was making reference to the fact that the Greek immigrants arriving in the 1970s were not just the result of kin chain migration; their choice to settle in Halifax was sometimes in favour of career development.

Mina S., from Nicosia, Cyprus, moved to Halifax with her husband in 1971 and was perhaps one of the first immigrants who represented this new wave. Mina S. had first travelled to the United Kingdom for undergraduate studies where she met and married her husband. They then moved to Toronto where her husband was accepted to complete a doctorate before finally settling in Halifax after her husband had accepted a lecturer position at a Halifax university. By then, Mina S. had also completed an education degree and pursued teaching in Halifax. There was no other connection to Halifax for the young couple, aside from an employment opportunity. The decision to relocate to Halifax was, as all previous decisions, to support career development, for her husband and herself,

> Mina S.: *We didn't know anybody there, we didn't really know much about the Greek community there until a few years later after our children started growing up...My husband was offered a good job, we discussed it, I could also eventually find a job there, so we made the decision to move.*

Because of the opportunities for both Mina S. and her husband, whose career required some particular labour navigation, Halifax became their home. A few years later, in line with kin chain migration and network theory, Mina's brother and sister would join her in Halifax.

5.4.2. Reaching Halifax: First Impressions

While it is unclear whether the length of time for acquiring all required documentation for emigration for women in the 1970s was comparable to previous decades, it is certain that the journey itself, now by air was considerably shorter as was the focus of the women in their interviews on these events. They also gave favourable accounts of their first impressions of Halifax and indicated that they had been more excited about their new home than their predecessors.

Ekali K. had never flown before her flight to Halifax,

> Ekali K.: *I was raised near water and I think it was good that we came near the sea...I don't think I would have liked to have settled somewhere further inland... (it was) my first flight, a fantastic experience and when we arrived it was October. The leaves were changing, something we don't see in Greece...the change of colours, the leaves falling onto the wooden houses...It was a great first impression.*

Gina U. who was raised in Athens, had flown into Montreal and spent a few weeks there before reaching Halifax, but her first impressions of Halifax were also positive,

> Gina U.: *I really liked it. I came in August and everything was green...I saw big trees, you never had to walk in the sun...I really liked it because it wasn't too hot, we would go out quite frequently, I was never alone and I did not start working right away, so it was a good first taste of Halifax.*

Mina S. was the exception with respect to travel since, by then somewhat accustomed to travelling to new places, having moved from Cyprus to London and Leicester in the United Kingdom, Toronto, and finally Halifax. The impressions of Halifax for Mina S. and her husband was that it was a quiet city with polite and approachable people, a place that suited their tastes and criteria for their ideal place to live.

5.5. The 1990s

By the mid-1980s, migration from Greece to Canada had fallen dramatically, reflecting the more favourable conditions in Greece. Greek immigrants after this period were primarily in the form of students in tertiary education, some of who would choose to remain in Canada. Participants in Halifax mentioned a number of students that had come to Canada from Greece and Cyprus through the years to study at the universities in Halifax and the surrounding areas, although most returned to Greece or Cyprus, following the completion of their studies. Community records (Yearbook, 1984) refer to Greek student associations at Halifax universities, whose members were also active within the community. A second reason for immigration to Halifax was the result of career

opportunities in fields such as academia[13]. The new career-directed mobility did not only generate emigration from Greece proper, but also introduced other Greeks or Greek Canadians from other cities and communities in Canada. Nefeli P., a first generation Greek Canadian raised in Toronto, for instance, came to Halifax after her husband, also a first generation Greek Canadian, was offered a position at one of the universities in Halifax.

Two participants, Natalia S. and Chryso M., however, came to Halifax in the 1990s for reasons that did not fit this new norm; Natalia's story was somewhat reminiscent of the past, while Chryso reached Halifax as a result of extensive planning and decision making with her husband for an ideal place to raise their family.

Natalia S. is from the village of Tolofona, near Delphi and met her husband in the summer of 1991 when he was visiting from Halifax. He had immigrated to Halifax years earlier with his family, when he was eleven years old. Natalia S. worked in Athens at the time, but was also on holidays, visiting her family home in the village when they met.

> Natalia S.: *In the beginning it was very difficult to make the decision, to come here (Halifax), a new unknown place, no people I knew...life in Greece...we were four sisters so you're used to people and a lot of company...but when we came as newlyweds, I had already met our koumparous, the people who were best man and maid of honour at our wedding and so I knew them and we became good friends when I moved to Halifax...very good friends.*

Chryso M. was born in Toronto, but her family moved back to Greece when she was very young and was therefore raised mostly in Greece. Her husband's job relocated them to Saudi Arabia for some time, but, this was a temporary post, and they eventually had to return to Greece or find another permanent residence.

> Chryso M.: *We moved there (Saudi Arabia) for ten years, but when the kids started growing up, we had to pick where to permanently settle. My parents moved back to Toronto and my husband's parents moved back to the United States – my husband had lived there when he was younger ...but we didn't like it there and suddenly we had no immediate family in Greece. So we said Canada...but I didn't like Toronto as a city, I thought it was too crowded and chaotic and we both got used to our independence from our parents...we took out a map and searched for a small community, with a safe downtown and good universities...I also asked to be by the sea, my only personal request...between Vancouver and Halifax, we thought Vancouver was too far from Europe and so we drove up to Halifax from my in-laws in the US as a family...we fell in love with*

[13] During my research, I discovered that there were at least four academics from Greece working at universities in around Halifax, two of which I had the opportunity to meet. All had come to Halifax for career purposes.

Halifax, didn't care about anything else, fell in love with the people, the place and we moved here in November of 1996, first me and my children, then my husband.

Chryso M. introduces a whole new wave of migration, one of personal choice, during a time where economic conditions are positive and therefore do not direct decisions of well-being. Her migration story differs from the majority in a community built through labour migration, yet the decision to settle in Halifax was still the result of what they perceived would be ideal for the family, a common element with her predecessors.

5.5.1. First impressions of Halifax

For Natalia S. and Chryso M., their impressions of Halifax were focused less on the landscape and climate of the city, particularly for Chryso M., since this was already a consideration in their choice to move there, but rather on the people they encountered and how easy it was for them to feel at home,

Natalia S.: *We came as newlyweds in 1992, but I had already met the couple who stood by us at our wedding in Greece as maid of honour and best man that lived in Halifax. So, when I came here, it's not like I didn't know anyone... (I was) with my husband and my maid of honour who was like me, liked to talk, socialize, get involved, so it was good support for the change...I'm used to it (Halifax), I got used to it right away...I like the sea...okay it gets cold, but..."*

Chryso M.: *When I came here, I came here on my own with the kids. My husband was working in Germany and he came later...but because it was Halifax and the Halifax people, I felt at home right away. Their hospitality was...our real estate agent was the first person I met when I got here. My husband had sent him a fax asking him if he could collect us from the airport because we had no one in Halifax. He picked us up, took us to the apartment he had rented for us and he became my right hand, my father, my brother, until he died last year.*

5.6. Conclusion

The accounts of the 'lived experience' of the migration process indicated varying emotions with respect to the decision to migrate, affected by the personal consequences of each immigrant. In the 1930s, it is unknown if Dora supported her husband's decision to settle in Halifax or if she was given any choice; her daughter can only attest that however difficult the conditions in Halifax were, her mother never complained. Whether her family was aware of the difficult conditions in Halifax before Dora married and whether this knowledge would alter their decision are also unknown. In post-WWII migration, we see that the decision to migrate was because Petra W. respected her father's request, understanding the difficulties of supporting a large family and Magda N. supported her husband's choice, although still unsure of their decision. Rita R. and Vera T. dreamt of travelling and living abroad and Eliana H. wanted something different than the life in the village.

For Aliki P., Ekali K., Gina U. and Natalia S., who travelled years apart, migration was necessary in order to start their lives with their partners. Mina S. and Chryso M. made the decision *with* their partners to support their career development and to provide a good permanent home for their family respectively. The physical journey to Canada decreased in significance as a life experience, much like sea travel. This was possibly facilitated by increased familiarity of the process by later Greek immigrants and some knowledge of English that may have enabled greater confidence when travelling. Moreover, the paperwork and flights in more recent years require considerably less time and waiting. The first impressions of Halifax also changed, reflecting perhaps a changed Halifax or a Greek society again more familiar with the North American reality.

Following their arrival in Halifax, the Greek immigrant women had to now make Halifax their new home, meet new acquaintances, develop new social networks and build a life for them and their families in a new place. Their social networks and those of subsequent generations of Greek Canadian women are examined in the next chapter.

6. Social Networks

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the many and dynamic social networks of the female members of the Greek community. As members of a diasporic community, there is a presumption of connections with Greece and Greek society while residing in Canada, which is explored by the examination of relationships within the community, other Greek ethnic communities and Greek society itself. At the same time, residence in Halifax suggests attachment to the places, people and networks of the city. Hence, the development, evolution and negotiation of the significance of these networks over time of the female migrants and the generations of Greek Canadian women of Halifax are the research focus of this chapter.

6.2. Pre-World War II: The First Greeks of Halifax

Early 20th century Greek settlement in Halifax, as determined in the preceding *History* and *Arrivals* chapters, was significantly lower in numbers than the years that followed WWII. Furthermore, the male migrant pioneer settlers of this time would also be the first to initiate kin networks of migration, which would remain a major contributor to Greek settlement in Halifax of the next waves of migration. Records of the first settlers indicate that family members were quick to follow; as was the case with Persephone R.'s father whose brother had settled before him, the Melitides brothers who arrived in 1908 and 1909[14], the Petropolis three brothers, two who arrived in 1910 and one in 1912[15], and Mr. Poulos who came in 1912 to work with his in-laws, the Petropolis family (Vlassis, 1953, p. 128; Thomas, 2000, p. 40). While not all family members chose to stay in Halifax, those who did, the 'first families' (Thomas, 2000, p. 40), began to gradually establish themselves in Halifax. The Greeks soon got acquainted with each other, built friendships and business partnerships and the arrangement of nuptials between the members of these families followed. The marriage of the grandparents of Costas W., a second generation Greek Canadian born in the 1940s in Halifax, for instance, was an example of such nuptials; as Costas W. recounts, his grandfather arrived in Halifax after having worked on the Panama Canal for some time. He began working for another pioneer Greek settler and they soon became business partners and presumably friends. When Costas W.'s grandfather decided he wanted to marry, his business partner suggested his sister in Greece. When his sister arrived, they married and lived the rest of their lives in Halifax. These initial connections became the foundations of the Greek community of Halifax and developed into networks of migration to the city.

[14] The death certificates of both Melitides brothers include length of time in province (Nova Scotia Archives, 2012), which corresponds to years of arrival as those identified by Vlassis (1953, p. 128) and Thomas (2000, p. 40), although the brothers likely spent some time in New York since their Ellis Island entry records dates to 1906 (Ellis Island) and 1907 (Ellis Island).

[15] The death certificate of the Petropoulos brother who arrived in Halifax in 1912 suggests that the year of arrival to Halifax was 1912 (Nova Scotia Archives, 2012), while an Ellis Island ship manifest indicates re-entry of one of the first two brothers into New Brunswick in 1910 (Ellis Island), which confirms accounts that the Petropoulos brothers entered Canada by way of New Brunswick and eventually settled in Halifax.

Persephone R., born in the 1930s was the only female participant, who experienced both the pre-WWII and immigrant influx Halifax Greek Community. Costas W., a second generation Greek Canadian, was originally approached for an interview because of his comprehensive knowledge of the history of the community, acquired through extensive research and personal experience and participation. However, born in the early 1940s, his experiences, while not from a female perspective were also explored.

> Costas W.: *The community was a large part of my childhood. I am still friends with many of the people I've known from my childhood, whoever is still around (some have left Halifax, some have passed away). We were not many, but we were very close. It was a close knit community. I remember always spending time with the community on their days off, on the weekend...that we would all go on day trips, on Sundays, when the weather was nice on a piece of property that one of the Greeks owned...and I remember New Year's Eve, everyone would come to our house, well, the adults and then me. Everyone from the community was there, we fit in our living room.*

Persephone R. also remembers the very small community with few Greek families,

> Persephone R.: *You know...we didn't really have any Greek friends back then, there was hardly anybody (Greek) when we were growing up. We had one family, down here. He was Greek. Real Cretan he was...and he had three kids and she (wife) was English, they didn't know any Greek, but my mother and she and her children, we used to go down to the park, in front of the hotel and they all used to say...that we would get married, with one of them...I still see him around in Halifax...*

In search for a permanent space to claim as their own, the Greek community officially purchased St. Luke's Anglican Church in 1934 and converted it into a Greek Orthodox Church and community hall where they could practice their religion, host events and socialize with other co-ethnics. Furthermore, the children were able to attend Greek language school, run by the church priest. Persephone R. and Costas W., who have been friends since that time, remember spending much of their time at the hall and attending school,

> Costas W.: *We would all go...and what I realized was quite significant is that the school was always boys and girls, not separation or segregation. That wasn't always the case for communities at the time.*

6.2.1. Relations with the Halifax Community

The first Greeks of Halifax may have enjoyed spending as much time with other co-ethnics as possible, yet the small size of the community, the necessity to work and the affinity to the services sector suggest that interaction and communication with members of the greater Halifax community were quite regular. In most cases, men, women, and, quite often, children worked and interacted with other Haligonians at their business establishments, which included restaurants, food markets

and cafeterias. For women, (both mothers and daughters) the time spent at the family business may have been less, as they were also expected to run the household and care for the rest of the family.

> Persephone R.: *To go upstairs (from the store to the house), it was 28 steps, I used to scrub them down every Saturday, so I remember, that was my job...my mother, she worked at the restaurant but not a lot 'cause she had all the preparation to do, you know she had the cleaning, everything to do upstairs for the rest of us, for my uncles and my father.*

As children, Persephone R. and Costas W. interacted daily with non-Greeks at school. Neither is able to recall a time where they were treated badly due to their background, yet Persephone R. admits that there was a sense of shame or hesitation with revealing her Greek origin,

> Persephone R.: *At school there wasn't this...the bullying. I never heard of it then, when I was growing up. There was for later generations...One thing I must tell you (though) is that when I was going to school, I was ashamed to say that I was Greek. I'll never forget that, never. I don't know, I was always ashamed, until I grew up because in those days, I don't know, it just, it wasn't like it is now, you know the multicultural people, they stand out and they stand up for their rights. I mean I was proud, but I didn't like to let other people know I was Greek. I'll always remember that, until I grew up, until I was maybe about at Grade 10 or 11 (16-17 years old) you know, but all those years, from Grade 2 right up to high school, I don't know.*

With both official immigration policies and the general Canadian public sharing the notion that certain people originated from 'less preferred' countries, it is likely that there was little room for any display of national pride, at least in shared public spaces where Greeks and other such nationalities were underrepresented. As with the common practice of anglicising first and last names, the goal for that time was to assimilate; Greek pride was reserved for inside the home, and at the hall and church of the Greek community.

Participant accounts indicate that, in addition to the use of their newly established ethnic networks in Halifax discussed previously, it was not uncommon for the unwed pioneer male migrants to use their extended family networks in the homeland or other communities in Canada and the United States where they may have stayed before, to find a spouse. This practice was extended by some for their children, when it was their children's turn to marry. Romantic relations, courtship and marriage to non-Greeks, nevertheless, was met with little protest in comparison to later years, due to the small size of the community. This was especially the case when the spouse the Greek selected, maintained a favourable reputation and social status.

Nasia P., who arrived with the post-war influx of migrants in 1963, knew of a relative that she had heard settled in Halifax, and who she tried to contact,

> Nasia P.: *When I settled in Halifax, I looked for a distant uncle that I had here. As far as I knew he lived in Halifax still. I found his family, he had married a Canadian lady and had*

a family....quite a few men did that at the beginning...there were not many Greeks here so you would either stay single, have 'someone to take care of you' or marry a non-Greek.

Vera T., who was sponsored as a domestic worker was also able to elaborate somewhat on the family's background and explain why her boss, one of three sisters, relocated from Halifax to Montreal,

Vera T.: *...the girls came over with their family (parents) when kicked out by the Turks in Asia Minor, but there were no grooms for the girls (in Halifax), so they married my boss to a man in Montreal from Cephalonia.*

Petra W., who also arrived with the post-war influx, recalls that certain families were quite firm on marrying Greek; she amusingly remarks,

Petra W.: *Even though they were here for years, they married Greek...they would go to the ships, look for Greeks, and keep them here so they could marry their daughters.*

While, some of the earliest accounts of Greek settlers in Canada were sailors who had technically abandoned ship in search for adventure and opportunity in a new land, Petra W.'s statement is an exaggerated account of the real events. Costas W. explains that the Greek community would often host parties and dinners when a Greek navy fleet arrived in Halifax, and also offered them a place where they could attend mass and pray. It was during one of these parties that his mother met her future husband and Costas W.'s father. Unfortunately, his father lost his life at sea a few years after Costas W. was born. Persephone R. also mentioned that her sister married a Greek sailor whom she had met during one of these events. There was, however, no mention of any additional unions that occurred as a result of such encounters.

6.2.2. Relations with other Greek communities in Canada and the United States

Communication with other Greek communities varied with respect to each person or family in Halifax. The irregular patterns of migration and settlement, characteristic of the time, were often coupled with some travel and relocation within the host country or even continent in search for opportunities. Not all migrants had originally planned to settle; they often followed labour demands and opportunities around the continent; establishing networks in other communities along the way. Certain migrants first reached relatives and friends in other communities, but chose to continue with their journey. The Petropoulos brothers, which Thomas (2000, p. 40) mentions, originally settled in New Brunswick, while Persephone R.'s uncle and father spent time in Prince Edward Island and New York, and Costas W.'s grandfather first came to the continent as a labourer for the construction of the Panama Canal. The personal profile of Mr. Lacas by Thomas (2000, p. 42) revealed that his settlement in Halifax was due to a chance meeting in New York of a girl who would later become his wife. Mr. Lacas immigrated to New York and the girl was visiting her cousin in New York from Halifax. Their chance meeting led to marriage and he moved to Halifax where he became a partner at her family's business. Inversely, people who initially settled in

Halifax chose to relocate to other, often larger, communities, once again driven by social and economic prospects; this was the case for Vera T.'s employer whose search for a husband took her to Montreal. Therefore, the presence of networks with other ethnic communities varied for each migrant as it was highly dependent on their route to Halifax and whether family had settled in other communities.

Finally, as organisations within communities began forming, official communication commenced between Greek communities around North America and local chapters of associations and brotherhoods founded. Such associations included AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) and the women's Philoptochos organization discussed in the History chapter. The Halifax Greek Community may have had closer ties with communities around the Maritime Provinces in the early twentieth century, not only because of the proximity, but also because they had to initially share their cleric and divide church services between communities.

6.2.3. Relations with Greece

Communications with Greece were in the form of personal correspondence to family and the delayed arrival of news about the state of the nation from larger communities who published Greek-language newspapers. Despite the delays, accounts suggest that for some migrants these networks remained significant. For Persephone's father, for instance, this contact with relatives in Greece facilitated his search for a future partner, whom he travelled to meet and select. It is likely that since the refugees of Asia Minor had not yet been fully accepted or integrated into Greek society at the time of his search (late 1920s to early 1930s), the fact that both her parents were originally from Asia Minor was no coincidence. It was rather a reflection of another community that attempted to retain its distinct identity as Greeks of Asia Minor by keeping the connections alive and supporting intra-marriage. Costas W.'s grandparents also married as a result of correspondence with family, although this union was 'diverse' in that his grandfather was from central Greece and his grandmother originally from Istanbul.

With the onset of World War II, Greece was more frequently in the national news, ironically raising awareness of the conditions of the nation. While many personal networks were weakened by the war, the connection to Greece as a whole was a strong force that led to the mobilisation of the community to raise funds and materials in aid of the Greek nation (Thomas, 2000, p. 41).

6.3. Migrants of the 1950s and 1960s

The wave of labour migration following WWII and the Greek civil war changed the dynamics of the Greek community; the now established first families and their grown children were easily outnumbered by new immigrants that had left behind a war and a poverty-stricken Greece in search for work. The sense of adventure was less prominent for this wave of migration than it had been for the pioneer migrants before them. The sheer numbers and the more diverse composition of the migrants (single men, single women, young couples, and whole families) perhaps served as a

constant reminder of the extent of the hardships that likely added a note of despair rather than adventure. Moreover, for the city of Halifax, the general increase in immigration into the country would affect its demographics, albeit less than larger cities, increasing the visibility (and vulnerability) of ethnic communities.

Greeks that had settled in Canada before WWII were instrumental in launching the chain migration that would enable many Greeks to reach Canada and result in the growth of the Greek communities throughout the country, Halifax being no exception. Their support came first in the form of sponsorship of relatives and fellow villagers or referrals for sponsorship by other families. In the previous chapter, Vera T. and Petra W. both recounted how they and their respective sisters before them were sponsored by members of the Halifax first families through extended kin networks. Other participants also demonstrated how extended kin networks were important in the migration process as they recounted their families' immigration stories, though some were not sponsored from within the Halifax Greek Community,

> Phoebe N.: *My father's cousins' family was one of the first Greek families to settle in Cape Breton (Nova Scotia) and (they) sponsored him in 1955. You know, back then they thought the streets were paved in gold and there was a job around every corner...my father then sponsored his siblings and my mother who was his fiancée at the time.* – **First generation Greek Canadian**

> Persephone R.: *My husband had just completed his high school and military service in Greece when his uncle referred him to a friend in Montreal, a wealthy man who was looking for a groom for his daughter...things didn't work out and after paying off his ticket, he came to Halifax where he was offered work by another Greek, (a) friend of his boss (he met in Montreal)...*

Sponsors were required to assure Canadian authorities that the immigrants were arriving to fill employment positions, thus jobs were provided usually at the sponsors' homes, businesses, or other Greek-owned businesses. Their employment would also enable the immigrants to pay back the expenses of the travel to Canada and sponsorship. In Halifax, living arrangements were, in the majority, also provided by the first families; for domestic servants accommodation was in the home, while other migrants were directed to accommodation in buildings owned by the first families.

Earnings from their employment not only went to repaying sponsorship, rent, food, but also a fund that would enable the migrants to support family back in Greece or sponsor more family members, extending the chain of migration,

> Vera T.: *By the time I had come to Halifax from working in Montreal, my sister got married and had been able to sponsor our other sister from Greece. Then we brought my brother and my other sister.*

Petra W.: *They sponsored my sister and me...I was so careful, I saved everything...living on noodles and tomato paste...got my own tiny studio apartment, then sponsored my brother, and shared the apartment, then my other sister and my husband who was my fiancé at the time...he (then) sponsored his sister's husband who then brought his family...years later my brother-in-law would also sponsor two nieces, daughters of a sister that had passed away.*

The families of Vera T. and Petra W. were probably unable to provide dowries for all their children. One of the effects of working abroad and sponsoring family was that it indicated that these women were hard-workers and family-oriented building them a good reputation, which increased their chances for a 'good' marriage.

6.3.1. Relations between first families and new migrants

During interviews, the first Greeks were referred to as *oi palaoi* (οι παλαιοί), 'the old ones; any mention of children or grandchildren of pioneers migrants were identified as 'Greeks from the old Greek families.' The term, likely coined by immigrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s, made the distinction between the two groups who did not, at the time, share the same Canadian reality; the old Greeks arrived earlier in the twentieth century under different circumstances and by the time the post-WWII migrants arrived, they ran successful businesses and owned property in Halifax; while the 'new' migrants, who had just arrived, had minimal training or education, spoke little or no English and were essentially required to accept any work available to them in order to earn a salary. The old Greeks were often the employers and landlords of the new Greeks, adding a power differential to their relationship. The higher socioeconomic status of the old Greeks would serve to benefit both male and female new Greeks on the one hand, but also cause tension and repression on the other.

Chris W. arrived in 1961, sponsored by his fiancé who he had only seen in a picture. His impressions of the old Greeks were conflicting,

Chris W.: *They didn't want us...by the time we got here, they all had their own businesses and we worked for them...my brother-in-law asked for a small raise and his boss, an old Greek, threatened to fire him. My brother-in-law then said he'd go somewhere else and his boss replied, "Just try, I will block you from getting a job from anyone!" My other brother-in-law was related to the boss and he worked from morning to night six days a week and got paid (only) $18 a week!... (but) some were extremely helpful...Mr. Petropoulos helped many new immigrants...he was always at immigration (Pier 21) with the authorities helping us who couldn't speak English. He was wealthy and helped many of us with our first businesses...the younger generations (the children of the pioneer migrants), they were young when I came here, but I became friends with many of them...Persephone for one helped out a lot.*

Female participants also expressed mixed feelings over the old Greeks,

Petra W.: *When I got here, my uncle's wife was strange, didn't know about immigrants. I was not able to get a job in what I was trained because she pushed so strongly for waitressing. Waitressing meant more hours away from the house, out of her hair...when she saw how hard I worked, she often remarked that she did not understand what I was doing...why I did nothing but work. She didn't know what being an immigrant was. My uncle though, he was a nice man.*

Aliki P. on the other hand considered herself to have been fortunate; her family maintained good relations with the old Greeks, which allowed her to experience their different lifestyle,

Aliki P.: *The best man and maid of honour at my brother-in-law's wedding were old Greeks and we knew many of them...the owner of Cameo (restaurant) baptized my son...I was very lucky, (luckier) than the other immigrants because I found the higher class. Persephone waited for me at the port (Pier 21) with my brother-in-law and his wife, with a large black Pontiac...and my fiancé told me that she (Persephone) and her husband were going to be our maid of honour and best man...I wrote to my father that a woman was waiting for me with a huge car that you cannot even imagine!...a woman driving such a car, you'd never see that at the village! I met her mom and it did me good because I met the old Greeks and they'd invite me to tea....tea like the English with silverware, desserts – so many I'd never seen before and the hostess sitting at the head of the table pouring the tea. I would wait to be last to see what everyone would do, so I could do it – those small scones and the funniest thing was the cucumber sandwich! All we knew was to put it (cucumber) in a salad! I remember telling everyone about it!*

As Chris W. mentioned in his earlier quote, the children or grandchildren of the first Greek families were usually more accepting and inclusive of the new migrants than their parents or grandparents. Persephone R., from an old Greek family remembers feeling very comfortable in the company of the women that had just emigrated from Greece,

Persephone R.: *I fit right in! I mean, I spoke Greek all the time, you know and, so I used to do a lot of interpreting for them too, I still do but less now because they speak the language, the younger generation...I have 13 koumparoi (was maid of honour or at the wedding or baptized a child of a couple).*

Both Persephone R. and her eldest sister married Greek immigrants who settled in Halifax in the 1950s.

Persephone R.: *My late sister met her husband when his ship docked here and I met my husband one day when I was looking for my friend at her fiancé's restaurant who happened to be business partners with my husband.*

She concedes, nevertheless that not all the old Greeks were happy with the new arrivals,

Persephone R.: *They are not my stories to tell, but I remember visiting family friends who had just brought a young girl from Greece (as a domestic worker) and the lady of the house was yelling at her. I remember her (young girl) coming in and just shaking. Ask her to tell you of those days...I remember too how when the children had to wear something at church one lady disliking the idea that her children would share with 'immigrant children.'...and I'm married to an 'immigrant' so...*

Unfortunately the young girl, whom Persephone R. mentions, did not wish to be interviewed. She had recently lost her husband and did not want to be reminded of another unpleasant time in her life.

Vera T. also recalls that when she had first arrived to Halifax, she attracted the attention from some older Greek male pioneer migrants, which due to the age difference, she quickly dismissed despite their more comfortable lifestyle that she could have become a part of,

Vera T: *...I don't want to marry my father!*

The interactions between the old Greek families and the new migrants varied from strictly those of employer and employee, to those of friends, love interest, business partner or extended family.

6.3.2. Relations between the new migrants

In larger communities, such as those of Toronto and Montreal, the presence of Greek communities with strong internal social networks is supported with physical geographical evidence in the form of the Danforth and Parc Ex (extension) neighbourhoods respectively, the 'Greek towns' of these cities. As the growing number of Greek migrants chose these areas for settlement and business, surrounded by other co-ethnics, the neighbourhoods flourished and gained a somewhat Greek character; Greek churches and schools were built, associations were housed and businesses that provided services and products directed at the Greek community. The Greek character of the neighbourhoods still remains, even visible to the occasional visitor, after a number of Greeks have moved away from these neighbourhoods, to newer, more diverse and affluent areas; these characteristics have become part of the heritage of the areas.

In the case of Halifax, the considerably smaller number of Greek migrants did not result in the same visibility of the community and their internal social networks, with the exception perhaps of a number of businesses, particularly in the food industry. This does not, however, suggest that they did not function in the same way as their Montreal or Toronto counterparts. From arrival at Pier 21, to employment and residence, Greeks who were already in Halifax directed Greeks who had just arrived and the support of each other continued.

Pier 21: Familial Greetings and new Friends

Upon arrival, as presented in the previous chapter, fiancés, husbands or family members waited to greet the women at the immigration area of Pier 21. New friends also came along to meet the new arrivals, often giving them a first idea of life in Halifax. They would bump into even more Greeks

who would go to Pier 21 upon hearing that Greek immigrants were expected to disembark from the ships that day. Many from the community would go down to the port, wanting to welcome their co-ethnics to their new home, be it Halifax or further west, guide them through the proper channels of the immigration process, ask about their final destination, direct them to other Greeks they may know in their respective cities to help them, and perhaps receive some news about back home.

A Place to Live, a Place to Work

Accommodation was usually shared with relatives and less frequently with other non-relative co-ethnics in order to save money, and for the women who also worked long hours and shifts to share household and childcare duties,

> Vera T.: *We had rented apartments at Karas (pioneer migrant), corner of Morris and Barrington? Further down there's a door with curled stairs with one or two bedroom apartments. We rented the one big room to my husband and his sister and in the other room we lived, my sister, brother and I...we had a double bed and a sofa.*

> Aliki P.: *(fiancé) wouldn't bring me till he made some money, get settled...the sponsorship said we were getting married...when I got here, immigration would come every day because I was so young, to check up on when the wedding would happen, when we would get a house...so we had a civil union within a month and Manolopoulos (Greek migrant who by then was a business owner) had to sign papers that we rented from him...(but) we lived with my brother-in-law and his family...they wouldn't let us move in alone till we got properly married.*

> Petra W.: *For some time, my family and my husband's sister's family lived in a two-bedroom apartment. Three daughters they had and I had a baby boy...all in one apartment.*

During the early years, whole buildings were inhabited entirely by Greeks, who also supported each other by way of social interaction,

> Nicole P.: *We still keep in touch...I knew my husband since he came to Canada and we were always together...he was much older...we lived upstairs from his sister's house and every night after work, they would drop in and have coffee...Lia and her husband lived on the third floor and I met her at the Greek Fest, and she said, "You remember how we were?" "Yeah," I said "it was really good," I said. "Yeah that's because we never had a penny, now we do and no one gets along, now we have something and we're not happy!"*

> Phoebe N.: *We were...on Barrington (street)...all the women would take turns, 'cause they all worked. Maria would take care of me and my brothers so my mom could go work in the afternoon. And my mom would take her kids...every apartment in that building was Greek...every unit was rented by a Greek, so they all shared (responsibilities).*

Magda N.: *All Greeks were one family. Some talked (gossiped), but we were all one small family...*

The ability to socialise with neighbours and at social functions in Halifax was in stark contrast to the lives of two migrant women who originally lived in Newfoundland and Cape Breton. With only five or six Greeks around them, making friends and finding work were difficult feats due to the language barrier and lack of networks in place that could give them work regardless of no knowledge of English. Nasia P. searched for a way to quickly relocate to a larger community like Halifax, where she would not feel so lonely, while Fotini P. dedicated her time to her child and spent many years with her husband as her only companion and confidant. Her English language acquisition was quite minimal until she finally went to work when her daughter was in high school. As she worked in clothing alterations, customers had to show her what they needed, and she would label their clothes not with their names, which she did not understand, but with physical attributes that described them,

Fotini P.: *I would write 'bald, tall, man' or 'gold tooth, curly hair' so I can know whose piece of clothing it was.*

As discussed further in the *Economic Development* chapter that follows, the internal social networks were also responsible for employment opportunities for new migrants or migrants who had lost their jobs. Family members would ordinarily be the first to help in this process, however, when family was not present, friends from within the community and well-meaning proprietors such as Mr. Poulos, mentioned previously, would also provide leads for work, act as a reference, or become a business partner.

When migrants raised enough money, they would move into their own homes or larger apartments. For women, this would only occur if they were married. The single women did not purchase property but saved money for other family members and for their dowry.

Eliana H.: ... *We lived on our own...John (husband) had a house alone already...my husband came first. We met when he stayed at a village with his sister who was a schoolteacher... (he was on) holiday.*

The selection of a more permanent home did not follow the model of Montreal and Toronto, as the migrants chose to purchase homes based on affordability and availability in all parts of the city. Yet, because Halifax was a small city, whether the people moved to the north end or the south end neighbourhoods, it was likely that other Greeks were around or relatively nearby. Nonetheless, they were never a neighbourhood majority.

Rita R.: *...we got married; we stayed six months with my husband's brother and his family and then rented a room on McClain Street where we stayed for two years. Then I got pregnant and we bought this house and we didn't have anything except for a TV, a table with four chairs and a bedroom set.*

While there was no Greek neighbourhood, the migrant Greek families lived around the city core. This led to great surprise when Phoebe N. and her family relocated across the bridge to Dartmouth,

> Phoebe N.: *we lived there (apartment) for five years...and then we moved to Dartmouth, which was unheard of. Oh, my god, across the bridge!*

Social Networks Once Settled

Beyond the first welcome, as migrants moved out of their small rooms and apartments, the workplace would remain the place where some would continue to interact on a daily basis. The friendships and ties, however, remained and continued to flourish through the years in spite of the added distance,

> Eliana H.: *I met ladies here, John was friends with some couples...Rita, we are best friends. We have been close since then (1967, arrival).*

> Rita R.: *We would have a nice group where we would do something every Saturday and our children got to know each other...now we got tired... of cooking...it's not the cooking, it's the company... I have my sister-in-law, Kiki, she is my friend, we've always been close...and other women.*

The position of the maid of honour and best man in a Greek wedding is granted to people, which the couple considers very dear. In the case of the migrant women who were married in Halifax, their *koumpara* (maid of honour) and *koumparo* (best man) were people who they and their husbands felt a great deal of gratitude towards, or people the couple considered very good friends. Koumparo and koumpara are also the terms for the godparents of the couple's children or the parents of children they have christened. To make matters a little more complicated, they may or may not be the same people who stood in as maid of honour and best man at their wedding. The term, koumparoi is perhaps a shared term because all the above responsibilities represent strong ties among the people involved, who because of these responsibilities make the commitment to remain in each other's lives. During the interviews, migrant women would refer to more and more people as their koumpara or koumparoi, not only requiring further clarification, but also indicating the presence of a considerable amount of appreciation and friendship within the community.

Whilst interviewing Petra W., who was eager to help with the study, she offered the names and contact information of other women she knows,

> Petra W.: *Tell them who you are, do you want me to call them? Is it easier for them to come by here for the interview?*

> Interviewer: *That's ok; I will call them, thank you. You know all their numbers off by heart?*

Petra W.: *My koumpares? Oh, I speak to them almost every day...every other day. We all talk to each other. I've known them for fifty years!*

Persephone R. also offers names and contact information during her interview, and she too can recite telephone numbers,

Persephone R.: *Now hang on, she's staying with her daughter now, she fell...I'll have to look up that number...*

Assuming some exaggeration, during a second meeting with Petra W., a day after conducting an interview with another participant, Petra W. remarked,

Petra W.: *Magda N. called me after you went by for the interview. She couldn't stop raving about how nice you are, and what a nice girl and so polite...*

Perhaps the ladies were not exaggerating. But it was Magda N., who showed how strong the bond between these women actually was,

Magda N.: *When our house burnt down in 1996 or 1998, a very nice house, it was a Friday. On Sunday I got the courage and we went to church...when we were leaving, there they were. How CAN I forget these people? They took us to their home to relax a bit, to forget a little, since then, I see them as saints...even when our relatives didn't (do anything to help)...they were there for us...*

As the migrants of the 1950s and 1960s reach retirement age, they have more time to spend with friends and family, a luxury they did not have in their youth. Yet, there is evidence of an imbalance with respect to widowed migrants; the number of female participants whose husbands have passed away is over twice those who haven't. They have expressed grief and the presence of a void they cannot fill. They are happy to have their children and family near, but they also reveal the comfort of each other's company, which a participant's daughter referred to as, *The Widows Club,*

Xenia C.: *I don't know how many (they are)...they all congregate every second week or whatever, two of them drive, the others don't, they go for a coffee and they do their little carpools and there is only one in the group with a husband...the majority of them never did anything without their husbands by their side...like when my mother wanted to go out for dinner, my father never wanted to go out to dinner...and later when they retired, he didn't wanna go anywhere, he didn't wanna travel and so she never went anywhere...and it was a different kind of freedom when he passed away. It was like yeah, she'd lost her partner and that hurt her a lot but at the same time she also gained a little bit of freedom because it (there) wasn't anybody to tell her, "stop, don't do that." It's amazing to see the difference...my mother to go out with the ladies? Never! The last three years she's done that, go out for dinner, go out for coffee, they went for a drive. She never did that before!*

Aliki P., who has been a widow for a few years, tried to explain the importance of her friends in her life,

> Aliki P.: *Yes, good friends, the best...we have a parea (παρέα), a group here of girlfriends...when I got ill, you cannot imagine the sweets and the soups...my son said, "I'm gonna leave a sign that say 'no more soup.'"...when my husband passed and I was, I didn't want to get out of the house I wanted to sell my car, but my sons told me to wait, that I might need it. Now I'm glad I didn't sell it, I can go for a coffee, to my (physio-) therapy...*

The women do not deny that there have been misunderstandings and arguments between them, but maintain that the men are the ones who had more heated disputes and debates, since the women were not involved in the politics of the community; for many years, female participation was restricted to membership in the Philoptochos, an exclusively female charity organisation. The Philoptochos, which continues to conduct charity drives and host community events as it did in the past, was how women were responsible for a number of social events and celebrations of the community.

> Chris W.: *...between '71 and '73 I served in the council...we had trouble, it mixed us all up...budget and salaries...at the general meeting, accusations flew around...accused me...my brother-in-law got punched protecting me...there were 200 or 250 people, full! Of course men, what, women didn't go!*

Displays of anger and public disagreements are not considered behaviour fit for a good 'level-headed' woman. Each tries in their own way to distance themselves from a reputation of an argumentative nature, some justifying the occasional outbursts when under stress.

> Rita R.: *I'm not interested in Philoptochos because I heard many things about the gossiping and fighting, so I don't want to get involved...I only volunteer...*

> Magda N.: *Us women, we have that woman thing...at Philoptochos we would argue, I would never hold that against her (friend) because they were there for us when we needed someone...women fought, but I gave no one the right to say I fought.*

Being outspoken and bold when faced with obstacles that affected their livelihood or welfare of their children was justified, but the same behaviour was one the women were hesitant to acknowledge with respect to interactions with other members of the community. The conversation would shift to other topics.

Relationship between men and women

The social norms for this generation of migrants stipulate that men and women who were not related could not socialize alone, with the exception of a courtship, which would be the immediate assumption if seen by other members of the community. Courtships did occur between the migrants in Halifax, although family members were usually made aware of the men's intentions,

Vera T.: *My husband worked on the ships...they would travel to Newfoundland for a month or so and come back...we would walk up and down (the seafront) together and he would talk about partnerships, business partnerships and I would say that what I wanted to do, I would do by myself. I would discourage him and he wouldn't speak. One day, we were watching something on TV and it was a love story with a couple and he turned to me and said, "Don't you think we're a couple like that?" The place went black, I couldn't see! What was he saying? What's he thinking? "Why are you surprised?" he asked, "I want you to tell me by tomorrow." I thought about it, one way, another, he was close with my brother...when he came home, I hid and startled him, "Is it a yes or a no?" he asked. I said, "Yes, it's ok, but before everyone knows, we have to tell my brothers and sisters." He said, "Don't worry, I will tell them."*

The 'rules' have not changed for this generation of migrants. The widowed women, who are now technically on their own, have realized that many of their male family friends now only socialize with them when in groups, like they did in the early days. Aliki P., who has fond family memories with some of these men, expressed a slight disappointment in this reality,

Aliki P.: *Now that my husband passed the men are cautious, hesitant...used to have many male friends when the husband was there. I can feel that they are keeping back...they're not supposed to do that, they should think that I'm alone to help me out and take me somewhere, be part of my group of friends...but so no one sees, talks, this, that...as if we're going to have SUCH a problem...small community!!*

For the social expectations within this generation of migrants, Aliki P's expectations are problematic; in order to look after a woman who is alone the men could be 'misunderstood' as acting on ulterior motives because of her status as a widow. Therefore such interactions outside of the family and away from the group are avoided.

Vera T. recalls of an occasion where her new brother-in-law had been protective over her other younger and single sister, but because of his link to the family and the fact that the women could not yet easily communicate in English made it acceptable to act as a protector and to intervene,

Vera T.: *My sister and I worked together at the restaurant...she served...One day a young man from immigration came to the restaurant, everyone knew him. He told my sister, "One day, I'll come by and take you to the movies." She said "yes," but had no idea what she agreed to. Whatever she would be told, she'd say, yes. My other sister's husband was nearby, he heard it and told my sister, his wife...she told him she probably had no idea what she said yes to. We lived across the street, the man goes to the restaurant, doesn't find her, goes to the house and my brother-in-law answers. "She's not here." The man tried to explain that they had plans, but he said that he knew nothing about it and that she was not there.*

6.3.3. Relations with the Halifax Community

For years the relationship between Greek migrant women and other members of the Halifax community was limited to the work environment. As customers and co-workers, the women had very positive experiences, yet found it more difficult to connect with people outside the Greek community beyond the workplace,

> Magda N.: ... *(The) Canadians were great! If it weren't for their kindness, we'd go crazy. I am grateful and we APPRECIATE. They helped us. They supported me at my shop and later (businesses)...*
>
> Aliki P.: *Yes and no. To work with them, it was fine, but personally I didn't find warmth, there was always distance because we're foreign, even fifty years later still foreign. I can't say they were evil or bad just not necessarily the most welcoming and warm. Our kids don't experience that, (as adults) they're Canadian but we're not. Yes today they've (Canadians) changed.*
>
> Petra W.: *Canadians were good, we found support from them...one lady across the road, she worked there, everyday she'd show us things, (me and) my husband, teaching us the English words. At Christmas we bought her a gift though and then she never came back. She'd go to another shop, pass ours. I don't know (why), if it was this snobbiness (superiority), we were lower than them, we weren't friends...we were charity? I don't know.*

Experiences, such as Petra W.'s, affected the women's perceptions of their position in the Halifax for many years; so it was no surprise that, years later, when Petra W. informed her friends that she had recently invited her non-Greek neighbours over for coffee, the other women were shocked and curious about what the women could have discussed and what they possibly had in common.

> Zach, Petra W.'s son: *...they say they are very proud to be Greek, but at the same time I think they were aware of a class difference and they were a bit ashamed too.*

It did not happen overnight, but there has been a change in the way migrants perceive non-Greeks. Based on the accounts of the children of migrants, the atmosphere is more accepting, with both, the Greek migrants and non-Greek Canadians, more aware and understanding of each other. The Greek women also realized that they share an immigrant past with most of their neighbours, regardless of whether they were Greek or not, and appreciate that they too made decisions for the well-being of their families. An adult son of one of the migrant women recounts the amusing, to him, first meeting of his Greek mother with his best friend's mother, who had emigrated from Ireland. The mothers already knew both boys and their great friendship and realized that they, as mothers, were quite similar in the upbringing of the boys. Thus, the main component of their first conversation was compliments to each other about how 'good' their respective sons were.

The migrant women, however, continue to make a distinction between these new friendships and relationships to those they have with the Greek women they met so many years ago; the experiences, the hardships and the common language that enabled them to support each other when they knew of no one else that would, has created a bond that is not comparable to any that they have since gained,

Aliki P.: *I have very good Canadian friends, but the connection we have with the other immigrants is deeper...and even if 50 years have passed.*

6.3.4. Relations with other Greek communities in Canada and the United States

Communication with other Greek communities, much like the pioneer migrants, differed for each individual or family. The influx of Greek migrants occurred in many other communities, with cities such as Montreal and Toronto experiencing a considerably higher Greek migrant settlement. It is not uncommon for many of the female migrants to have more immediate family members in other Greek communities rather than in Greece. Beyond their family ties however, it seems that while they may have expressed envy or distaste for other cities and communities with respect to their size and number of Greek services and amenities, they have not developed strong ties or networks with them. The exceptions are women such as Zena C. and Fotini P., who spent a number of years in Montreal and Cape Breton respectively.

Aliki P.: *My son and his family live in Toronto. If I were young and I had to start over, then yes, I would go to Toronto instead. Now, I won't go, Halifax is home. I've been here fifty years.* – ***visits Toronto regularly to stay with son and grandchildren, but lives in Halifax for most of the year***

Zena C.: *...we didn't have many relatives in Montreal, I didn't have any...I spoke no English...but we had the community that never left us, the church and they would help us. By '68 we met many Greeks, by '72 we were nearly 100,000 but then with Levesques (Quebec politician who promoted the French identity of the province), if you know, many people left. They had dances in the evenings and weekends, it was nice.... then we would go to the park, I remember and sit with the kids, and when we'd hear Greek voices, something would flutter inside us. I say it and I cry. Let me tell you, if I hadn't had this disaster (son passed away) happen to me, I would go to Montreal, that's how much I liked it. But now we are staying here because my son is buried here.* – ***Originally settled in Montreal, but as a family, followed husband's relatives who established businesses in Halifax when conditions in Montreal were not favourable***

Fotini P.: *The community was very small, so we knew everyone. Everyone. My child, my children are in Halifax, and we have made friends here too. Her (child) in-laws and their*

relative have welcomed us, it's nice. – ***moved to Halifax from the smaller community of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia***

6.3.5. Relations with Greece

The relationship migrant women have with Greece is perhaps the hardest to comprehend. The majority of the women spent many years away from Greece with very few visits, especially in the early years, and as their ages progress, they are once again unable to visit regularly. Yet these are the women that hold the ideals of the Greece they left behind most dearly.

Some women (and men) hoped that the move to Canada was temporary, all the while homes were purchased and businesses established. The conflicting emotions caused a delay in their full acceptance and embrace of their lives in Halifax. Rita R., who had always wanted to come to Canada, was surprised with how much she yearned for Greece,

> Rita R.: *I cried daily for years...my husband finally said, "OK, let's sell the house and go back," but then I got pregnant. I sat on my own and thought, "with two kids (in Greece), what kind of education will they get, how will they be raised? I want better than me." And the way things have turned out I am glad for this decision.*

Her decision to make Halifax her permanent home was a step to a more pleasant life in Halifax. Following retirement, she now visits Greece with her husband once a year for a few months, but always returns to Halifax to be with her children and grandchildren.

For other women, the decision was quite absolute and based on the harsh realities; life in Greece was difficult and coming to Canada was a solution. Returning to Greece was therefore illogical,

> Vera T.: *When we went in '72 and we got back, my husband would say to sell them (business and house) and move to Oropos (small Greek town), where he'd gone. And the kids heard and they were shouting, "We don't want to go!" I told them, "Don't worry, I don't want to go either, I'm not going to Greece"...Look, I left Greece and came here for a better life. I told him, "If you want to go to Greece, go. Me, I'm going to raise my kids. I'm not going to Greece. To stay for a trip, sure, but not to stay for good."*

The presence of family in Greece is a reason communication and ties with Greece continue to stay strong. Eliana H., Petra W. and Rita R. have all purchased homes with their spouses near or within their hometowns, which they visit almost yearly for a few months at a time. They have siblings, nieces and nephews and, for Eliana H., children and grandchildren they long to visit,

> Eliana H.: *...we (husband's siblings and their families) would take turns; one brother every year (went to Greece). It wasn't easy to leave when you have a business, so every three years we would go, even when the girls were young...now that we're retired, we try to go every year. It's easier for us two to travel and see the grandchildren...I don't want to go back for good. I like the health care system here, I'm more comfortable here.*

For Vera T., whose siblings all immigrated to Halifax and Magda N., whose siblings have passed away and whose children live in Halifax, the trips are less frequent and the networks somewhat diluted,

> Magda N.: *I have cousins, my niece (in Greece), she calls me, she's very sweet...when I go back, I go with my husband, I sit in the porch of my family home and enjoy the breeze and the quiet...*

Whether they maintain an extensive kin network or visit infrequently, it is unlikely to visit the homes of these women and not find satellite Greek television playing in the background. Greek food and coffee can be prepared within minutes, the icons of patron saints adorn the walls and the women who have lost their spouses are always dressed in black, years later, as was the tradition in Greece not so long ago. As the quote from Magda N. above, there is still a home for them in Greece, even if there is a home for them in Halifax as well.

6.4. Migrants of the 1970s onwards

Emigration from Greece continued well into the 1970s, but the increasing affordability of airfare resulted in the closure of Pier 21 in 1971. The first contact with the Greek community, at the port of entry was no longer feasible. Contact with the Greek community was thus highly dependent on whether the new migrants' networks included pre-established ties with co-ethnics already settled in Halifax, or whether the new migrants would reach out to their co-ethnics for social interaction and employment opportunities at their establishments or through their networks.

Gina U. and Ekali K. arrived in 1972 and 1973 respectively for essentially the same reasons; their new spouses had already immigrated to Halifax whilst single and asked from their new partners, who were of similar age, that they meet them in Halifax. For Gina U., the arrangement was, at least initially, considered temporary, with an impending return to Greece in about four or so years. For Ekali K., though, coming to Halifax was the start of her new married life in Canada.

> Gina U.: *He (husband) too came for a little while (to Halifax), like all of us and four years later returned to Greece for a holiday. We met, got engaged and he told me we would go to Canada for four years...His brother and sister were here...there were five children at home, my nieces and nephews. We lived upstairs and I always had them with me, and in the evening we would have a great time. I was 16 and they were between 9 and 2...so I had lots of company... After 3-4 months I started working. A few hours at first...then...more hours. We all worked there. It was a family restaurant.*

> Ekali K.: *The connection was his sister who was here (Halifax) but she'd moved (back) to Greece... (I) came right after we got married. He was living here and had a business, a hair salon...I met lots of people of Halifax, not necessarily Greek, we knew few Greeks, but through my husband's business...they (were) older Greeks who knew us and took us in as*

an extended family, (they became) our relatives, which we didn't have here. I only met more Greeks when my children started going to Greek school.

Gina U. was immediately immersed into a Greek family and business, immediately establishing ties with the community. Ekali K., on the other hand, met few Greeks, customers of her husband's hair salon; her ties with the community would take longer to form, with the children as a main catalyst.

Mina S., who had relocated to Halifax for her husband's employment at the university, had no links to Halifax prior to her arrival. Her work as an educator and her husband's employment, coupled with his non-Greek background did not lead to regular interaction with the Halifax Greek community. Like Ekali K., it was not until her children began attending Greek school that she would get to know the community and develop stronger ties.

Thalia Y., Mina S.'s sister was a unique case, who experienced two different lives in Halifax; the first when she came to help her sister with her new baby and the second after meeting her husband who convinced her to relocate to Halifax, for a second chance, where he worked. Her first stay in Halifax was spent mostly at home; her only socializing was with her sister's friends. As a young, Greek single girl, she had limited freedoms and was not permitted to venture out alone, as directed by her parents who lived in Cyprus. Thalia Y. chose to leave because she felt more freedom back in Cyprus. A few years later, she returned for a visit and met her future husband, a Greek immigrant with relatives and strong ties to the Greek community, particularly younger immigrants. Hesitant at first to relocate to Halifax, she agreed to try. This time she was quickly introduced to the Greek community where she developed strong friendships.

Thalia Y.: *I didn't have (my) own friends, just whatever my sister had...when I got married, I met everyone...oh, yeah they were welcoming!*

Over twenty years later, after Greek immigration had all but stopped, the experiences of Natalia S. and Chryso M. imitated those of the women who had arrived before them, in the 1970s; Natalia S., whose husband had immigrated when young and had ties to the community, quickly established relationships and contact with people. Chryso M., who made the choice to immigrate to Halifax as a family, but who had no connection to Halifax only began to meet people of the community through her children,

Natalia S.: *When I came here, it's not like I didn't know anyone...I knew my husband, he had an uncle...and my koumpara, from Greece.*

Chryso M.: *...We got to know the Greek community slowly. First through my son, he had a classmate who was Greek, I met his parents and the introductions began.*

The women who did not have immediate contact with the Greek community did not necessarily have a difficult time, as they found the people of Halifax accepting, friendly and welcoming,

Ekali K.: *Canadian people were very welcoming. There were incidents where they didn't like the accent or say (make a comment), when speaking Greek to someone else, but overall they were very helpful and encouraging...I made very good friends with the girls at the hair salon...we had couple-friends with my husband, from the shop...*

As Chryso M. attests in the *Arrivals* chapter, her dearest and closest friend since her move to Halifax had been a non-Greek local she greatly appreciates. She also speaks highly of the people of Halifax in general, for being so accepting of immigrants, highlighting the fact that their accepting nature was not affected by the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which saw many North American communities react unfavourably towards migrant communities. Natalia S. reflects the same sentiment,

Chryso M.: *Generally, here in Halifax especially, we've had no problems since 9/11*

Natalia S.: *My son is at Halifax West (school) that has a very diverse student body and it's a very good school. It is quiet, people are shown respect...people here are very hospitable, helpful...they are happy and relaxed...as Greeks, they know us Greeks. (They) may have worked with or for Greeks and hold them in high esteem.*

The women who arrived in the 1970s and 1990s are of similar age with first generation Greek Canadians born in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. They did not, however, share the migration experience, so it was unclear whether it was correct to presume that these two groups of women developed strong ties with each other based on their age, or whether the stronger attachments would be with the other migrants who settled in the 1960s. Ekali K. has established unique ties with both the first generation Greek Canadians and the older migrants,

Ekali K.: *When I came here I still had the Greek mentality...I realized it wasn't like that (here). When my children went to Greek school I got very involved in the Greek community school, Philoptochos, volunteered at Greek Fest and made lifelong friendships...I was similar age to the women born here, my kids were a few years older. They put me in charge (parents association) and I said no, because my (English) language was not as good. They reassured me I would be great. We did so many things together, so many laughs... (when asked about the older Greeks)...all were very friendly and welcoming. I would ask for a recipe for instance and sometimes they would show up the next day with the dish...the older women took me under their wing, which was very nice. It hurt me and I cried a lot at the loss of these grandmothers...I had a very special relationship with the women.*

Thalia Y., who is known for her upbeat, and sometimes outspoken personality also speaks dearly of the older Greeks, but believes that she may have been misunderstood at least at the beginning, particularly by the older men of the community. She also believes that she has developed stronger ties with women closer to her age,

Thalia Y.: *...My koumpara who's from here, we are very close. I christened her eldest...with people my age, no issues, but if you take older people, the way you talk to men is different. I may say or joke about things others wouldn't feel right. They're not shocked because they know you by now, but the first time they met me then maybe (they were shocked) because I joke and I say what I feel, but who cares? It passes.*

6.4.1. Relations with other Greek communities in Canada and the United States

The kin networks maintained between the female migrants and people in other Greek communities varied for each individual, but in addition to family and relatives, these women maintained networks related to their work and Greek community activities. Gina U., who is the dance instructor for the young children and principal of the language school, attends seminars and workshops in other communities where she has established ties related to her community work. Mina S., who was an educator, would attend conferences related to her field and, often, meet fellow Greeks, who she continues to communicate with,

Mina S.: *We go to conferences (for work) and I meet people with Greek background. They take us to their community church and we've met people that way. We create contacts through that.*

The women also shared their views on the structures and communities of other cities, which they visited in comparison to their lives in Halifax,

Gina U.: *When I went to Montreal in '72 to get married, I really liked it, because there were lots of Greeks, we would walk on the street and the street signs were in Greek...there was a Greek cinema, Greek pastry shop, bakeries. What shop did you want? They were all Greek and I told my husband, "It's like Greece here." If I was in Montreal, maybe I wouldn't miss Greece, just my people, my family...I liked it, but there was nothing there for us so that I can say to sell my home and move there.*

Chryso M.: *My parents and sisters moved back to Toronto, so they're all there...It's more concentrated (the community) in Halifax, while in Toronto it's in pieces, yes there are a lot more (Greeks) but it's not easy...there are many churches, associations, not everyone is together...*

6.4.2. Relations with Greece

The conditions of travel and communication with Greece have allowed the migrants to maintain stronger ties with friends and families in Greece. There is talk of frequent travel and for some seasonal retirement, but most are reluctant to leave Canada permanently,

Ekali K.: *We go to Greece quite often. When they were children, we would go every four years...In those days we didn't have the communication we have now. I wish that I had Skype when my kids and parents were younger.*

Chryso M.: *I've already put that (moving) in motion. My youngest daughter is 23, my children have grown. So, 2 years ago we went for four, five months and we're looking to do that this year. From the moment that my kids are still here, I'm not ready for it to be permanent. Unless you have all your family move to Greece, then I can make that decision (to stay).*

Thalia Y.: *I'd like to have a house and go two or three months in the summers, but not for good. I like to stay here and visit, stay six months here and six months there, but stay here...I think if you live in Greece then you can't travel, I think, the way we do here. Once you're there, I don't know what it is, it's more expensive.*

Natalia S.: *My koumpara this year, they moved to Greece, they sold everything they had here. Their eldest son has baptized mine and they are starting over, with some foundation of course. But they chose a time like this, which is very difficult. They say they are satisfied. My koumpara is like me, they speak Greek, they love Greece, they know their relatives, they've sold everything and moved there. There's nothing here that is theirs.*

6.5. Migrants of the 21st century

The most recent update for the number of new migrants to have arrived as a result of the economic crisis in Greece the last few years is one family; the male adult is an engineer who was accepted for entry and employment in Halifax. He moved to Halifax first and his family joined him. According to participants, there are a number of applications for possible arrivals. The mobilization of the Greek community was in fact rather swift; from late 2011, in response to queries from Greek citizens received by officials of the Greek community about the city of Halifax and its labour market, the community has been cooperating with the immigration services of Nova Scotia. Members of the Greek community have volunteered to act as first contact and communications liaison between people in Greece and possible opportunities and officials in Halifax.

Toronto and Montreal have already experienced new migrants, but it is unclear how many will select Halifax in the near future. For the Greek migrants, the idea of new arrivals on the one hand saddens them because it reminds them of the circumstances they faced that led them to that same decision; circumstances, which they had hoped the young Greeks did not have to encounter. On the other hand, they try to ensure that if their co-ethnics require their or anyone else's help, they will do their best to accommodate,

Thalia Y.: *People email me, and I get in touch with who they need to speak to. They ask me about homes, rent, furniture, so I get in touch with people...to see what we can do.*

6.6. First Generation Greek Canadians Born in the 1950s and 1960s

The women born to Greek immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s are the children of the first wave of post-WWII labour migration from Greece. Their parents had arrived in Halifax as low-skilled immigrants and spoke little to no English. Particularly in the early years, their parents were both socially and economically dependent on their fellow co-ethnics and the presence of the communities, and thus, their extended kin and ethnic social (discussed in previous sections) and economic networks (discussed in Economic Development). During childhood, the social networks of the Greek Canadian women were driven by the activities and ties of their parents, who were also protective and some hesitant at the prospect of the development of ties with non-Greeks. Life was therefore centred on family, the home, the family business and the Greek community. As the women reached adulthood in a changing Canadian society, they would challenge certain traditional perceptions held by their parents and themselves, reshaping their own social networks.

6.6.1. Childhood

Xenia C. was born in Halifax in 1960 to two Greek immigrant parents who had met in Halifax. She is the daughter of participant, Vera T., and mother of participant, Vasiliki K., the only group of participants who represent three generations of women from the same family in this study. Xenia C. remembers her childhood as constantly being surrounded by family and the responsibilities of the restaurant,

> Xenia C.: *cousins...we're so close, more like sisters than cousins. The weekends, we spent together. In the summer, there wasn't a day we didn't see each other and the ones we used to live in the same house? We saw each other every day, we couldn't get away! ...we lived in the restaurant. It was tough 'cause the cash counter was part of the house we shared with my aunt and uncle and cousins...I never thought it was crammed (though) because that's all we knew. I never thought about (having) our own bedroom. When we moved here (bigger house), it took my brother a long time to sleep alone. We would find him asleep on the floor, by mom's feet...he couldn't sleep alone. We kept the doors open and got him a doll, so he could sleep...*

Xenia C. lived in a neighbourhood with other Greek Canadian children, who attended the same school, but they made friends with non-Greek children as well. Her parents, however were very strict about what she was allowed to do,

> Xenia C.: *I would play with the Canadian girls...they were allowed at my house, but I was not allowed to go to theirs. Because they (parents) didn't know the family. Yeah, and they didn't want to know them. Maybe there's a correction there, they really didn't have time to know them, they were working all the time...most of the people that I went to their house, (were) other Greeks, with my parents...*

Yet, the occasions where she would ask her parents were minimal, as she remembers non-Greek children at school often teasing her and her cousins because of their background. In fact, she believes that her parents' generation, who spoke no English, was fortunate in one respect because this at least protected them from many of the taunts,

> Xenia C.: *I think their generation that came over here, they didn't realize half the things that were said about them. The generation that got it was mine. I mean, I went through the elementary, junior, high school, being called "greasy grease-monkey eating birdseed." Someone had gone to Greece and got us pasteli (a form of peanut brittle with sesame seeds) and we used to die for pasteli, whenever we found it. So, we used to take pieces and if they (other children) ever saw it, "Why are you buying bird seed, you have no money to buy a chocolate bar?"*

Krini Y., who was also born in Halifax in 1960, also remembers being teased at school because of her 'strange' name, but noticed that it was her family's economic status that attracted most attention,

> Krini Y.: *...my name...was kind of a weird name, and because we were poor and because we never had anything. I remember the kids would say things because we lived in a shack. People thought that we did not have anything...as kids got older and then see that we were not bad kids...you know we are not trouble makers and then they end up being your friends.*

For Krini Y., the teasing stopped as the other children had the opportunity to get to know her and her family. She believes that she was also lucky because her parents, who run a neighbourhood convenience store, also got acquainted with the neighbourhood and allowed her to play with the other children, thus facilitating the situation,

> Krini Y: *Helping out at the store, I got to know a lot of my neighbourhood, but my dad was not as many of my friends' fathers or my cousins' dads 'cause he knew the neighbourhood...he did not stop me from hanging out with my Canadian friends or going to their places or to their cottages. As long as he knew the parents, it was not a problem. But, my cousins could not do that. It was all Greek. My cousin was not allowed to hang out with her Canadian friends 'cause the parents did not trust the Canadian parents...my father was different. The parents of my Canadian friends helped him, he believed everything was fine.*

Naya W., who lived far from the Greek community and did not have any siblings or cousins nearby, was allowed to live the 'Canadian' way. Her mother, having felt the loneliness of being an immigrant, did not want her daughter to feel the same way,

> Naya W.: *She didn't want me to feel isolated...so, I had the sleepovers and I had the girls over and was allowed to go to the parties. I even had the Canadian boyfriends because*

they (parents) didn't want me to feel alone. Nevermind that I found a Greek in the end (laughs).

It was perhaps more difficult for Chloe Z., who experienced bullying from her teachers, not the students. Chloe Z. entered primary school with no knowledge of English; until then, she was constantly surrounded by other Greeks. Unfortunately, her teachers expressed their doubts over her abilities to learn English and progress in school quite regularly,

Chloe Z.: *They would tell me, a seven-year-old kid that I was stupid. Because I didn't speak English. They told me I would never learn...I was never the best student, but obviously I did. You don't tell a young kid that stuff...and what could my parents do; they didn't understand what the teacher was doing!*

Her experiences were traumatic for her. When it was time to change schools and go to high school, Chloe Z. decided to register with an anglicised version of her name and avoided speaking Greek whenever possible. Her survival mechanism was to minimize any ethnic connection,

Chloe Z.: *I was pale, blue eyes, really quiet. All I wanted was to blend in and then I would get through it.*

Chloe Z. did, nevertheless, become an educator herself, but did not feel the need to let her former teachers know that they were now essentially colleagues. She also came to embrace her ethnic background facilitated by the more accepting Canadian society.

Xenia C., who was very protective of her cousins was more reactive towards bullying and recounts an occasion where even she admits she may have gone a little too far,

Xenia C.: *...we didn't have a lot of money so my dad got us a pair of (ice) skates for the two of us (her and her cousin). We learned to skate, and were skating. And the guys came by and start, "get off this ice, you don't belong here, this is our ice, go back to where you came from!" And I thought, okay, I was a lot tougher than my cousin and I looked at her and I say "start running." I turned around and I kicked him with my skate on. I heard the crack and I said to her, "just run, just run!" I ran home on the tips of my skates and they were still chasing us! It was moments like these that you remember. Were we treated bad always? No. But it's those instances that stick with you in your head growing up and you think you don't belong. But, it could have been worse, you know?*

Although Krini Y. developed friendships with non-Greeks, she maintains that her ties with the other first generation Greek Canadian girls were special. They began when they were young and due to the common experiences that they shared, they were very important in her life,

Krini Y.: *The first generation Greeks... (we were in the) same situation right? Our parents immigrated here, parents were strict – okay mine a little less, but still...they wanted to keep the Greek ways going and told us, 'Don't do this, don't do that, don't go here'...this ended up being our world.*

Their mutual understanding and their similar realities would further strengthen their bond as they entered womanhood and had to address the various concerns of their parents.

6.6.2. Adulthood

As the women entered their late teens, their parents began to worry about their reputations and their future marriage prospects, much like they knew parents had done back in Greece. Xenia C. believes that the Greek Canadian girls born in the early 1960s like herself, had parents who were very strict, but not as restrictive as the girls before them. She believes that her generation of girls were rebellious and led to the 'ice starting to break' and Greek parents becoming more open and relaxed about what their daughters were allowed to do,

> Xenia C.: *If you meet women at 55 or 60 years, they did nothing! They had it the worst! No friends outside the circle, only Greeks!*

Chloe P., who is a few years older than Xenia C., but has a sister her age, noticed how things were slowly changing, and considers the girls themselves responsible for them.

> Chloe Z.: *My older sister didn't do anything and she didn't argue. Then she went to Greece for school. Why? To get away, I think anyway. So there was me and again, I couldn't do anything, we were never allowed. I stood up to my dad though and at least I got to prom. Most girls either didn't go or had to go with a Greek cousin or something as their date. But then I left, too, I went to Greece. You're free there, but even there, I had to go live with my sister, right? My younger sister, her group was the troublemakers. There were a lot of them around the same age, so they would cover each other and I would support them, 'cause we went through it.*

> Xenia C.: *There's that freedom you had in Greece 'cause they're (parents) not with you 'cause when you're here (Halifax) it's still 1950. We had a hard time. They did what they thought was right, 'Don't do this don't do that.' Those who came behind us got it easier...my daughter now...*

With respect to networks beyond the Greek community, Xenia C. credits multiculturalism, and the introduction of various programs in the province for making her and others of her generation realize that Halifax was their home and that there were people beyond the community that understood and shared common realities with them,

> Xenia C.: *The clarifying moment was when I was in my early twenties...I was a Greek representative of the Multicultural Association. That was an eye opener for me because, did we grow up living in a two by four, no we didn't but I never even thought that there were other immigrant children, never even dawned on me! So you meet these Lebanese, Philippine, Jamaican, Turkish. Talk to a Turkish person? I was told to never trust them! And they were real people, and they were like us. Same values, parents were immigrants, some more educated than others, but still, it was this magnetism that brought us all*

together and to this day we are all still friends because we have something in common, and that's what I realized. We are not alone, yeah there is a little corner for us in Halifax, yeah we don't fit in there, or over there, but we do here.

Nicole P. also attributes certain realizations to multiculturalism as she refers to a childhood neighbour,

Nicole P.: *We grew up next to each other. They were Chinese, but we never thought of them as immigrants too! (laughs). Can you imagine? We'd walk by them every day and we didn't even think that they were going through similar things. We're friends now, oh sure! Even now that we're older, one of my best friends. But, they were right there! Everyone was closed to themselves, I guess...*

Chloe Z., who went through a phase in her life where she chose not to associate with the Greek community beyond family obligation, maintains the networks she developed with her non-Greek university friends, in addition to the re-connections with the Greek Canadian and Greek migrants from the community,

Chloe Z.: *I went to Greece and I came back and I still kept in touch with my Canadian friends. I was always different, though, I hung out with guys too, that was a bit tough on my dad (laughs)...with the Greek community, I liked to participate in the dances and stuff but that was it, so now, I don't know them as well, you know, as individuals, but we're getting to know each other. You know who they are, their family and what they do...*

Perhaps some parents may have given way to certain restrictions that allowed the women to expand their social networks, but these networks remained gendered since reputations were still at stake. A good marriage to a co-ethnic was an ultimate goal. Any interactions with men beyond the family or group setting were either for the purpose of marriage or of great concern to parents. Krini Y., for instance, revealed that she began dating her husband at the age of 16. He was also Greek Canadian, so this was not an issue. However, her parents were uneasy about their relationship until he and his family confirmed his serious intentions. Xenia C., on the other hand, who had not met anyone on her own by her mid-twenties, began to worry her parents, who in turn, commenced a search on her behalf,

Xenia C.: *I went for coffee with my friend from the multicultural association at the restaurant so we could then take my mother home. My mother comes over and she goes, "Please, you married now, please help Xenia, anybody, doesn't matter anybody," she looked at her and goes, "no black and no Chinese, ok?" They tried to set me up, a couple times, but I wanted none of it. So, they stopped.*

The women did not always have full control of their networks until they left the family home, and this usually occurred when they either married or left the province. Their networks are in fact more diverse, yet with a strong sense of attachment to the women of the Greek community,

Phoebe N.: *We grew up together, I've known them since they, we were babies and we went through it all. Who else understands us the way we do each other?*

Chloe Z.: *It's like family in a sense, you don't always get to spend time together, but you always have a door open? Then if you click with that cousin or that one, that's who you might spend more of your time with, but you still spend family time together... it's complicated...*

6.6.3. Relations with other Greek communities in Canada

The Greek Canadian women of this particular group had limited ties to other ethnic communities, beyond those of family, which varied for each person. Despite having travelled and visited other communities, and cities, they have indicated that they have not developed any social networks with other Greek ethnic communities in Canada. They have, however, established distinct connections with other ethnic communities in Halifax, such as the Lebanese and Italian Haligonians, who they consider as ethnic groups with similar cultural traditions and social organisation. During fieldwork, a unique event took place at the Greek community centre, organized by first generation Greek Canadian women in collaboration with their counterparts from the Italian and Lebanese communities of Halifax. The objective of the event was to raise awareness about bone marrow donation and subsequently provide the equipment and tests for people who wished to enter the registry. The motivation for the event was a Greek Canadian woman in Toronto, who needed a donor. People of Greek or Mediterranean background were more likely to be a match for her, but their samples would enter an international registry for possible future needs.

6.6.4. Relations with Greece

The first generation Greek Canadian women developed contact and links with Greece through the stories and images of Greece provided by their parents and the communication with extended family that had not immigrated to Canada or other countries. Visits to Greece reinforced the connections with extended family; however, such visits were difficult and infrequent in the early years. Xenia C. and Chloe Z. did not visit Greece until they were 12 and 14 years old respectively.

As the women reached adulthood, their time spent in Greece enticed some to consider relocation. Xenia C.'s closest friend was one of the women, who fifteen years ago did decide to relocate with her family. Xenia C.'s two oldest cousins also relocated, but eventually returned to Halifax in order to be closer to family. Chloe Z., who also spent many years away from Halifax, attempted to explain why she chose to stay in Greece and why it was a first generation female occurrence (Christou, 2002; Panagakos, 2003; Christou, 2004),

Chloe Z.: *Our parents always dreamt about Greece; how good things were, or I guess can be there, but some of that left us a bit traumatized because what they thought was 'good' we thought was not modern, it was kind of backwards. But when we went there and we spent time with our cousins, went to the beach, it's a whole different life with some of the*

good aspects they describe. The big thing was though that they (parents) let you go there and they don't check up on you or keep you home like they do in Halifax, because you're home, you're in Greece.

The sentiment or willingness to relocate was not shared by all participants. Xenia C. used to visit Greece quite frequently, but does not feel at home with Greek society. Krini Y., has not been to Greece many times and considers Halifax her home,

Xenia C.: *From the trips that I had gone, it was still a little bit backwards in certain areas for me and women didn't have the same rights as men, whereas here, they do. If you wanted to get something done here, you knew how to get it done...you make your arrangements and it's done, no bribes required. There's not the red tape as there is there.*

Krini Y.: *My parents wanted to go back...I do not know Greece at all. I have been there four times, only with my parents. We would visit my aunts and stuff like that, my cousins too. I remember Greece as nice. It's beautiful. I see the life that can be there. Like my cousin, she just bought a place in Korinthos...they just started going there four to five months out of the year. She's the same age as me. That would be my plan. When I retire, go there for six months...I would never move there for good!! This (Canada) is my country. I live here, I was born here. This is my country first, then Greece.*

The women continue to maintain communication and contacts with relatives in Greece and their old friends who have relocated there. They have also transferred some of their contacts to their children in case they wish to visit Greece and connect with relatives and family friends. Both women admitted that the Internet and social networks have re-established some links, which had been lost with the passing of time.

6.7. First and Second Generation Greek Canadians Born in the 1970s onwards

Past the 1970s, there has been an overlap of first generation and second generation Greek Canadian births. This roughly corresponds to the children of the migrants of the later waves of migration and the grandchildren of the early post-WWII migrants. Due to their similar ages, it was not always possible to distinguish between them, prior to the in-depth interviews where the participants could elaborate further about their backgrounds. Within the Greek community, the overlapping generations interacted with each other and participated in the same activities. Arguably, being raised in an immigrant household, differed to being raised in a first generation and/or mixed-marriage household, but at least initially there was no visible distinction.

6.7.1. Childhood

Natasa W. and Ellie G. were born two years apart to Greek immigrant parents who arrived in Halifax in the early 1970s and to first generation Greek Canadians, respectively. Natasa W., the

youngest of three children spoke English and Greek before she went to school, while Ellie G., the eldest of three, spoke Greek,

> Ellie G.: *I hated school so much! I learned English when I was four (at school), so I said words funny and had an accent and I got teased all the time! My dad had to tell me that when you're in school, police come to check and if you're not there they put you in jail. They teased me so much, I hated it!* – **second generation, born 1984**

> Natasa W.: *I had two older brothers, so I didn't have the barriers. I spoke English and Greek at home and French at school and it would get a little confusing...* – **first generation, born 1982**

Both women attended Greek school and participated in other community activities, along with their parents and siblings,

> Ellie G.: *We went to church almost every Sunday and then went to Greek school primary to sixth grade, two nights a week...after Grade 6, we did GOYA (Greek Orthodox Youth Association)...it was for us very important because that's where we'd see all our friends...*

> Natasa W.: *We did up to Grade 7 in my year...but then they stopped.*

Ellie G., who had a hard time at school, understandably looked forward to time with her Greek Canadian peers who did not tease her about her accent. Yet, Nadia G. and Kleo K. expressed similar sentiments despite no unpleasant experiences at school,

> Nadia G.: *I don't remember being teased, but in English school we didn't have any other Greeks, so we liked it (Greek school) for that.* – **second generation, born 1986**

> Kleo K.: *Yup, most of my friends were, are Greek. I didn't hang out with people at school...I went to private school, so it's not like it was in my neighbourhood, unfortunately.* – **first generation, born 1980**

Their parents had few if any restrictions about whom they could spend time with, but the girls did suggest that both Greek and Greek Canadian parents were still stricter than other parents,

> Ellie G.: *I was allowed to go to one dance a year and when everyone when to McDonald's after, I had to go home and my dad would pick me up.*

> Kleo K.: *Not being allowed to go to dances or sleepovers, people did think, "What is wrong with you?"...yeah I wasn't allowed.*

> Emily O.: *My parents hung out with Greeks...so by default we would hang out, but I think I had a good mix because I had friends in the neighbourhood that were non-Greek...my parents were a bit more wary. When I started to hang out at a Greek house, I would just tell them, it wasn't even an ask, but non-Greeks, there were questions and more of a third degree...but they'd let me go, yeah.* – **first generation, born 1978**

With the exception of Ellie G., the other participants did not experience bullying or teasing about their background and could only recount single, random episodes during their childhood of intolerance,

> Nina K.: *No one ever gave me any trouble, if anything they were interested with what happened at home, you know, because my parents spoke a different language and I spoke it with them. So they were curious, (about) what kind of food I ate, but to me it was food, not a 'kind of' it was food. I don't know, they had casseroles, you know so I don't know what happened at their homes either until I started visiting my non-Greek friends' houses and I thought, "Ok, this is different from how my mother does that." But you know in the end we're all the same, we all care about our family, we all have dinner, it's just different.* – **first generation, born 1975**

> Kleo K.: *...there was an incident, I had a paper route and this guy, he kept yelling "effin' Greeks!"...totally weird, out of nowhere!*

> Vasso O.: *I vaguely remember someone saying that to my mother. I was really young and playing at her shop, she was a hair dresser and it was something about how Greeks and immigrants taking people's jobs...I don't remember everything, but I do remember that my mother stood up for herself and just being proud of her.* – **first generation, born 1973**

The girls too were influenced by their parents to distance themselves from any acts of intolerance as well,

> Vasiliki K.: *I remember my mother once, someone looked at me and said something about a dirty Lebanese and I was really surprised, and she told him off,*

Xenia C., Vasiliki K.'s mother also discussed the incident,

> Xenia C.: *...she (Vasiliki K.) was shocked because they (children) see no colour, no difference, all the same. I just stopped and stared at him because he was making fun of other kids and just like an axe in you I said, "You have no idea what you're talking about, that person doesn't deserve to be treated less than anybody else, you should never call anyone names because you haven't lived through it, you don't know what it feels like." Our kids don't get it 'cause they didn't live it...I'm not gonna walk by and let it go...it's not fair.*

The girls were therefore able to create a network of friends shaped by their own personal interests who came from within and beyond the Greek community

6.7.2. Adulthood

The issue and concerns over reputation, which at times overwhelmed the Greek Canadian women born before them, is for these women no issue at all. As they reached adulthood, their parents supported further education in order to obtain a stable job and career. While they may have preferred that the women maintain their ties and friends from within the Greek community, their choices were essentially their own.

As the women considered the development and composition of their social networks in Halifax, their shared realities with other Greek Canadian women are attributed as the reason these connections remain significant throughout their lives.

> Nadia G.: *Most people are Greek but I do have other friends*

> Nina K.: *...the people you felt more comfortable, that you had more in common are those kids you went to Greek school, your cousins because they had, they were raised with that same reality...Canadian, born here, but I'm Greek too, you know?*

However, they do indicate that not all ties have endured in time, with both Greek Canadian and non-Greek friends, likely affected by different lifestyle goals and priorities, while others have flourished,

> Emily O.: *Growing up we were really tight, but once my generation hit a certain age, we grew apart. I don't know if it was because people got married, had kids, everyone is settling, but once a month we try to get together and have dinner. I still have some core friends, and they're mixed, Greek and Canadian.*

> Natasa W.: *In university I would hang out with a lot of guys who were in my class, but now, we went our separate ways, I hang out with the girls.*

Their integration and comfort within society and the residents of Halifax also indicated that they no longer relied on the Greek community as their main source of support,

> Kleo K.: *I feel like I can go to them (people in the community), if I need...I haven't but I feel like I can. Yeah, even if you don't always talk, I think you can, you know who the family is...*

With respect to parents' aspirations for their daughters to marry or any other restrictions, the women rejected such notions as out-dated practices, which are no longer followed,

> Ellie G.: *There is not as much pressure to date Greek as before...I understand that it's easier, but if they're (non-Greek) understanding and participate...there are some mixed marriages that show it can work*

> Natasa W.: *We're a small community too; a lot of us are somehow related, so there are limitations...unless you move elsewhere.*

Kleo K.: *I've lived away from Halifax, in Toronto for four years, but then I came back...alone. My parents don't pressure us about family and stuff...here? Yeah I live at home (laughs).*

6.7.3. Relationship with other Greek Communities

Through the participation in and activities of various associations within the community, the women have been able to supplement any extended kin networks in other Greek communities around Canada with people they have met during the various conferences and meetings organized around the country, which they sometimes attend.

Yvonne N.: *We are really close with some people from the Ottawa Greek community through the dancing. We then invited them all to come and dance at the Greek festival here and then they extended the invitation to us...we're also pretty close...there was a pretty serious romance that came out of that one, and I'm kind of seeing someone from Ottawa at the moment...*

Ellie G.: *GOYA has a close connection with Winnipeg from the conference...they keep in touch with Facebook and stuff and see each other, the kids, at the conferences...dancing also made connections, especially with Ottawa, 'cause they're not big communities too, right? I think they understand each other.*

6.7.4. Relations with Greece

The relations and contacts with Greece vary for each participant of this particular group. The women who have visited more frequently throughout their lives or who continue to have close relatives in Greece as opposed to Halifax or Canada tend to have a stronger attachment to the country.

Emily O., who is the youngest of three sisters is the only one of her sisters, who did not move to Greece,

Emily O.: *My two sisters went back to Greece, so I thought about it after university, just like my sisters. They got me citizenship, I went back for that summer and that's when I decided that it wasn't for me.*

Her eldest sister, Vasso O., went to Greece after the completion of an intensive course at university and the passing of her mother, for some time away, and to decide her next step. While in Greece, her cousin offered her a job, which she accepted on a temporary basis. She then met her future husband and extended her employment at her cousin's company. As she explains, this was not a planned 'escape' from Halifax, which other Greek Canadian women before her had done,

Vasso O.: *No, I never planned to stay and really, having Halifax as an option is a great thing, because you never know if things are going to work out here (Greece) with*

everything...it's really good that we (family) have a place to go...My father was happy, yes, when I moved to Greece. As long as I was happy he didn't care. But yeah, you had some of the older women talking, "Oh, you're leaving your father, a widower, all alone, and you're the eldest, how can you do that?" But my dad told me to ignore them, do what I was happy. I wish he'd come here, actually. He's retired now...

Vasso O., Emily O. and their other sister had spent every other summer with their extended family in Greece. Their parents had no siblings in Halifax only a distant cousin, therefore the family connection was quite strong in Greece, which possibly attracted two of the three sisters.

Vasiliki K., a second generation Greek Canadian, enjoys visiting Greece every other summer and has considered the possibility of immigrating to Greece in the past,

Vasiliki K.: *I've thought about it, yes. I always have because I like it there, I like the life. But I said first, I should go to school, I gotta finish my degree and then see if I can transfer that to Greece, if I can work there. If not, well, I'll have to figure it out...we'll see I don't know. It's always been on my mind though.* – **second generation, born 1990**

Ellie G. and Kleo K. on the other hand, who both have family in Greece, consider Halifax their home. They would consider relocating elsewhere around the country, but are not confident that they can live in Greece, far from their families and within a different system. They do nevertheless enjoy the availability of new methods of communication, which allows them to interact with their relatives more frequently,

Ellie G.: *Facebook is good because now we communicate with cousins more...*

Kleo K.: *...We put pictures up (on Facebook); we get to see them...*

Nina K., a journalist and social media enthusiast appreciates the additional communication avenues she currently shares with her family in Greece, but clarifies that this has not changed the connection between her family member, only facilitated frequent communication,

Nina K.: *You always knew them, you know? There was always love for your aunts and cousins, they were always a part of your life. That, the love, hasn't changed, you're just happy because you get to see them more, you don't, you know, see them after I don't know years, you see them grow, or age I guess. But that doesn't change what you mean to them or they mean to you...*

6.8. Conclusion

The development of social networks differs for each generation and every individual. Personal circumstances, the surrounding environment and population, the period of time and the prevalent perceptions all affect the way in which people are able and willing to interact with others. From the internal, gendered social networks of pre-WWII and Greek migrant women of the 1950s and 1960s, built on co-dependency, to the diverse social networks of the first and second generation

Greek Canadian women born after 1970, the women of the Halifax Greek community have gradually integrated into Halifax society and its social networks. Nevertheless, ties within the community continue to be valued, albeit no longer gendered or isolated from non-Greeks. Networks beyond Halifax are also affected by personal and family circumstances and participation in Greek community activities. What is perhaps somewhat consistent is that the central social network of the women within the community consists of other members of the same age group; younger and older generations belong to the more extended ethnic networks. Moreover, ethnic networks can also acquire an economic component, which is addressed in the following chapter.

7. Economic Development

7.1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the economic mobility and development of the female members of the Greek community. Interviews and historical data are utilized to determine how women navigated through the available routes of the Halifax labour market in order to develop, or contribute to the improvement of, their personal and family well-being. The organization of this chapter is generational and further divided into particular time periods. These divisions wish to highlight how shifts in ideology among the members of the Greek community and the greater Halifax society, through acquired knowledge, social integration and time, affected this development.

7.2. Female migrants

When we consider Greek female migrants within the Halifax labour market, it is important to realise that they constitute a group, distinct from subsequent generations, because they have entered a host society and labour market. They therefore experience obstacles that arise against and opportunities available to a newcomer and foreigner. What further affects their experience is the point of time they have entered the host society and their personal circumstances.

7.2.1. Pre-World War II

> ***"The Greeks as a rule are thrifty and enterprising, proud and independent" (Vlassis, 1953, p. 120).***

Interview data and archival material support that the first male Greek migrants who settled in Halifax were successful in running their own businesses, particularly within the services industry, which according to Vlassis (1953, p. 120) and the above quote is in the Greek nature; they work hard, but they like to work for themselves. Archival data confirm both Vlassis (1953, p. 127) and the participants who made reference to the pioneer migrants; men held positions such as restaurant owners, caterers, merchants, (business) proprietors and grocers or fruit dealers[16]. With respect to the female migrants, the archival data indicates that they were all, with no exception, housewives. When considering the conservative Greek values and 'defensive' Greek migrant communities in North America (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992; Gavaki, 2003), coupled with the generally more conservative social norms of early twentieth century Canadian society, women at home and men at work was quite a plausible reality. In this case however, participant interviews were able to confirm that the women of some families were in fact housewives, yet in certain cases, while still officially 'housewives,' women would also contribute by working at their family business; Persephone R., for instance, informed us of how her mother, in addition to running the house,

[16] The archival data used to confirm the occupations of pioneer migrants include their personal death certificates and/or the birth and death certificates of their offspring. This is public information since it occurred over 50 years ago and provided by the Nova Scotia Historical Vital Statistics website (2012).

would also work at their restaurant every day; while Costas W., recounted how both his grandparents and mother worked at their food market. However, there is no evidence of working outside of the family business, with the exception of raising funds and planning events with the Greek community.

7.2.2. The 1950s and 1960s

> ***"...Overrepresented in the unskilled occupational categories...One of the largest low-status occupational groups was comprised of domestic servants...Greek immigrant women were usually employed as machine operators in factories, or as hospital workers, waitresses, or cleaners—jobs in which exploitation was widespread. Many received less than the legally-mandated minimum wage..." (Chimbos, 1987, pp. 134-135).***

The above excerpt from *Occupational Distribution and Social Mobility of Greek Canadian Immigrants* (Chimbos, 1987), summarizes the results of data collected on the status of Greek migrants during the 1950s and 1960s, with a brief focus on the status of women. The interviews of female migrants in Halifax from this period could attest to these results; participants provided accounts of difficult and often unstable working conditions during the 'early years' as domestic workers, waitresses, cleaners, dry cleaners, seamstresses and factory workers. This was the only work available to women with limited or no knowledge of the English language and some formal education, usually the completion of primary (elementary) school. Greek establishments were preferred, but the number of new arrivals and the demand for jobs was greater than what the small number of Greek-owned businesses could accommodate. Moreover, a Greek establishment did not necessarily entail better treatment of employees. The co-ethnic network, nevertheless, remained significant, as it continued to work through referrals.

Magda N., who arrived in 1959 with her young son to meet her husband, began working within a few months at a Greek-owned dry cleaning shop, before finding a job at a tailor shop because of her sewing skills. The job was a referral and was not, initially, a Greek establishment.

> Magda N.: *By then, I had learned, 'good morning' and 'good evening.' I worked with a Jordanian and an Italian and we worked (well) together, then Greeks got it. They kept me for six months – they didn't know the trade. I worked, I showed them (how to do) my work and instead of a thank you, they fired me.*

Through the referral of her uncle, Petra W. got a job, her first job in Halifax, as a waitress in a diner. She recalled the many hours she worked for little pay, but also a particular misunderstanding that made her realize how work was never a guarantee,

> Petra W.: *...As a waitress...I worked seven days a week. I would make $17 a week and I had to mop the floors (at the end of the night)...One day they got us new uniforms and*

there was something wrong (with the material), but I didn't realize until I got to the café and someone pointed it out, so I ran back home to fix it, to change. By the time I got back I was late and the boss fired me. I was too embarrassed to explain myself, so I went home. I told my uncle I got fired and explained what happened and he called the boss and got me hired again.

Rita R. had trained as a hairdresser in Greece, but was at first intimidated with the idea of working in Halifax. Through the suggestion of her husband and his relatives, she decided to seek work at a hair salon run by another Greek, which they hoped could help her transition more easily into the life and language of the country, and build her confidence,

Rita R.: *I went to a job when I first got here at a Greek lady's salon...I never had or knew what a day off was. From 9 am to 9:30 pm. My feet couldn't hold me up. I had to wash the towels by hand. Just so you can see that taking advantage was a global thing. I left there and went to another Greek salon because there was (still) the language issue. She gave me $50 a week with a day off!*

Rita R., much like Magda N. and Petra W., was disappointed with her first work experience in Halifax. She was further disheartened because she had expected that a fellow co-ethnic would have been sensitive to the circumstances of new immigrants and therefore more understanding. Fortunately, her subsequent position rectified both disappointments. Moreover, thanks to her training and the experience she did acquire in her second position, she was able to find work after an extended leave, due to a difficult pregnancy, at a hair salon where she flourished as a stylist for over thirty years.

Of course not all first experiences resulted in disappointment. Vera T. and her sister were brought to Canada to work as domestic workers, but in reality, Vera T was not familiar with the tasks and duties of a domestic worker,

Vera T.: *I became a housekeeper, although I had never worked in the house before...I swept and I cleaned...my sister told me they would expect me to cook Spartan food, but I didn't know how...that was the most stressful, so she gave me a recipe and when they asked, that's what I made...thankfully they ran a restaurant so I did not have to cook more than once.*

Vera T.'s sister who had arrived before her, tried to provide her with direction to ensure that her sponsors would be happy and satisfied with her work. Vera T. was also quite content with her position and even offered to assume additional duties. She did, however, feel lonely, living without family, something her employers did not immediately realise. When Vera T. expressed the wish to be closer to her family, she was given permission to leave, despite not having fully repaid her 'sponsorship ticket.' After working as a domestic in a Greek home, her next job was as a dishwasher at a Greek owned restaurant, a stepping-stone until her English was adequate for her to be promoted to a waitress, which she quickly was. Her sister, on the other hand, left her domestic

worker position when she got engaged. As Tastsoglou (2010) determined, it was quite common for Greek domestic workers to leave their position in favour of work within the ethnic community. As Vera T. explained, work as a domestic worker was an opportunity to get to Canada. It would, however, be a temporary job because the tasks and requirements somewhat hindered women from having their own families.

The women who emigrated from Greece were generally between the ages of 18 and 30 (most in their early twenties). Some were married with children, some newlyweds, others engaged and others single. The single migrant women, interviewed, such as Petra W. and Vera T., were able to support their life in Halifax, save money to sponsor others, send money home, or save for their future. These women however, did not attempt to start their own businesses or buy property in contrast to migrant men who, regardless of marital status, would do so as soon as they were financially able. As Greek women, their ultimate goal was to marry and raise a family, contributing to the well-being of the whole family (Tastsoglou, 1997a); men were the property and primary business owners, and in theory made the decisions that concerned family finances, while the women ran the home and would work, in theory to supplement the husbands' earnings. Interviews with both female and male migrants revealed, nonetheless, that while trying to adhere to the traditional gender roles within the family unit, which both Greek men and women perceived as proper at the time, women often took initiatives and risks, shared the entrepreneurial spirit and applied experience to hold principal roles in business endeavours, all still for the sake of family well-being and the economic development of the family unit. Just as Karpathakis and Harris (2009) determined the Greek migrant women in their case study were actually the, 'family's economic adviser, treasurer and public relations personnel' (p. 49), the migrant women of Halifax were determined, resourceful, risk-takers, "multi-taskers" and shared in the entrepreneurial spirit.

Magda N.: The Resourceful Entrepreneur

Magda N., whose family had gone through difficult times when they first arrived, felt 'resurrected' when her family was able to afford the purchase of their own utilities for their new apartment they were renting. The volatility of the job market however, caused her to lose her job at the tailor shop and meant that her husband had no guarantees the he would be able to keep his position. Disappointed with working for others, she decided to use her skills in her own space,

> Magda N.: *Men's egos meant that my husband lost a lot of jobs, so what do I do? There, (the apartment), on the first floor, I put up my sign that said, 'ALTERATIONS.' Business was like a swarm of bees. I had so much work, I sometimes couldn't finish it on time...we lived there and I would have (customers') clothes hanging above our bed.*

The landlord was notified by neighbours who reported that she was running a business in his premises without permission, a complaint Magda N. believes came from nearby competitors who wished for her business to fail. Her landlord, a first generation Greek Canadian, upon inspecting

her home and workspace, was on the contrary, rather impressed with her initiative and gave her his blessing,

> Magda N.: *When the space (apartment) next to us opened up, he told me to use it for my business.*

When the family's finances stabilised, Magda N. chose to join her husband, who had by then worked in the restaurant business for some time, at his new restaurant. She signed over her alterations business to another recent female migrant, a distant cousin she had sponsored to come to Canada, and helped her with the business a few hours a week. When her cousin decided to sell the business and she was no longer needed, she focused on the family restaurant. The success of the restaurant led to the purchase of an even larger property, which was converted into a Greek restaurant that boasted traditional and authentic tastes. Her son joined the business bringing new ideas, which led to further success and exposure.

> Magda N.: *We were on the news and when the prime minister came to visit Halifax, he dined at our restaurant. Many people came here, we had their pictures on the wall.*

Unfortunately, her husband, who was the restaurant's chef fell ill and was unable to run the kitchen,

> Magda N.: *My husband believed, without the chef, the food is not our food. It is not what our customers know. My son was not a chef, so hiring someone else, it wouldn't be the same, and we were getting older, so we decided to close...but we were fortunate, so praise God, we were going to be fine.*

Magda N. and her husband entered retirement. One day, a discussion about the quality of dipping sauces available in the Halifax market prompted a new idea that would become the couples' new project.

> Magda N.: *It was a smaller project, so my husband was still able to do it. We made the dipping sauces, like tzatziki and hummus (that we made at the restaurant) and sold them commercially with our restaurant's name and logo as the brand. I would go and promote it at local supermarkets, and people would recognize me from the restaurant, happy to see that the 'brand' was still alive. Once again it was a success...but eventually the supermarkets stopped wanting to sell our brand, maybe it was threatening their other brands, so we had to stop.*

Magda N. came to Halifax with certain hesitation about what the future would hold. She was a young mother and spoke no English, but she was resourceful and always looked ahead. With just her sewing skills that she had learned as a young girl at home from her mother, she was able to start a small business that supported her family and her husband's search for a stable opportunity. She was willing, once again, to start fresh, this time with her husband in their new restaurant, where success followed and she became the face of their restaurant's 'brand.'

Nasia P.: Risk Taker and Manager

Nasia P. and her husband originally settled in the town of Gander, Newfoundland where her husband worked as a dry cleaner. Both she and her husband felt quite isolated where they lived due to the harsh weather conditions and the difficulty they had when communicating to the locals in English. Only three other Greeks lived in their town. Nasia P., having heard about Halifax, and aware that her husband's employers, who owned a number of dry cleaner's shops in various locations, owned one in Halifax, tried to convince her husband to ask for a transfer. Her husband was hesitant. He felt indebted to his sponsors and employers and afraid that such a request may not be appreciated. Nasia P., however, thought it was worth the risk if this could lead to any chance of a happier home. She decided to write a letter on both their behalves to the wife of her husband's employer. She believed that another woman would better understand her position and subsequently relay the information to her husband. His boss agreed and they soon moved to Halifax where she also worked at the dry cleaner's. Within five years they became owners of the dry cleaner's shop and their own house. The work was hard, but fifteen years later, when her children had grown, they bought another dry cleaner's and alterations shop. Until their retirement, both she and her husband run their own shop. Furthermore, Nasia P. credits their transfer to Halifax for their success, because it saved their 'spirit,' and willingness to work, and allowed them to come to a city with greater opportunities. She does not regret sending that letter requesting the transfer, even though her act had drawn some reactions from other co-ethnics,

> Nasia P.: *Okay... (some people) thought I overstepped because I didn't listen to my husband? Well! Did they want us to stay and be miserable? No? (Well,) Okay then!!*

To her peers, she had essentially disregarded the decision of the head of the household, her husband. Nasia P. nevertheless continues to defend her acts to this day. The fact that she sent the letter to the employer's wife, rather than speaking to the employer directly or through a letter, is a clue, however, that she too feared that her act may be perceived as overstepping boundaries and therefore selected the safest route, that of another female.

Petra W.: Determined Mother

Petra W. sponsored her fiancé after having only seen his picture; her parents arranged the union in Greece after Petra W. had already moved to Halifax, but her mother reassured her that he was a good man. Back in Greece, Chris W. held a position in the Gendarmerie, a regimented role where orders had to be followed and executed at all times, something he felt did not suit his character. When he arrived in Halifax, he was eager to set his dream in motion; to achieve economic independence and be his own boss. He was able to buy a small diner, but unlike other co-ethnics who had first worked in the food service industry before owning their own business, Chris W. lacked experience. However, by then his wife had been working in food service for nearly three years, and she was immediately recruited to show him the business. Business was slow at first and

for some time, the couple did not see any profit. Petra W. did not take well to the change from a set salary to none,

> Chris W.: *...She would cry in the kitchen because I made her leave her job at the restaurant and now she wasn't working, and I was burning my fingers and hands all the time! I didn't know the business...*

Gradually, business increased and Chris W. maintains that Petra W. was instrumental in their success. Chris W., however decided to leave the luncheon and enter a partnership and co-ownership of a larger restaurant with his wife's uncle, a more experienced restaurateur. The new restaurant guaranteed paid work for both him and Petra W., but also less pressure. But, plans quickly changed, when his partner asked to dissolve their partnership because he wanted to give the restaurant as dowry to his future son-in-law. Petra W. remained at the restaurant and worked as a waitress, a job she knew quite well, while Chris W. began searching for work. Petra W. now had a stable job, but could not stay home and care for her two very young children. The young couple was forced to make the difficult decision to send their children to Greece to live with their grandparents, Petra W.'s parents, who could supervise and care for them.

> Petra W.: *...it's not that it was that much easier in Greece, but I had no one here to help me with the children, so what were we to do, we both had to work.*

Meanwhile, Chris W. would go through a few careers, from door to door salesman to furniture salesman, his aptitude for business and language acquisition noticed by local business owners. The couple eventually became more financially stable, and even bought a house for their family. Petra W. could not wait any longer than the two years that had already passed and travelled to Greece to bring the children back to Halifax. She was determined this time to keep them with her. When the couple saw that a man had opened a fish and chip shop near their home, Petra W., who had by then extensive restaurant experience, studied the new owner and his establishment,

> Petra W.: *I saw a young Canadian bought the fish and chip shop, a tiny little shop...I told my husband, "Where are you going? This man isn't capable to run this shop, why don't you ask him to sell it to us. Let's do something now...now that we have the children, they'll go to school, we'll be nearby and we can care for them."*

Chris W. considered his wife's idea and reviewed the shop. He made an offer to buy the shop, this time with his wife's blessing, which the owner accepted. Petra W., now confident within the industry knew that they would be able to handle the business, in contrast to when they were first married.

The shop was a success, and within a few years, they were able to buy the whole building that housed the shop,

> Petra W.: *We expanded it...renovated and rented the upstairs...then we bought another house...at lunch, the children would come from school and I would feed them there. At*

night, a waitress who worked at the shop and rented a room in the building would walk them across the road to our house, put them to sleep and watch them...sometimes they'd come from school at lunch and they would leave without eating. That's how busy we were!

Their investments grew to include more property and another business, a coffee shop. Petra W., although unable to contribute with the property management and accounting, managed the restaurant, while Chris W. ran the coffee shop and the properties.

Petra W.: *He (husband) was doing too much, going back and forth and I told him that we couldn't go on like this, but I didn't want him to sell the restaurant. The children had grown and had their own lives so what was I to do at home? It had a lot of business, though...When I got pregnant (again) though, I stopped.*

The family sold the restaurant when Petra W. became pregnant with their third child and focused on the properties and coffee shop, which adequately supported them. Petra W. realised that she was now able to care for her family from home without fear that if she was not working, her family would not have what they needed to live a good life. Nevertheless, Petra W. did not leave the workforce for good; when her youngest daughter reached school age, Petra W. took the morning shifts at the coffee shop. The traditional Greek family structure did not seem sufficient for Petra W., who enjoyed the interaction with customers at the shop. 'Retirement' finally became a reality when her granddaughters were born.

Vera T.: Business and Family Partner

Before Vera T. agreed to marry Time T., she voiced her concern over his job and how this affected her expectations of what married life should be,

Vera T.: *Time T. used to work on the ships and stay two or three months away from Halifax. I told him, "I won't get married and stay all alone. If you want your ships, you can keep them." I told him this before we got married. So, he stopped and got a job at a hotel washing dishes and he was miserable...but then he found work...selling restaurant equipment.*

Selling restaurant equipment came with a self-appointed schedule and work on commission, which allowed Time T. to consider the possibility of additional work. This came in the form of a family partnership between Vera T., Time T. and Vera T.'s brother in law, who was working as a cook. The three bought a restaurant and each had specific responsibilities: Vera T.'s brother in law was the restaurant chef, Time T. helped in the early mornings, busy lunch hour and evenings, and Vera T. managed the restaurant. Vera T. and her brother-in-law used their skills and experience and Time T. his flexible schedule to ensure that their family restaurant ran smoothly with all the profits going to the two young families.

Xenia C., Vera T.'s daughter: *So that's how we got through it (poverty)...she (Vera T.) ran the restaurant, with my uncle who was the cook...*

Although it was more common for Greek migrants to eventually run their own business with other family members or co-ethnics, certain cases suggest that some couples would work separately in different fields, usually because one or both had training in a particular trade, which entailed less hours and better pay.

Rita R. and her husband, for instance did not open a business because he was a trained electrician and she a hairdresser. They did, nonetheless, choose to buy a split-level home and supplemented their income by renovating and renting the lower floor. Emily O., a first generation Greek Canadian, when discussing her parents revealed that they too did not work together since her mother was a hairdresser and her father a ship engineer, a very specialised and highly sought after position in a maritime city such as Halifax.

Aliki P. and her husband were an exception for both cases; while neither of them was trained in a particular field, her husband requested that they not work together. Aliki P.'s husband worked as a waiter in Halifax and did not wish for her to work in the same field since he found the job too demanding. He also insisted that a happy couple needed their own space away from each other. Aliki P. was happy to find work, provided it did not require any sewing,

> Aliki P.: *I hated sewing, just like my mother because I never learned. I had an aunt (in Greece) who worked as a seamstress and she would do everything, so when I came here this was my punishment....they found me work in a factory that made men's working clothes! I said, "You guys are crazy, I don't even (know how) to sew a button!" But my sister in law said it was easy and that I should give it a try...it wasn't so bad because everything was already cut and I did just pockets...it took me a week or so to figure it out, the machine, so I wouldn't sew my hands...I made more than Taki because it was (considered) a trade...I worked there for a couple of years and then I went to work at the laundry of the Halifax infirmary...A nurse/ nun, asked me if I could sew and asked if I'd like to work there for more money and benefits...they would make their own baby clothes and I worked there.*

Aliki P. highlights that she had been fortunate to work at the infirmary, since a job with benefits was rarely available to migrants. Unfortunately her growing family required Aliki P.'s attention during the working day,

> Aliki P.: *I stopped working at the infirmary and worked the midnight shift to 8 am at a 24-hour luncheon because I had to take care of the baby...I then got a part-time job at a restaurant, but I saw that doing this job you made money and that was 'everything' because the kids were getting older and you need the money for schools, and what can you do, where can you work? Then I went to work at another restaurant where I made good tips. And when you made that, plus they pay you, plus you eat...I started there and worked*

for 22 years...you hate your job but you make the money. For immigrants, it's not about the money but to survive!

As in the case of Petra W., working and raising a family without the presence and support of the extended family unit, was perhaps one of the most foreign and difficult concepts the Greek migrant women encountered. Whether day care and other such services were available in Halifax or not, they were not options for these women; their main responsibility was the well being of the family and therefore the personal care of their children. While Petra W. and her husband sent her children to family back in Greece, Aliki P. and her husband took care of their family in 'shifts' and chose jobs that could provide good wages.

Aliki P. recalls that from 1961 when she arrived until 1973, she and her husband were able to build up their finances and were owners of two properties; however, her last pregnancy was followed by a yearlong illness and an extended hospital stay that upset their circumstances.

Aliki P.: *My health was destroyed and financially...we had two houses and we had to start over again...three kids...we survived okay, but we missed out on what we could have had if I wasn't sick.*

7.2.3. The 1970s and 1980s

Particularly after the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, the socioeconomic conditions began to improve in Greece, thus decreasing the rate of emigration. It did not however, cease altogether, since the effects of the increasingly stable economic and political climate took some time to fully materialise; there was still therefore some shortage of employment and opportunity. The interviews with female migrants, who arrived in the 1970s, and additional research, clearly indicated this stage of transition in Greek society, reflected by the additional categories of migrants arriving to Canada and represented within the Halifax community. Greek migrants of the 1970s and 1980s included traditional labour migrants, career-directed labour migrants and students in postsecondary (tertiary) education and programmes. Transition also occurred in Halifax where new federal programmes for migrants were implemented in order to support newcomers to Canada.

Gina U. had just completed high school when she got married and came to Halifax with the idea that the move was temporary,

Gina U.: *My husband was already here a few months...The plan was to work for a few years and to go back...but we kept postponing it...(when I first got here), every day we would get five or six letters from Greece and I would write them all back...and they kept saying here, "You're gonna get bored..." I didn't...I just couldn't, didn't have time the way I did when I first arrived...*

She completed courses at a university in Halifax while working at her husband's family restaurant. When an unfortunate event led to the restaurant closing down, Gina U. was able to find a job working at a branch of the Royal Bank of Canada, where she continues to work today. Her

schedule also allowed her to work as a Greek language and dance teacher on Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings. In addition, Gina U. is able to travel to Greece quite regularly where her family owns a house.

Ekali K., who also arrived as a newlywed in Canada, was only sixteen and had nearly completed lyceum (high school) in Greece. Her husband had been a labour migrant who arrived in the 1960s and had already established a business by the time Ekali K. had arrived. As a landed immigrant, she attended free night school, a service provided and promoted by the government for new migrants, which focused on improvement in English language. Yet, after going through a language assessment, it was determined that her English was quite advanced and since she was so young, was told attend regular high school. Her advanced credits from Greek lyceum also translated to early admission at a university in Halifax. Ekali K, however envisioned a different future,

> Ekali K.: *I went to day school and I could do it. I could speak English, I learned history, North American history...in Grade 12. The Math was lower level than in Greece...school was very different. In Greece we wore uniforms. Here (high school), in 1973, were the 'hippy' years- girls in mini-skirts. I only went from January to May but I didn't take the exams because I got accepted to secretarial school...I got accepted to university too with my Grade 11 marks...but I didn't go because I had the Greek attitude to stay home and have kids...I went to secretarial school for one year and then I worked for two years until I got pregnant and I stayed home...I still had the Greek mentality that the wife stays at home and takes care of the children. After a year (at home), I realized that this was not the case. Whether Greek or Canadian, women my age were working, the Greek women more because they had restaurants and they had long hours, so I went to work as a receptionist at the hair salon. I became good friends with the girls and realized I was artistic; I had ideas so I went to take a course. I was 22 years old, which is old for a hairdresser in 1976...after Grade 9 you became a hairdresser (in Canada), it was a trade.*

Ekali K. was given a series of options upon her arrival that included her personal advancement through education. Her traditional views, initially directed her to reject some of these opportunities, but eventually, she realized that in Halifax, women worked. She was fortunate to discover a talent that was also a trade and became a hairdresser. Her training, allowed for stability in her work, as it did for Rita R. Ekali K. continues to work at a hair salon, albeit fewer hours, upon her request.

When Thalia Y. first came to Halifax, she had already spent time studying and working in London, England and Whitby, Ontario. She came to Halifax to help her older sister, who was working and had a newborn. She did not, however like these responsibilities and decided to return to Cyprus,

Thalia Y.: *I stayed (in Halifax) for one year, didn't like it. I was not allowed to go out alone. I said I'd rather be in Cyprus...I didn't know anyone...I'm the type of person that doesn't like being alone. I liked talking to people.*

On her way back to Cyprus, she stopped in London for a family wedding, where her brother convinced her to return to Canada, this time go to Toronto with him and his wife and new-born. Thalia Y. did not want the same life as in Halifax, but her brother convinced her it would be different,

Thalia Y.: *The first few years (in Whitby) I was a student, I didn't like that. Then I was babysitting, I didn't like that so, I didn't like Canada...he (brother) said that if I came back, I'd find a job, stay with him and I'd like it...I agreed, but said that if I didn't like it, I would leave. So I went, I helped with the baby, then I found a job, I met people and I liked it... I wanted my own apartment this time, so my parents came and stayed with me for eight months at this new apartment because they did not want me to live alone. I said I wasn't leaving to go live with anyone, I wanted my own space. So, they let me, but I had to give an account of my whereabouts every day and be at the house every evening when my brother called...*

When visiting her other brother in Halifax, she would meet her future husband. Thalia Y. told him that she did not like life in Halifax, so they agreed that when they got married, Thalia Y. would move to Halifax for a trial year, to see if life was better now with her husband and after meeting more people.

Thalia Y.: *I didn't like it and I told him...but we said to wait a bit...then we had the kids and we moved abroad for two years for his work...then I had a choice, he gave me the choice, Halifax or Toronto. Then I thought, Halifax is the perfect place to raise a family...but Halifax was a completely different thing when I was married...I had my freedom.*

Thalia Y. continues to work as a nanny for children of Greek Canadian parents within the community and enjoys other activities and volunteer work, which allows her to interact with many people. Her yearning for independence and personal economic development came in conflict with her traditional family, but reflects the transition of values and priorities of young women at the time. In a clear twist, her marriage allowed her to find that personal independence or personal growth, while also contributing to the family unit. She considers her husband a partner in the full sense of the word and their partnership has led to a life where her terms are considered.

Mina S. is one of the first migrants who had arrived in Halifax as a result of labour migration not driven by nationality or ethnicity but rather for the purpose of career development. Although it was her husband who was offered the teaching position, the decision to relocate to Halifax was reached following the career potential in the city for both Mina S. and her husband. Her education and training led to quick employment and a teaching career that lasted for many years.

Both Thalia Y. and Mina S. recounted how whilst they were raising their young families, a new wave of migrants also arrived from Greece and Cyprus in the form of university students. Both men and women came to study at the many universities in Halifax and most returned to Greece after completing their degrees. The 1984 Greek community yearbook (St George's Greek Orthodox Community, 1984) included a description of the Greek students' associations at Halifax universities, who interacted with various members of the community, particularly first generation Greek Canadians who also attended university. This wave was a further indication that Greek society was increasingly accepting, or able to accept, the benefits of higher education for both men and women of all socioeconomic strata for the purpose of economic mobility. The increase in female students also suggested that perhaps these women did not view marriage and raising a family as an immediate priority, but took time to acquire additional training to support their future.

7.2.4. The 1990s

The 1990s saw a fall in student migrants, a result of higher tuition fees for international students at Canadian universities, which made home universities and other European destinations more attractive alternatives. Career-directed labour migration, in addition to random migration from Greece, continued, yet the number of Greek migrants from this time period was considerably lower than the previous decades.

Natalia S. who came to Halifax after marrying a Greek Canadian and Chryso M., who selected Halifax as their permanent home without any direct connections to the city, work as teachers at the Greek language school every Saturday. They acquired these positions after being encouraged to apply by other members of the community due to their more extensive Greek education and use of the Greek language as a result of having lived in Greece. They have both chosen to not seek further employment and have expressed gratification staying at home and raising their families.

7.3. First Generation Greek Canadians

7.3.1. Pre-World War II

First generation Greek Canadians raised in Halifax had access to a city with a rich tradition in education. The majority, both male and female, completed either some secondary school (high school) or vocational training, while some continued and attended university. While education for both genders was supported when at a young age, after women reached an age where marriage was a possibility, further education was often no longer important; marriage, raising a family and running a home remained a priority. Each family, nevertheless, viewed the importance of education differently; affected by personal experience, socioeconomic status and personal ideologies (Vlassis, 1953, p. 107; Thomas, 1988)[17].

[17] Vlassis (1953, p. 107) includes a list of Greek Canadians in Halifax who at the time of print were attending tertiary education. Of the nine people listed, six were female and three were male. Thomas (1988), however,

Persephone R. and her siblings were not in the majority when they all attended college and university. It was even more unique when Persephone R. attended college in New York; women who left Halifax, left with their husbands; and the Greek Canadians, who did attend university, did so in Halifax. Persephone explains that her choice (and ability) to study in New York was because the school and degree were specialized and unique in North America,

> Persephone R.: *When I finished high school, I went to Greek teacher's college, St. Basel in New York for three years... it was just for girls. When I finished there, my first position was in Dayton, Ohio...I taught Greek and I was the secretary. I taught and led the choir and the Greek summer school...for two years before I returned home.*

The St. Basel Academy is a non-profit run by the Greek Orthodox Church, which was founded in 1944 with the aid of the Greek Orthodox Ladies Philoptochos Society, a society both Persephone R. and her mother were members of. The three-year teaching degree was therefore a unique degree because in addition to acquiring a teaching qualification and other administrative training, it provided instruction on how to teach the Greek language. Persephone R., as a Greek Canadian, saw the merits of this opportunity as did her family and community, who were likely more at ease with her studying in a Greek American environment that would then allow her to work with children of Greek communities[18]. It is uncertain if they would have been equally pleased if Persephone R. had not returned to Halifax, which for Persephone R., was the logical decision,

> Persephone R.: *Well, yeah...I live here! And this is where I met my husband.*

Persephone R. was working in Dayton when she came to Halifax to visit her family and friends. She went to the restaurant where her friend worked, only to find a young man behind the counter who offered her a cup of coffee,

> Persephone R.: *She (friend) had already left...I said okay, so I sat down at the bar there...behind the cash, Taki was sitting there and talking to me and that was it. We got engaged in two months! For some reason I kept going back (to the restaurant), I don't know why (smiles and laughs).*

While away at college, Persephone R. admits to that she too, like most girls, dreamt of the man she would marry and starting a family,

> Persephone R.: *...When I first went to the States, you know how every girl makes dreams; I dreamt I would meet someone in America, but in the end, I came right back to my own back yard!*

When Persephone R. and her husband married, they ran the restaurant her family owned, which they later inherited. While helping at the restaurant, Persephone R. led the Greek Church choir and

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who interviewed members of the community thirty years later, reveals that for some families, education for daughters stopped at high school, while for sons at university or other higher level of education.

[18] According to Vlassis (1953, p. 107), Persephone was one of two girls from Halifax who attended the college at the same time, but did not apply her education upon completion.

taught Greek at the community school. She was later promoted to Principal of the Greek school. Although she retired a few years ago, she continues to work as an interpreter for members of the Greek community,

> Persephone R.: *I used to do a lot of interpreting...and I still do, I'm with the... Cultural Health. I go to the hospitals and ... courts. Not as much now, because now the people are good (English) speakers, and they are mostly professional people now, they all are educated... but I do go to hospitals 'cause there's a few older people now that have gone to hospital and need an interpreter, but they don't want family members. They (hospital) call right away, the cultural interpreters, so I go...*

There is a great sense of gratitude towards Persephone R. from other members of the Greek community and participants. They believe she has made an extensive contribution to the well-being of the community as a whole. As a first generation Greek Canadian, she helped and became friends with many female migrants who were close in age, but who clearly did not share similar backgrounds or circumstances. This did not affect the way Persephone R. interacted with the women and men of the community: something that was greatly appreciated. Persephone R. herself appreciates both her family and husband who encouraged her to follow her aspirations and continue her work, even after marriage and the birth of her children.

7.3.2. Women born in the 1950s and 1960s

First generation Greek Canadians born in the 1950s and 1960s are the children of the early post-WWII labour migrants. As children, they witnessed the hardships their parents had to overcome in order to establish a better future for their families. They were also raised during a time of transition, much like their counterparts in Greece, where the traditional roles and occupations conflicted with what experience would suggest could lead to socioeconomic development. This was particularly the case for female first generation Greek Canadians.

While all children attended primary school and usually completed secondary school or followed a trade, they also worked alongside their parents, helping with the family business, or got part-time and summer jobs.

> Chloe Z.: *We all worked at the restaurant, and in the summer, because they didn't need us all the time at the store, I would work at other places...as a cashier at a pharmacy for some time, at a diner owned by a family friend, my uncle's shop....The deal was, the money we made, we could keep...at our restaurant, we didn't get 'paid', we got some pocket money, an allowance, but the other jobs...that was ours so we didn't have to ask dad (for any money)...I would buy some stuff and save too...my sister would spend it all! I don't know if that was the same for all families. Maybe others brought it (money) home to the family. Some didn't work outside the family.*

Nicole P.: *My mother went to work at the infirmary laundry where...Greek women that came here in the '50s and '60s worked...I worked there too in the summer when I was a kid...I think (I was) about thirteen years old. All I did was fold baby clothes, but I made a few dollars...I went to high school...parents were supportive but in the summer I HAD to work.*

As the first generation Greek Canadians reached the end of their secondary school education, there was no general consensus or path among the migrant parents or even the children themselves about their future plans and aspirations. Participants reveal a range of outcomes and expectations upon completion of school, from some women wanting to go to university with the full support of their parents to some not ever considering it as an option.

Nicole P.: Keeping with 'Tradition'

Nicole P. and her family came to Halifax and "started with nothing." As a young woman she regarded marriage as the means for her life to improve, even though her then future husband was also a migrant who had a similar start in Halifax as her parents. In retrospect, she views her decision not to pursue further education foolish,

Nicole P.: *I went to high school...I wish I had continued but I guess I didn't have the brains to continue...I trained to be a hairdresser and I loved it, until I got married and had my son. I was nineteen. I knew my husband for a long time, ever since he came to Canada and we were always together...I would work at the restaurant even as a hairdresser, in the evenings...I thought, "Oh, I'm gonna get married and it's gonna be perfect," but it wasn't. You gotta make sacrifices...after I got married my father and husband who ran the restaurant...they decided, you know, "come help us, come help us," so I did.*

As a young woman, Nicole P. viewed marriage as a means to an easier life, where she would assume her wifely duties and not have to work as hard anymore. Nicole P. would realize that marriage did not immediately eliminate the need to work and support the family business in addition to raising a family. Her parents' restaurant would later be run by Nicole P. and her husband, who worked for many years and created a very successful establishment that allowed them to support their family. She is grateful for the success, yet maintains that had her views on life not been what she considers 'Greek,' and had she received an education and some autonomy before marriage, the journey would not have been as difficult.

Xenia C.: Success through Employment

Xenia C., born in 1960, was raised always helping out at her parents' luncheon. On the weekends, her father would take her along to his sales appointments,

Xenia C.: *From a really young age, I was thrown into everything. He (father) was the one who made me strong...confident...he made sure I knew the business, I could speak to the*

lawyers...he was strict...he thought "she's a girl, she doesn't know enough." So they try to protect you.

After completing high school, it was expected of Xenia C. to join her father on a full-time basis, something Xenia C. was prepared to do. University was not something Xenia C. envisioned in her future, as she had focused throughout her life on 'getting to work.' Marriage was something that came later, on Xenia C.'s terms, which after her mid-twenties began to worry her parents,

Xenia C.: *I was left on the shelf for so long*[19]*...eventually, they (parents) tried to set me up, but I was not having any part of it...he (my father) was the one who made me stubborn and taught me to speak my mind, always have respect, but...*

Xenia C. did get married to a man she met on her own. When her father decided to retire, she searched for a new career. She remains confident and determined; qualities she has found have helped her in the development of career at a security firm.

Chloe Z.: The 'Canadian' Way

Chloe Z., the second of four children, three girls and the youngest a son, was raised in a family where the boy was always favoured. Her father, hoped that his son would take over his business and his daughters would find good husbands and raise a family,

Chloe Z.: *My older sister excelled in school, unlike me and wanted to be a doctor. If it weren't for my mother putting pressure on my father, though, none of us would have gone to university. He didn't think that was what women should do. I was not great at school, but I was the 'Canadian' in the family, I couldn't wait to get out and do something on my own...I was also less scared of my dad, so I told him my intentions. They didn't have as much faith in me, I was a weaker student...I took my chances and my average was good enough for Dalhousie. I got my BA and then my BEd.*

Chloe Z. maintains that she found her confidence in university and following graduation, wanted to leave home permanently,

Chloe Z.: *That was out of the question...the only way my parents would agree (for me to leave) was if I was with other relatives. So, I went to Greece. That was, okay, they agreed. I worked as an English teacher for two years before returning to Canada. To a certain degree, it gave me the freedom that I never had.*

At university, Chloe Z. also met her future husband. Together, they have a family and both work in their respective fields,

[19] To 'stay on the shelf' is a Greek phrase that describes a person, usually a girl, who has reached a certain age and has yet to marry. Like a book that no one has chosen to remove from the shelf and read, a girl, usually after her mid-twenties was often warned that if she did not find someone and marry soon, she would 'stay on the shelf' because she would then be too old and no one would want her.

Chloe Z.: *There was a brief period of time that my salary was higher than his. Not much, but a little bit...we (my husband and I) would dance around and laugh about it...he was a kept man!*

Like Chloe Z.'s father, other Greek parents expected their sons to take over the family business, an extension of a Greek custom of mainland Greece where sons inherit more property than the daughters who, once married, are 'given away.' The sons, in return, are responsible for caring for the parents, as they get older. This expectation often translated to pressure from parents for their sons to learn the trade or to complete a university degree in a discipline that could benefit the family business,

Petra W.: *My sons both completed commerce and business degrees. My eldest, when he was studying, I told him he could work for a big company, but he said no, he wanted to take over the family business...so stubborn...I wanted him to think bigger, but no he wants to be his own boss, just like his father.*

At times, these expectations were incompatible with the plans of the young men, as Chloe Z.'s father would realise,

Chloe Z.: *My brother made it clear that he was not interested in the family business. My parents tried, but he was not interested, which was very hard on them (parents). My sister then tried to take over the business, but that is not what she wanted either.*

University and Internal Migration

Phoebe N., born in 1960, had the full support of her parents when she applied to university. She completed a joint commerce and economics degree and worked in Toronto for over ten years before relocating to Halifax and taking over the family business,

Phoebe N.: *There was never an issue with me going to university. They were even okay with me going to Toronto. I love it (the family business)... I run the family business now.*

Phoebe N. is one of the first generation Greek Canadians who not only studied away from Halifax, but also worked and lived away from home. When conducting this research, it was revealed that around the time the participants graduated from higher education, the Halifax labour market was rather saturated and did not offer many opportunities. Internal migration from Halifax (Nova Scotia in general) was quite common, which likely facilitated in obtaining the approval of the parents of some of the first generation Greek Canadian women to relocate to other Canadian cities. Few, like Phoebe N. have returned, but many have built their lives in larger cities.

Naya W., who studied Computer Science at university, moved to Toronto after graduation,

Naya W.: *I worked at the head offices of a national firm. The reason I returned was because I met my husband and he was here (Halifax) and I was able to transfer to the*

Halifax office, whereas he couldn't. I don't regret it. I love Toronto, but Halifax as a city is better to raise a family...and we're closer to everyone.

Zena C.'s daughter, Nitsa, who was born in Montreal found it difficult to adjust to Halifax and, after completing her first degree, went back to Montreal for an MBA, then moved to Cyprus with her husband who had come to Canada as a university student,

Zena C.: *She was not happy here so she went to her dear Montreal. Her husband was from Cyprus so they (then) moved there. She likes it more there (in Cyprus) because (of) the jobs. She found a good job and she's grown in the company...*

7.3.3. Women Born after 1970

> ***"...It was never a question of 'Are you going to university?' It was a question of what university and course?"*** *- Maria, first generation Greek Canadian, journalist*

The women born in the 1970s and later decades, encountered a Greek community that had come to realise the benefits of higher education for both genders. Though worried that their children would have to leave the province to find better opportunities, education was now more holistically supported by the Greek community, indicative from the sample of participants, who all attended universities or colleges.

Vasso O.: *Both my parents supported my decision to go to university and study psychology. After I finished my Masters I went to Greece for some time off because of the very intensive course load and my mother's illness. In Greece, a temporary job became more permanent and I finally made the decision to relocate. I went back to Halifax to tell my father...people talked, in the community...I was a girl, I should take care of my father who was alone now, not run away...My father though, he just told me to do what made me happy...that, he, was what mattered to me.* ***– born in 1971, Halifax***

Emily O.: *I'm the youngest of three sisters and we all went to university. My parents wanted us to...my two sisters left Halifax and have careers elsewhere. For me, Halifax is a base. I'm happy here, I have a job, family, my life...would I consider moving? Yes, for the right reasons...a good job.* ***– born 1978, Halifax***

Nina K.: *I don't know if it was different for other kids, but I had amazing support for whatever I wanted to do. I could have told my parents I wanted to be a rocket scientist and they'd be, "ok, honey."...I mean they had a lot of fear for me, the way parents do, but they've always been supportive of the decisions I make...if anything they motivated me.* ***– born 1977, Halifax***

Following the completion of their degrees and training, the women focused on career rather than the prospect of marriage. Family and marriage was something that would come in its own time, much to the concern of some parents.

> Vicky W.: *By the time I went to university and all, my brothers had already done it, the whole marriage thing too, so they (parents) knew that it didn't work the way it used to...they tried, but it doesn't work.*

> Kleo K.: *My parents know not to interfere. I have my job, I have my place, I have my life...it's up to me. They kid, but yeah they don't REALLY bother me.*

The consent within the community on the advantages of higher education did not, nevertheless, signify that while growing up and living at home, the first generation Greek Canadians born after 1970 did not have to contribute to the family well being, as the women born before them did,

> Nina K.: *I started working really young; I can't even remember not working! I started waiting tables when I was twelve, but before that I was still doing things, I just wasn't taking orders, you know...that's just how it is and if you're not working at the restaurant, you're doing things to help at the house, you know?*

7.4. Second Generation Greek Canadians

For the second-generation Greek Canadian women, there is no doubt that education is regarded as the mode for upward social mobility. Regardless of gender, second generation Greek Canadians are expected to complete secondary education (high school) and at least consider tertiary education or training as their next logical step.

Vasiliki K. was a third year university health sciences student at Dalhousie University when interviewed. Her parents are first generation Greek Canadians of Nova Scotia who did not attend university, but instead worked in their respective family businesses after high school. The eldest of two siblings, Vasiliki K. has indicated that while she does notice some favouritism within their family towards her brother, as the male, when it comes to education and its benefits, her family have always maintained that it would be the right path for both siblings to follow,

> Vasiliki K.: *I definitely knew I had to go to university. My parents didn't drag me or anything, but it was almost a given that this is what we were supposed to do and it's what all kids talked about anyway. There definitely was no push otherwise, you know? Your goal was to get into a school and study.*

Asked whether there was a push for certain subjects or choices, Vasiliki K. continued,

> Vasiliki K.: *Well, your parents want you to do well, so when they hear and they see that accountants and doctors do well, they throw that at you when you're growing up, (but) these are just half serious conversations...but my mom, she knows me, she never pushed for me to become a doctor because that's not me. She never pushed...actually she thinks that*

what I'm studying is interesting, they (mother and father) both do. I get asked stuff...all the time. My grandparents too...they're not really sure what it is that I'm doing, but they're proud that I am doing it.

Vasiliki K.'s grandmother, Vera T. spoke of Vasiliki K. during her interview and asked, in search for reassurance perhaps beyond that given by her children, whether her granddaughter's field would be one that could provide for her and her future family. She showed relief over the confirmation that her degree could, in fact, lead to opportunities.

Yvonne N., whose parents met while her mother was away at university, asserts that post-secondary education is the assumed path for all her siblings; both she and her sister have completed university and while her brother is still too young, he is likely to do so as well. She did not, however, choose to study away from home as her mother had done,

Yvonne N.: *I love Toronto, it is my favourite city, but it just wasn't reasonable for me to go away for school. It was definitely more convenient here, good school, live at home...I mean my grandparents are in Toronto, but hey...here with the family.*

Ellie G. and Nadia G. followed their mother, both receiving a degree in the same discipline, pharmacology. Both women found their mother's field interesting, but also an employable field anywhere in Canada. They were employed at different pharmacies in the city soon after graduation and Ellie G. has recently purchased her first home.

Xanthe S., a graduate of Arts and Humanities, understands that her field is one where employability is somewhat more abstract, something her family was also aware of,

Xanthe S.: *Of course they are concerned with what you might be able to do after you graduate, but they're not worried about me. I've been working since I was a teenager, I volunteer, I get involved in lots of activities, so they know that I would be alright....never, they've never said that I should go for something else.*

Krini Y. a first generation Greek Canadian who did not attend university wants her children to have that opportunity,

Krini Y.: *I didn't go to university...I got married young...22...I was dating (him) from 16. I never gave myself a chance...I don't think marriage is the answer nowadays. I changed...before that's all I knew!...We (with husband) want them to go to university. My two older children went to university here and they both got their degrees, but my son, was managing restaurants around the city...that's what he wanted to do...they sat down with my husband and he decided to open his own restaurant instead...it's a lot of hard work. I never grew up in or around restaurants, I didn't know...my father had grocery stores...my husband knew though and helped. My daughter helped and she was so overwhelmed when school started... she'd yell at her brother...but then feel bad for him and end up helping*

out...she ended up not doing too well, but now she is working abroad and wants to be a teacher.

Krini Y.'s youngest daughter decided to go study away from home,

Krini Y.: *The youngest, she chose to go out west. I just worry because it's far and she's the youngest...but you know, you can't stop them...their life, that's what they want.*

Krini Y., like most parents of her generation, tries to find the distinction between guiding and interfering in her children's life; unlike herself, she wants them to have ambition and independence that will allow them to experience life beyond Halifax and marriage, but also worries about these choices and what future they may hold.

7.4.1. The immigrant work ethic

As the socioeconomic status of the Greek community improves, subsequent generations are no longer required to experience the hardships labour migrants and their families had to overcome. Nevertheless, the first generation Greek Canadians who were witnesses, advocate and urge their children to maintain the strong work ethic that they believe allowed their parents to establish themselves,

Xenia C.: *This generation, you know it's spoiled. And I'm saying this about my kids too! They didn't have to work hard like our parents or us. They have it made, but you can't let it get to their head. They need to understand that things don't come to you.*

Interviews with second generation Greek Canadians revealed that the majority have held part-time or summer jobs as teenagers and university students.

For Vasiliki K., the part-time job was something her parents suggested as a way to save for things she wanted, but were not an absolute necessity. Her grandmother explains,

Vera T.: *...she came to me and told me, "My mom won't get me a car." So, I told her that her grandfather didn't get her mother a car either. Her mother got a car when she got a job and made her own money. And that she (Vasiliki K.) will do the same.*

During Vasiliki K.'s interview, she also mentions her future car,

Vasiliki K.: *I don't have a car, my friends or dad take me...it's ok. I'm saving for it, but I'm also saving it for the trips I'd like to take, so maybe that will do for now.*

Paula O., a second generation university student, admits that she and her peers have and will, at times, complain about having to earn their 'toys' or certain wants. At the same time, she concedes that the community actually supports them through this work; there is always work available in Greek-owned establishments, while their experience and references from their employers benefit their future career employability,

Paula O.: *We complain and stuff, 'cause we're working on weekends, Saturday night, but in a way we're lucky, because I knew that coming out of it, high school, I would have*

worked. And we find work from the people we know in the community...and that it will be a reference letter for university and then your job...a good reference letter...

7.5. Conclusion

Economic development is highly dependent on skills, personal ideologies and ambitions, in addition to available resources and opportunities. Early female migrants who arrived as low-skilled labourers worked for low wages in unstable environments with no guarantees. Determination, resilience and initiative were key characteristics necessary to improve their status. The following generations of labour migrants arrived with more training or greater access to training that allowed a smoother course within the labour market. The traditional Greek family structure some considered ideal was difficult to attain, however, for both early and later migrants; they were required to adjust to a new family structure, which corresponded to the socioeconomic requirements of the family unit. For the first generation Greek Canadian women born between 1950 and 1960, living in Halifax allowed greater access to education, something, which was not initially appreciated as beneficial to economic development by all Greek migrants or the Greek Canadian women themselves. This of course changed quickly, as evident by Greek Canadian first and second generation women born in the 1970s and onwards. The journey for economic development often challenged traditional gender roles and past ideologies; women were members of the labour market and could contribute to the family's well being or to their own individual development. Their individual development is currently a greater concern than in the past, although there continues to be a strong sense of communal support for mobility.

8. Discourses on Cultural Continuity

> ***"What separates a people from others is their language, their religion, their customs and traditions. A Greek perhaps more than any other race or nationality, when a migrant, when beyond the borders of Greece has a wish and ardent desire to maintain all this, especially language and religion...Hence, when a few families gather in one place, they create a small community that is nothing more than a small Greek corner outside the borders of our homeland" (Iatrou, 1984, p. 78).***

8.1. Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the discourse of female participants on ethno-religious-cultural continuity; the efforts of the community to maintain the characteristics perceived as indicators of a Greek or Greek Canadian identity and thus significant in its continued presence in Halifax. These characteristics include the Greek language, the Greek Orthodox Christian religion, the role of family in their lives and their role within the family, and the knowledge and appreciation of Greek customs and traditions. Female participants discuss how this perceived significance and the methods for maintenance has shifted for certain characteristics through time or inter-generationally, but also examine the issues and concerns over their continuity within the community and their responsibility as both members and women.

8.2. The Greek Language

The Greek language was a unique characteristic of migrants with Greek origin, background or some Greek connection. Whether from Greece, Asia Minor, Cyprus or Egypt, the ability to communicate in a common language was perhaps the first step to creating a community where other characteristics were shared and promoted.

The degree of Greek language retention for the first migrants who only communicated in Greek with the small number of other co-ethnics is uncertain, although our accounts suggest that, for the adults, it remained quite high. The main concern was the first generation of Greek Canadians who were mainly immersed in an English-speaking environment. As records of the Greek community show, the Greek priest sought to run a Greek language school for the children as early as the 1930s in the same hall that served as their place of worship, a common occurrence for small communities of the diaspora, but also in Modern Greek history (Tamis & Gavaki, 2002, p. 22),

> ***"...the robe is called forth again to take the primary role in the maintenance of our religion*** and ***language..." (Iatrou, 1984, p. 78).***

The school ran twice a week for both male and female students and taught reading, writing and religion. It was never able to run a full year however; students experienced month-long interruptions, for a number of reasons, which included the lack of students and the mobility of the priest who served more than one maritime Greek community. These problems continued through to the 1960s. Learning Greek was therefore highly dependent on the family and home environment.

Figure 7: A Greek school class in 1950, conducted by the Halifax Greek Community priest. (Image courtesy of Mr. P. Delefes Private Collection).

Thomas (2000, pp. 44-46), includes a profile of Lilyan, a first generation Greek Canadian of Halifax who has since passed away. Her life story asserts the importance of access, or lack thereof, to a Greek home environment as a child, which she had to forfeit when attending a private school that at the time was a boarding school. Thankful to her parents who supported her earning a good education, she admits that the years she spent away from her family home affected her spoken Greek and she never learned to read or write in Greek, something her child and grandchildren were able to do.

For Persephone R., on the other hand, Greek was the only language spoken at home,

> Persephone R.: *...my dad... he used to tip-toe upstairs (where we lived) to see what we were talking... (he) never allowed us to speak English in the house...he had strict rules.*

Persephone R.'s parents were both Greek and her mother, who ran the house, was well educated, which further helped in Persephone R. and her siblings learning Greek. This knowledge undoubtedly helped her when attending Greek teacher's college in New York, a career she later practiced within the Halifax Greek community.

Dependence on the home environment was nevertheless, not always ideal. Not all homes or families were Greek in their entirety and the language of communication therefore was English. While growing up, Persephone R.'s good family friends were a family where the father was Greek and the mother English. Persephone R. remembers that she and her siblings would play with the children of that family who spoke no Greek. While the English mother of the children did socialize with Persephone R.'s mother, who spoke English fluently, as well as other Greeks, the responsibility or blame for the children not learning Greek was placed on the non-Greek mother, the person perceived as responsible for what takes place in the home. Concern over whether marrying a non-Greek, especially a non-Greek woman, could lead to loss of the Greek language, remains amongst migrants and subsequent generations to this day, although at a lesser extent than in the past.

As the first generation Greek Canadians of the first families reached adulthood, Greek language retention was dependent on life circumstances and personal choice; whether they were able and willing to maintain contact with the growing Greek community of Halifax or any other community they lived near, if they chose or could speak Greek in their home with their own partners and children, and if they had access to other forms of Greek language media.

With the increase of Greek migrants, the Greek language became more prominent within the community. It is clear during interviews that Greek language retention for migrants arriving from the 1950s onwards continues to be high.

As previously stated, female migrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s spoke little to no English; Greek was not only their mother tongue but also the only language they spoke. Faced with the difficulty to communicate daily, the women recall both humorous stories of miscommunication, and the sense of relief talking to other co-ethnics brought to them.

Vera T. was extremely timid when she would leave the house where she worked as a domestic worker. Aside from church on Sundays and spending some time with other Greek girls after church, she did little outside the house on her own, to maintain her good reputation, but also because she knew little English. She would grow to depend on her employer's young daughter,

> Vera T.: *...she understood Greek and I spoke to her in Greek, she'd answer in English...she'd understand me, but (at first) I wouldn't understand her, so she'd pick up (things) and say, "this is a knife, Vera, this is a fork..." and so it went. When we would go to the bus, she'd speak to me in English and I replied in Greek and people would stare.*

(One time) when I wanted to buy a skirt and blouse, I told her, "I want to go shopping, Helen."...She took me to the shop, I would nod and shake my head at what I liked and didn't like and when we went to pay, I gave her my money and told her to pay. The salesperson had noticed us and remarked to her, "what a shame such a pretty girl but she can't speak!" Helen laughed. She wouldn't tell me what he'd said, at first...she knew it would bother me. When she did, I thought, "Oh my, where have I come, they're calling me a mute, they're calling me deaf (because I wouldn't respond to things I didn't understand)!

Magda N. remembers purchasing shaving cream instead of toothpaste, her husband trying to send her a letter using food stamps he thought were post stamps only to be stopped by his boss right before he was to send the letters, or hiding under the sheets one night because he had, unbeknownst to him, asked the barber to shave his hair not to cut his hair,

Magda N.: *...when I got home, he was 'asleep' but (I could see he was) laughing. I removed the sheets and saw his hair, I screamed and then we laughed all night...I thought, what else are we going to have to deal with?*

While they may laugh now, or even then, the women ascertain that at the time, they felt embarrassed, ashamed and out of place, which made them yearn to hear and speak the familiar. The women would look forward to spending time with their co-ethnics at church and other events, but would also go down to Pier 21 to greet the new arrivals, hopeful that they were from towns or villages near theirs, and seeking to hear news about what they had left behind.

Chloe Z.: *...we went down there once and we saw my father's cousin. He was going further (west)...my father didn't even know he was immigrating! We took him to the house and had dinner before he continued his journey...it was nice for us and for him, I think.*

Gradually, the women would learn to communicate in English, aware of their heavy accents and the fact that they may mispronounce some words, humble, underestimating their own knowledge. Conscious of their 'broken English,' they continue to delegate communication to their children and grandchildren at every opportunity, regardless of whether they have successfully communicated with the same people under similar circumstances in the past on their own.

The female migrants who arrived from the 1970s onwards, in their majority had learnt some English at school and were therefore more comfortable with their surroundings. During interviews, their English indicated a level of fluency, the result of access to language courses, social networks beyond the Greek community and their labour market opportunities. They also, nevertheless, showed full retention of the Greek language, with three of the participants currently teaching at the Greek language school of the community. Greek was still the main language spoken at home and with many other co-ethnics within the community.

Chryso M.: *We speak, we're trained, but we're a few...that speak Greek fluently. And I know I speak it at home, but I'm at the Greek school and I know 98% don't because most people are 2nd and 3rd generation.*

The first generation Greek Canadian children were raised in homes where Greek was spoken by the adults; parents, aunts, uncles and cousins. Family friends were usually also Greek, thus extending their exposure to the language at gatherings outside the home. While the children learned to speak English at school and would often communicate with their peers, Greek or not, in English; home life was Greek,

Vicky W.: *...(at home) we spoke mostly in Greek...there were Greek kids, a few, living around the neighbourhood, but I mostly hung out with the Greek kids because of our parents...(between us) we spoke English with odd Greek words here and there, Grenglish.*

During interviews, the first generation Greek Canadian women spoke mostly in English, unless a memory or past conversation was engrained in their mind in Greek and thus expressed it in Greek. When talking with the older Greek migrants however, they would almost instinctively speak in Greek, with the odd English word here or there, although one parent admitted that as adolescents, her daughters would often do the opposite,

Nasia P.: *My daughters had this amazing ability to fight with each other in English when we were at home, so we (parents) couldn't understand or keep up with what they were saying to each other, and in Greek when they were out, so that others couldn't understand what they were saying to each other...it was funny.*

A number of first generation Greek Canadian women confirmed that this was common practice.

The women did admit that due to the demanding work schedule of their parents, developing their Greek speaking skills was difficult. Sunday, the day dedicated to church and family, was the one day they were most immersed in Greek, with the odd Greek event or function.

Xenia C.: *...You know... they made time for church, for Greek functions...for family...their time, their life was spent working.*

For a few, the experience of being teased for being different affected the interest in learning Greek.

Chloe Z.: *My Greek was never good. We were taught by the priest and it wasn't much. One of them (priests) was good...they made fun of me for being Greek so I never spoke it unless I had to. I was a very shy child and the bullying really affected me. I only spoke it with my parents, I avoided discussions in Greek, so I always had a strange accent...funny enough, I chose to move to Greece for a few years when I was still single. My Greek has improved now because of my husband and my kids who had a better Greek education and got me involved in their homework or the programs they watch.*

Beyond the home and family, the community priest, in a somewhat disordered state, taught the Greek school until the mid-1960s. The increase in student numbers and demand for Greek

language education led to the recruitment and appointment of fully qualified Greek teachers. The teachers applied a set curriculum provided by the Education department of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, officially recognized by the Ministry of Education of Greece as equivalent to the elementary school (Grades 1-6) curriculum. School was bi-weekly, on Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings (Iatrou, 1984, pp. 78-79).

Greek school was not a favourite activity for most children of the community,

> Emily O.: *We had Greek school, 5 to 8pm...and then having to come home...I found it challenging to do both Greek school and English homework...it was challenging and all your friends wanted to play and I couldn't go 'cause I had Greek school or homework.*

When asked however in retrospect whether attending Greek school bore merits,

> Emily O.: *When I was young, I absolutely hated it, despised it. Looking back, I'm glad I had it. Aside from knowing how to read, write, communicate, it's a part of me, so if I have kids, I would want them to do it. They may hate me, but yeah all of it. Then what they decide to do with it is up to them.*

Travel to Greece was quite difficult for young migrant families in the 1950s and 1960s and more common in the 1970s onwards. For the Greek Canadian children who *did* have the opportunity to visit regularly, the exposure gave them confidence and broadened their Greek vocabulary.

The second generation Greek Canadian women interviewed are the adult grandchildren of the migrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s. At least one parent was first generation Greek Canadian, while the other parent was also Greek Canadian, Greek, or other Canadian in origin. Hence, the role of the Greek language as the main language of communication in the home was not always the case.

Based on the most recent census and National Household Survey data, of approximately 2,000 Greeks or Greek Canadians who reside in the Halifax Regional Municipality (Statistics Canada, 2013), 665 consider the Greek language their mother tongue, 380 reportedly speak Greek at home with 250 speaking mainly Greek at home (Statistics Canada, 2012). It is likely that the majority of homes where Greek is the main language are the homes of migrants, while few homes of subsequent generations may use Greek at home at varying levels; the majority do not.

There is concern for language loss, which current and past teachers of the Greek school have all expressed,

> Pesephone R.: *...we get children coming in to Greek school that don't know a word of Greek...some of them...both parents are Greek, (but they) don't speak Greek in the house...this generation is hard, they don't (speak Greek). And there's also mixed marriages, which the ending is the same, you know, they don't speak Greek...even if*

they're both Greek. So then, they (children) come into Greek school and they don't know...

This concern has escalated for the teachers, due to the noticeable shift in language knowledge among children who come to Greek school,

Natalia S.: *I had Grade 1, six years ago and (then again) this year and the level is very different...the pre-school, (some) kids, it's questionable if they understand 10 phrases.*

The past and present directors, both women of the community acknowledged that a certain degree of language loss was inevitable, as a result of no Greek migration and the use of English as the primary language at home, an affirmation of the most recent observations by Gavaki (2009, p. 129). Also aware that Greek is a difficult language to learn, they have amended the school teaching material in an attempt to keep their students and teach them an appreciation of the Greek language,

Gina U.: *...the school now, is not run with the same tenacity for perfection like it was...(back) when they used to study Geography and History in Greek...(back when) we only spoke Greek back home...the new mothers...most are born here, although they are Greek and they know how to speak Greek, English comes easier...our books now are in English, with a dictionary at the back... this school tries to make it so it is not a difficult lesson they have to learn....they'll do their lesson, we'll try to help those that have a hard time, we speak to the parents to help at home...and we try to make their day a happy one here. Take their break, play, have a Christmas party or Carnival...so they are eager to come to school, see their friends so they don't say they don't want to go...dance where at least they hear Greek songs and I can see them sometimes sing along...*

Persephone R.: *At one point we got a lot of books... free from the Ministry of Education of Greece. We tried them out and they were not geared for children born here. I had a lot of problems from the parents, and these were just ridiculous because they're not geared...they're too advanced and because we get children coming in to Greek school that don't know a word of Greek...so now...the books are geared for people born here...published in Connecticut...there's a lot of English...it tells them what to do and that helps, they're more happy.*

The teachers, however, acknowledge that the little time at school is not enough to really learn the language,

Gina U.: *I know they're (parents) busy but they need to find time somewhere for half an hour a day to speak to them in Greek or read them a book in Greek or something, so they can hear Greek, not just wait for Wednesday and Saturday...mothers say they have the grandmothers to teach them, but the grandmothers speak English to the children too!*

Gina U. specifically addresses mothers and grandmothers when discussing the children's contact to the language. When asked to elaborate, she clarifies that both parents are urged to spend more time using Greek at home, but has observed that the responsibilities of cultural education for children, tend to fall on the mothers and grandmothers.

Chryso M. understands why grandparents choose to speak to their children in English, but suggests it is an option a small community such as Halifax cannot afford,

> Chryso M.: *...grandparents too speak English because they want to connect with the kids so even if they don't speak (English) very well, they try, but that means no Greek at home. So, we see that they don't come to church or other social gatherings...because of the language...and that saddens us. We try to recreate this Greek instinct. (In) Toronto, you don't see that because the Greek population is large.*

Aliki P., now a grandmother, admits that she too speaks to her grandchildren in English,

> Aliki P.: *...you get used to talking in English...but now, you hear them (parents) saying that we should speak to the little ones in Greek...so I try, but you forget...*

The teachers are strong supporters of travel to Greece when the opportunity arises in order to connect with family and friends and find a place for Greek in their identity,

> Chryso M.: *...go to Greece, but go to the village, a (family) home to see where the grandparents are from...there's more to just going to see the sites in general...it's important to see the relatives first...cousins their age...they won't want to leave...many kids find it boring if they have no one their age...*

The teachers, nevertheless, are also the first to acknowledge that the English language is also important in the community because it allows members of the community who have either married into the community, or did not have the opportunity to learn Greek in the past, the opportunity to participate. They see it as the means to keep people connected to the culture and community, which could subsequently lead them to consider sending their children to Greek school.

There were participants, however, who indicated that the Greek language was not so central to their Greek identity construction and sense of belonging. Wanda Z., a Canadian mother who married a Greek Canadian man never learned to speak Greek and her children were not pressured to learn Greek. She maintains that their participation in other aspects of Greek culture, have, nonetheless, sufficed in her children adopting a hyphenated Greek Canadian identity,

> Wanda Z.: *...our children aren't as fluent in Greek, but they don't call it mother tongue on purpose...if you're part of the community, that's the key...they define themselves as Greek Canadian...my kids say they are Greek...part of their culture...*

Here, Wanda Z. distinguishes language from culture, and considers participation in community activities as the important feature, which can establish a sense of attachment to a Greek identity.

Xanthe S., whose paternal grandmother was a Greek immigrant, speaks no Greek but is very involved in the community. Though she does sometimes wish she were more proficient in the Greek language, this has never affected her connection to the community,

> Xanthe S.: *...I do wish sometimes I could speak it...I have no problems that I don't, we're still all very close, but now that I'm older, I'm trying to learn a bit more.*

On the other hand, Valeria O., a young mother who also married a Greek Canadian man, believes that her children should and will learn the culture and heritage of both their parents, and that includes attending Greek school,

> Valeria O.: *Heritage is important...They (community) have a Greek school...I'd put them in school, dancing, church to get involved...I'm trying to learn, but it's hard...I want them to have that identity but I don't want to confuse them...*

While the future of the Greek language within the community is a topic the women are passionate about, the verdict thus far is seems quite divided.

> Chryso M.: *...only very few **don't** care, which is good...it's still important to the community.*

> Natalia S.: *...I think that the sense of community will remain strong, but the language will be lost and I don't know how much the school will be able to help.*

> Gina U.: *Three years ago at a teaching seminar, some Greek teachers came from New York and they were fourth generation Greek American...their Greek was not perfect but it was quite good...just from (attending) Saturday school...so I say that if we are able to have a fourth generation, our great grandchildren speak Greek, that would be great...we hope and we try.*

8.3. Religion and Church

Figure 8: The old St George's Greek Orthodox Church, which served as the centre of the Halifax Greek Community until the completion of the new, larger church in 1985 (Image courtesy of Mr. P. Delefes Private Collection).

> ***"The little church on the south-east corner of Queen and Morris Streets has served as St. George's Greek Orthodox Church...it has been the centre of religious and cultural life for the Hellenic community of Halifax...It is a testament to the faith, vitality and cooperative spirit of those Hellenes who settled in this area and wished to preserve their religious and cultural heritage" (Delefes, 1984, p. 14).***

As Byers and Tastsoglou (2008) and Hirschon (2010; 2012) assert about the Halifax Greek community and mainland Greek society respectively, the above quote, written by a member of the Halifax Greek community, encapsulates how ethnic identity and the Church (or religion) are 'intertwined' and connected.

According to the official history of the Greek community church (Delefes, 1984), the ability to worship the Greek Orthodox faith was a primary task for the first Greek migrants of Halifax, who in 1932 began to share the services of a Greek Orthodox priest with other Greek communities in the Maritime Provinces. Following the passing of the *Act of Incorporation for the formal establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church of Nova Scotia*, funds were collected to purchase a former Anglican church, which became the first Greek Orthodox Church of Halifax.

The Greek community 1984 yearbook, *REMEMBERING... LOOKING AHEAD*, was a publication commemorating the fifty years since the establishment of the community, which, for its members, corresponds to the year the community had finally acquired their own place of worship. This once

again highlights the significance of religion. The yearbook included interviews from past community presidents, who stated that church matters were always present in the community agenda and the source of strong emotions from community members. For many years, one of the main fundraising goals for the community was to construct a larger church that would accommodate the growing community, a project completed a little after the publication of the yearbook, in 1985.

In an official capacity, Greek women historically were not members of the governing or church councils, however through the established, Philoptochos charity, they organised numerous activities and drives to raise funds for the church, in addition to other charity work for causes in Greece and Canada.

From a personal, spiritual standpoint, the majority of women interviewed from all generations expressed religious affiliation, yet certain younger women suggested that they were not as 'devoted' with respect to attendance and the following of certain religious traditions,

> Magda N: *I go to church every Sunday...I help out all I can and I sing as well...we used to have a choir...church is where I find redemption and salvation...everyday, I light a candle in my small iconostasis at home and pray...I would love to go to Jerusalem...* – **migrant, aged 82**

> Nicole P.: *Church was a big part (of our lives) for all of us (family), but I was never involved in the Philoptochos and such...I made sure that my children were involved...they're still involved.* **–first generation, aged mid-60**

> Chryso M.: *I lived in Saudi, so the kids had not lived in a Greek community (before Halifax). The priest would come, but secretly...churches are not allowed. So, when we came here, what we found was great and I have told everyone this...that for someone that likes this and wants religion...it's great...* – **migrant, aged mid-40**

Women did nevertheless suggest a possible bias, since the centrality of the Greek Orthodox religion for the community had, at least in the past, distanced non-religious Greeks or Greeks affiliated to other faiths and religious traditions, from the community,

> Costas W.: *...everyone would meet every Sunday at church and then socialize, meet for various name days and religious celebrations...when you didn't share the faith, there were, you felt cut out of certain things...it wasn't necessarily the priest or the people, but you felt a bit out...even the Greek school, taught by a priest.*

> Krini Y.: *My parents weren't (involved in the community)...my father was not into the church and she (mother) wasn't into Philoptochos and stuff... my aunt and cousins were involved, so hanging around with them, I would go to church more often and would go to Christmas celebrations at the church and stuff.*

A more recent example, however, Xanthe S., a second generation Greek Canadian affiliated with another religious denomination does not find that the centrality of the church affects her ties to the community,

> Xanthe S.: *...we (family) belong to a different church, actually the one just next to this one, which is, yeah, convenient...but I'm always here, my friends are here, we're still a tight family...*

Moreover, not all members of the community feel the connection to the church. Nefeli P., who relocated to Halifax from Toronto with her husband, and is an active member of the community, maintains that religion is not part of her Greek identity,

> Nefeli P: *...I don't think that for me to be a Greek, I need to be religious, or I need to be Greek Orthodox. We (Greeks) were around way before that, there's so much in our culture that makes us Greek without it...I don't think it defines us as Greeks.*

Nefeli P., who was raised in Toronto, experienced a larger Greek community, whose numbers not only resulted in the presence of more than one Greek Orthodox Church to choose from, but additional non-religion-affiliated cultural associations. In Halifax, due to the fewer numbers, independent associations were unable to survive; people with different views either had to conform, distance themselves, or learn to navigate community networks and participate in events where religion was a lesser presence.

8.3.1. Attendance

There has been a general decline in church attendance, which participants attribute to what they perceive as a general decline in its significance for the younger generations,

> Vicky W.: *Church is not a big part (of life) for this generation as it was for my parents...it was the root of the community... I may volunteer and be there all weekend (at the community centre), but I don't go to church.*

Moreover, the language of the sermons, has increasingly become a problem, as Greek Canadians and their non-Greek partners cannot follow along with the message,

> Aliki P.: *It's an issue...when I asked my son why he doesn't go, his response was, "Mom, I don't want to feel like a dummy, I'm 50 years old!"... We've put pressure on the priest to speak English...if you don't do it, people get bored.*

> Ellie G.: *There have been a lot of complaints about the church, so now it's half in English, which is good for the younger generation.*

The women are uncertain whether the changes will restore attendance numbers because weekly presence in Church is no longer correlated with whether or not they have faith,

> Emily O.: *Church, it's a big part of me...I may not be as 'religious' as my dad who is there every Sunday, fasts Christmas and Easter, but it doesn't negate my belief.*

Irrespective of personal views on faith the women nonetheless revealed that the presence of the Church in Halifax is important both for religious and cultural reasons. A testament to this is seen at Greek Fest (discussed in the next chapter), an annual festival that celebrates Greek culture run by the Greek community on a volunteer basis, with a goal to raise money to support the yearly running costs of the church. In addition to the increasing support of the Halifax community as a whole, it is the one time and one event of the year where the greatest number of Greeks and Greek Canadians gather and provide their services as festival volunteers,

> Yvonne N.: *(In) My family, church is pretty important, but I think that even, if you're not religious, the culture is actually affected by religion...we've (Greeks) been Greek Orthodox for over a thousand years, the way people think, the laws...yes they've changed or they change, but they're obviously affected by those doctrines and that school of thought, so how can it not have shaped our culture, today? ... Just like we have things from the Ancient Greeks, this too...you can't cut out whole blocks of history...and it's not all bad, so you have a respect for it...*

> Aliki P.: *I help, do what I can. I still pay my dues...when you die they bury you (pay for service and burial)... I'm not the most religious, but I think you need to keep the door open...so I pay my dues...to keep it (church) open is a lot of money...*

8.4. Family and Marriage

As in most patriarchal societies, historically, the 'traditional' Greek core family included; the male, father, husband and provider; the female, mother, wife and caretaker; and the children whose roles within the household varied based on their gender. The union was usually arranged between the families of the future husband and greatly affected by economic status and social reputation. A good reputation was always of greater concern for women, with greater repercussions for them and their families if these reputations could not be maintained. The parents of the married couple remained central to the family unit, as it was common to inherit the family home after marriage and co-inhabit the home with the parents, if not other siblings as well. In the case of mainland Greece, a son would likely inherit the family home, while in Cyprus and many Greek islands, it was a daughter, as part of her dowry. Children were perceived as hope for family's future well-being, but males were usually favoured, as carriers of the family name and providers (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992, p. 184). Females were expected to learn how to care for a family and maintain a good reputation to ensure good prospects. The male seniors were ideally the final decision makers of the household; although dominant, mother figures were common in areas such as Sparta and Mani[20] in the Peloponnese, where many of the migrants of Halifax originate.

[20] Dominant in this case describes women's character and not status within the family; women remained subordinate to their husbands and often husband's parents, but were known throughout the rest of Greece as tough and firm, an extension of their ancestors, the ancient Spartans, who as mothers prepared their sons, not only for war, but for victory (Seremetakis, 1991; Blundell, 1995, p. 51).

The aforementioned description is, of course, generalized and it would be incorrect to assume that all families, past or present, adhered to this. It was nevertheless the expected and idealized image of a family for most Greeks, including the migrants who came to Halifax. Life in Halifax would inevitably, challenge and change that image for them, just as life in Greece would challenge and change that image in their absence for the people left behind.

A number of the women who migrated to Halifax prior to the 1970s had arranged marriages, where the parents were the main decision makers. For some couples, the couple may have shown interest in each other prior to the parents' involvement and final say, while for others, only one or neither future husband and wife had any significant input in the choice; the decision was based solely on the judgment of the parents, sometimes with the aid of a 'match-maker.' In extreme cases, a marriage was arranged with just an exchange of a letter and a photograph,

> Petra W.: *...an uncle told him (husband) about me before I left in a letter...he (husband) says he read the letter and put it aside, but he always knew that this would be a good arrangement (good reputation). A year later, he called my uncle who told him I'd gone to Canada, but he asked my mother if I had by then married or got engaged. My mother said no, so she asked to meet him (husband) at the home...he took time off and came to the house on a holiday...before I left they had found someone else, someone else had asked for my hand, but he had to complete his military service before we could get married...well, my mother wrote me about him and I asked about the first guy...she told me he was better, so I told her, as you say, that's what I told her!...she liked him, I didn't know him."*

Asked whether she was happy with the course of events, Petra W. continued,

> Petra W.: *What I want to say was that when we married, in the past, there was respect. It's not like today, where they (children) tell you they'll marry who they want...that's why I say it and I highlight it....I don't know if life would have been better if I married the other man. He (husband) came to my home and I married him but...parents understand more than children.*

Arranged marriages and matchmaking within the community were not uncommon in the early years, but have ceased with the exception of the casual matchmaking among family and friends, where the parties involved have full control over any decisions.

Greek parents conveyed their family ideals to their first generation Greek Canadian children. The girls were thus expected to maintain a good reputation and had to follow very strict rules with respect to how they were expected to behave,

> Xenia C.: *We had a hard time. They did what they thought was right, "don't do this, don't do that"... Those who came behind us (born after us) had it easier, my daughter now... for those before me, it was worse... If you meet women at 55 – 60 years old, they did nothing,*

they had it the worst! No friends outside of the Greek circle, they didn't go downtown...then came my age group, but the ice was starting to break...

Xenia C., born in 1960 believes that with time, as the migrants became familiar with the greater Halifax community, they relaxed ever so slightly on their strict rules, which affected both genders, but more so the girls. The girls born before her, in the 1950s had generally endured a very strict upbringing, with limited access, socially, beyond the Greek community. Her generation was more fortunate. She was also fortunate because her relationship with her parents was one that, at least, allowed her to argue or present the alternatives to what her parents believed. Vicky W., who was born in the 1970s remembers her Greek immigrant parents were generally more protective and stricter than other parents, but within reason. As she grew older, her parents also relaxed,

Vicky W.: *...yes I had curfews that were stricter than my Canadian friends, but...it never bothered me...(for) girls who were older it was tougher...my parents have seen me hung-over on a Sunday morning...they didn't wait up for me...it helps that I was the youngest of three, they went through it all, now they've calmed down...*

Other participants of Xenia C.'s and Vicky W.'s generation however suggest that the very restrictive home life had two exit solutions; marriage or repatriation to Greece,

Carla F.: *...women my age got married young, just because they wanted some release from their family...sooner than they may have wanted or should have...*

Vicky W.: *(discussing the repatriation of one of her best friends)... I know that things were really bad here for her...so she went to Greece...an escape because you have an extended family (to support you).*

Moreover, first generation Greek Canadian women, born mainly in the 1950s and 1960s confess that they were, in fact, raised to perceive marriage as an ideal; as indicated in the previous chapter by Krini Y. and Nicole P. who both married young and who both in retrospect would have allowed themselves more time before making that choice.

From the melancholic descriptions of the migrants, Greece was for them also seen as the ideal place. The presence of extended family and the idea of their children's return to the homeland to ultimately find a Greek suitor was an acceptable compromise for the strict, 'old fashioned' parents. For the women, their daughters, it was freedom (Panagakos, 2003),

Xenia C.: *There's that freedom you had in Greece 'cause they're (parents) not with you, 'cause when you're here (Halifax), it's still 1950!*

Krini Y., concedes that her marriage actually allowed her to develop her own ideas and become critical of the traditional model, which she attributes to the different dynamic between her husband and herself to that of her parents' marriage; she has an equal partnership, where, '... (you) sat down and discussed...'

The shift from tradition was not only embraced by the women of the community, but also by the favoured sons. Krini Y.'s and Wanda W.'s husbands are both first generation Greek Canadians raised with strong ties to the Halifax Greek community. Their wives see that their partners care for them but also feel like they are treated as their equals, something their husbands' mothers are not always happy to witness,

> Wanda W.: *If he (husband) did the dishes, we needed to make sure his mother was in the other room...mothers were not happy when their sons were being dismissive with their Canadian girlfriends, that's how they saw it.*

Petra W. admits that she still gets upset when her sons try to clean after the family Sunday lunch, a woman's job, but her protests have dwindled, and she admits that instead of arguing, she dedicates her time to her granddaughters. Moreover, despite some hesitation to accept the changing role of women within the family and the occasional verbal protest from the more traditional parents and grandparents, these older migrant women also credit these changes or 'victories' to their hard work and ability to assume both the role of caretaker and financial provider in Halifax,

> Petra W.: *Only a woman can be a mother and work and take care of the house...they (men) need us because they can't do it like us...*

The changes may have been more difficult to embrace by the migrants. However, their children, who remain respectful of their parents, did not always choose to fight them on their more traditional views, but rather acknowledged that they may never agree on certain things. They were less forgiving, however, towards their fellow peers. Wanda W., for instance cannot accept it when as parents, people of her generation choose to raise their children in the same way they were raised, without adjusting for their own life experiences and considering the changing world around them,

> Wanda W.: *We hid living together from my Dad because that's his generation, but do you raise your kids without questioning or input of your (own) experience? ... I see how even educated women are willing to revert (to old ways), which they can propagate to their children...but I just think ignorance from educated women is a bit of a cop out 'cause then you don't have to think for yourself...*

8.4.1. Inter-Marriage

Research on inter-marriage has consistently revealed that Greek Canadians are highly endogamous and very much against inter-marriage for reasons of cultural and religious continuity (Chimbos, 1971, p. 16; Thomas, 1988, p. 86; Gavaki, 2009, p. 129). Thomas (1988, p. 86), who interviewed Greek Canadian women of Nova Scotia, some of whom were from Halifax, found that they were strongly against inter-marriage, but slightly less so if within the Greek Orthodox Church.

Most, if not all of the Greek female migrants who have adult married children do, however, have a daughter or son-in-law who is not of Greek origin. All are currently on favourable or good terms with their children and their partners and absolutely adore their grandchildren. This, though, has

not always been the case. The female migrant participants who arrived in the decades following WWII, themselves admit that they were against the unions. Yet, while some regret their past reactions, they are not necessarily convinced that their reservations and objections at the time were not valid.

Wanda W. married her Greek Canadian husband in the early 1990s, despite his parents being very much against their union. They eloped and this act led to an initial 'silence' by his parents and their closest network of friends and family. They had essentially disowned their son. The silence subsided after the birth of their first child, but it was Wanda W., who urged her husband to accept his parents' invitation to reconnect,

> Wanda W.: *...(I told him) we have a daughter growing (up) in this city, she should know her grandparents...it's hard (for me) to take it (the objection) personally when they didn't even know me...it's fear based, fear that the woman or man will entice (their children) away from the community.*

Wanda W., who despite their differences and early history, has great respect for her mother-in-law, who overcame the hurdles of immigration and understands how their past experiences influenced their objections,

> Wanda W: *My mother-in-law told my husband, that a Canadian woman worth her weight wouldn't want the son of an immigrant...on the one hand there is this sense of superiority (among Greeks) about their culture, but there's also this inferiority...*

Wanda W., having been directly affected by this prejudice during her courtship and the beginning of her marriage, took the time to consider and understand the reasons that led to this in an effort to work past them. The Greek migrants experienced the prejudice of the 'less preferred' and unskilled migrants, and they had not yet been convinced that non-Greeks respected their culture and identity, which they themselves held very high. This led them to believe that those willing to marry their children were questionable characters and hence became prejudiced themselves. Wanda W. would be one of the Canadian women who would prove that inter-marriage did not necessarily result in a failed marriage, nor did it result as Thomas (2000, p. 85) also supports, in the loss of Greek culture on subsequent generation,

> Wanda W: *He (husband) stood up to his parents. Young people thought it was cool. Older people were shocked, but they would joke, "ah, they married for love."*

Female migrants and Greek Canadian women alike seem to currently share a more accepting view of inter-marriage. On the one hand it is the result of accepting a logistical inevitable; the community is small, and there are limited alternatives to inter-marriage. On the other hand, perhaps their concerns over cultural differences and respect are no longer expressed through prejudice but rather communicated,

Chryso M: *My daughter has a relationship and he's from Lebanon. He's lovely, we've opened our arms to him...I don't intervene, but I see that he respects my culture as well as our religion, my daughter showed him...he shows respect, as we should ...we live in a multicultural space, so I don't object...be open-minded.*

It is interesting to note that the growing acceptance of inter-marriage has not, as a consequence, led to Greek Canadians, at least officially, leaving the Greek Orthodox faith. This was actually more common when inter-marriage was less accepted, creating a detachment from the community and therefore the church. More recent first and second generation Greek Canadian inter-marriages were conducted within the Greek Orthodox faith, or with a bi-religious ceremony. During fieldwork, a number of inter-marriages took place at the church and members seem to have by now become accustomed to the unions. Bi-religious weddings remained more exotic events, evident from the discussion about a Jewish/Greek Orthodox wedding, which took place a few years earlier and had perplexed the participants' religious beliefs. While the spiritual aspect may have confused them, the experience of the wedding itself, on the other hand, only left positive memories of a fun, if not educational, time that they continue to mention.

8.4.2. The Importance of Family

The extended kin social and economic networks discussed in earlier chapters are representative of the responsibility and emotion attachment between members of the core and extended Greek immigrant families in Halifax, supported by Tastsoglou and Stubos (1992). This attachment and significance was addressed during fieldwork for the first and second generation Greek Canadians, with findings indicating a similar assessment.

Ellie G., a second generation Greek Canadian in her late twenties stressed the importance of family presence in her life. Currently single and no longer living in her family home, she differentiates between the traditional expectations, which Greek Canadians had to evolve away from and those that should remain as part of their Greek reality,

Ellie G.: *...I have dated non-Greek men and they didn't understand...the closeness of our family...we are so close knit and stuff, but there are other cultures like the Lebanese, they get it, they're surrounded by twenty screaming cousins too! ... some friends in high school, we've drifted apart because they didn't understand...it's important, though...*

The friendships and close ties with other first and second generation Greek Canadian women elaborated in the *Social Networks* chapter are, as reiterated by Kleo K., Natasa W. and Nadia G. due their mutual understanding and acceptance of the close family ties that these women see no reason and are not willing to abandon.

8.5. Greek Customs and Traditions

Participants of the study identified the knowledge of the Greek cuisine, Greek folk dances, and the celebration of national and religious Greek holidays as the main customs and traditions, which enable the members of the Greek community to bond and reinforce characteristics of their hyphenated Greek identity. It is through the knowledge transfer and contact that enables the ethno-cultural-religious continuity.

8.5.1. Greek Cuisine

The traditional Greek cuisine is perhaps the most popular custom for Greeks and Canadians alike. In Halifax, members of the Greek community can be credited to have gradually introduced this previously unknown cuisine to Halifax society, through their food establishments,

> Chris W.: *When we first got here, they (Haligonians) didn't know how to eat...they would go fishing and throw out the calamari (squid) they caught. The chef (of the tavern he frequented), a Greek guy, asked to take it, and every night, he'd make it for the Greek men who gathered at the tavern, and have a feast!*

Fried calamari is one of the many popular Mediterranean dishes savoured by many, but as Chris W. recounts, it was an example of how the introduction of Greek cuisine was gradual. The majority of Greek-owned restaurants did not, at first, serve Greek cuisine, but were styled as diners and fish and chip shops. The donair, a Halifax creation, is a variation of the Greek gyro, which came about in 1971 after a Greek chef realised that the introduction of the pork gyro with tzatziki (mint, garlic, cucumber and yogurt) sauce did not resonate well with his Halifax customers. He therefore made adjustments to the recipe, substituting the pork for beef and the tzatziki sauce with a sweeter sauce he created to reflect the sweeter tastes his customers preferred. The creation was a great success with a number of shops offering the eastern Canadian specialty, which they market as such (Thibault, 2012). Moreover, the residents of Halifax did eventually warm to the traditional gyro with tzatziki sauce, available at the many and popular Greek restaurants around the city.

Many Greek immigrants entered the restaurant business that are either focused mainly on Greek dishes or serve a few Greek specialties. While traditionally it is the wife who is responsible for food preparation, the role of chef at these establishments is not gender specific,

> Chloe Z.: *My father was the restaurant chef and he (also) cooked at home. My mother made a few dishes, but we learned watching him at the restaurant...we helped in the kitchen and then when we got older in the dining room.* – **first generation Greek Canadian, restaurant was the family business until her father's retirement**

> Petra W.: *I did most of the cooking. My husband worked the cash...he does the barbeque at home...* – **Greek migrant, family businesses included restaurants, coffee shop and property**

First generation Greek Canadians had access to Greek cuisine in the home, the (extended) family business, or occasional employment at the businesses of other co-ethnics. For those who did not continue in the restaurant business, their previous exposure, for many, was enough to leave them with the knowledge to recreate the dishes at home. To the surprise of other non-Greeks, the second generation reveal that they, as a result have had more, limited first hand exposure, since parents prepared the meals. This has left them with limited cooking skills. Greek cuisine is still part of their diet and served at various community events, with the only difference that they do not familiarize themselves with the process and preparation until later in life. Nevertheless, the availability of the dishes and interest in the cuisine by both Greeks and non-Greeks result in an on-going presence even beyond the community space. Hence, Greek cuisine is the sole aspect of Greek culture that no participant has expressed concern over possible loss.

8.5.2. Folk and Popular Dance

Figure 9: A Dance Performance by the women of the Halifax Greek Community in celebration of Greek Independence Day, 1952 (Image courtesy of Mr P. Delefes Private Collection).

In addition to the entertainment value of dancing, Greek folk and popular dances provide a link to Greek folk history, the Greek language and current Greek society. Dancing has remained popular among the members of the Greek community throughout its history, whose members continue to seek new dances and techniques that are always accompanied with the history of a specific Greek region and time period.

Gina U., one of the dance instructors to the young children of the community credits dance class as an activity, which brings the children together beyond the classroom, provides access to Greek songs and as an extension the language, and teaches them an aspect of their cultural heritage.

The interest in dance is not unique to the Greek community of Halifax, since annual dance workshops attract Greek Canadians from various diasporic communities of the country,

> Gina U.: *We have become acquainted with the Ottawa Greek community through the kids' dance troupe, - the kids of our dance troupe with theirs and from seminars in Greece (we all attended)...we also have some contact with some Montreal troupes...all from dancing...*

Ellie G. and Nadia G. are part of the adult dance group, and have an extensive repertoire of folk and Modern Greek dances. Their participation in the dance classes have not only expanded their knowledge of traditional dress, movements, expressions and customs, it has also brought them closer to other members of the community,

> Ellie G.: *I was close with other Greek girls, but I've grown closer (to guys too) thanks to Greek dancing...*

> Nadia G.: *Dancing brought us all closer...an opportunity to bring people together that wouldn't see each other to go for coffee...*

Furthermore, as the folk dancing remains a popular form of entertainment at various multicultural and community events around the province, active participants dedicate time on research and apply new media outlets to refine their knowledge; also observed in Panagakos' (2009) study on use of old and new media to in the creation of a new form of diasporic identities.

Nefeli P., a first generation Greek Canadian and mother to two sons, does point, however, to an inevitable issue with the extensive focus on dancing within the community,

> Nefeli P: *My one son is totally into the whole dancing thing, so it's great. But my other son? He has no interest in that stuff. He did the Greek school and did the dancing with the young kids, but now that he's gotten older, he doesn't want to dance. But for people like him, there's no other option, activity that connects him to the community, there's no other investment in something else...*

Admittedly, if a member does not have an interest in the activities of the community, there are limitations to their participation within the community and there is no easy solution. Cultural continuity now lies on possible alternatives she and her husband can find and the hope that as their son reaches adulthood, he will continue to appreciate his heritage and try to maintain some contact with the community.

8.5.3. National and Religious Holidays

Figure 10: March 25th (Greek Independence Day) Celebration at Church Hall during World War II (Image courtesy of Mr. P. Delefes Private Collection).

Greek national and religious holidays have been observed by members of the community in various ways since before the community's official founding. These observed holidays mimicked those observed by Greece proper. They include; the 25th of March, which is not only the anniversary of the beginning of the revolution for Greek Independence from the Ottoman Turks, but also the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary; Christmas and Orthodox Easter (follows different lunar calendar to the Catholic/Protestant Easter observed in Canada); *Apokries*, or carnival, celebrated the day before the beginning of lent in preparation for Easter; members' name days, celebrated on the day the saint who bears the same name as each person is honoured; and following World War II, the 28th of October was also added, anniversary of the day the prime minister of Greece refused to surrender to Italy and effectively entered Greece into World War II, where Greek efforts were recognised as admirable by the allied forces.

Each major holiday is marked with a distinct celebration that varies in theme or approach, as a means to enable the participation of different members at different capacities and maintain both a tradition and interest. The 25th of March, for instance, is celebrated by the community with a formal gala, organised by the dance group and young members of the community. In addition to food, it includes a dance programme and unique entertainment and raises funds for various

charities. It is also officially recognised by the city of Halifax, which in 1984, in a proclamation, declared March 25th Greek Independence Day for the city. On that day, the mayor meets with representatives of the Greek community and the Greek flag is raised next to the Canadian flag at city hall. The historic significance of the day is also taught at the Greek school, as is the historic significance of the 28th of October.

Figure 11: Young members of the Halifax Greek Community at Halifax City Hall for raising of the flags in 1984 (left, with the mayor) and in 2005 (Unknown, Young members of Greek Community with Mayor celebrate at Grand Parade (image), 1984; Dunlop, 2005).

The Christmas and Easter holidays continue to be observed with an increase in attendance at church services, particularly during the week leading to Easter, reflecting the greater focus on the message of Easter in the Greek Orthodox faith rather than that of Christmas. The week before Easter is rich in rituals, such as the Thursday covering of icons in black cloth to mourn the crucifixion of Jesus, the Friday decoration of an epitaph with flowers (usually decorated by women of the congregation) and the lighting of candles just after midnight on Saturday/Easter Sunday, with the 'Holy Light' sent around the world from Jerusalem. The Easter celebrations usually end with a great feast on Easter Sunday for family and friends.

The two other occasions that include rituals distinct to the Orthodox faith are the wedding and funeral services. Moreover, while outside the service, members of the community may be required to adhere to certain regulations of the city and province, or have adjusted their celebration to reflect current trends and fashions, the service and certain customs around the service have been maintained.

The celebration of name days were especially popular with the labour migrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly for the males of the family,

> Rita R.: *...we would really celebrate name days before...one year, I had 80 people come over for my husband's name day...and you don't know who's gonna come, you just have to prepare the food and you wait...*
>
> Thalia Y: *In the beginning when I first got married, everyone was doing the name days. When it was your husband's name day, people would come over, without an invitation. I didn't know this...so, my sister-in-law said, "I'll help you with the preparation." "Why," I*

asked, "how many people are coming?" She said she didn't know...I thought that was strange, but that's how they (community) got together before...

Currently, the community has shifted from name days to birthday celebrations, with name days receiving a simple verbal wish or small gathering for both men and women. Lent, where all animal products are not consumed for a time before Easter and Christmas is also less popular as people shift focus to the spiritual doctrines of their faith and less on the symbolic and physical. The aging migrants, who fight this shift, are often urged to avoid observance, for health purposes,

Nasia P.: *I take 10 pills a day, for this for that... I can't do it, my doctor told me not to do it anymore...*

Celebrations and rituals may have altered in form through time, but they remain a staple for the community, who look to such events as a means to reinforce a sense of community belonging,

Naya W.: *My daughter, the older one, the teenager...definitely started to lose interest in the activities, you know she wasn't close to the Greek girls anymore as before, they're changing...she's very independent, interested in fashion, in boys, in going out. So, I told her to get involved in organising the gala, something I thought was more her speed, like those shows they watch on TV...in that, she was talking (communicating) about it on Facebook, adding people, updating about the event. She was complaining but you know, she was doing it because she was invested (had dedicated time and effort), right? You could see she was really into it, happy to be involved...good thing too 'cause teenagers can be DI-FFI-CULT!*

Naya W., much like Nefeli P. in the previous section, is a first generation Greek Canadian who wants her children to remain connected to the Halifax Greek community and their Greek background even when living in Halifax. Like many first generation Greek Canadian parents, however, their personal experiences and awareness of the changing demographics and lifestyle have allowed them to acknowledge that certain traditions must be, and have been abandoned or replaced. Their intentions are not to resist these changes, especially with traditions that instil stereotypes or superstitions discredited long ago, but to maintain some connection. A quote of another Greek Canadian parent in an article of a Halifax city newspaper about the Halifax 25th of March celebration perhaps best summarises the intentions of these parents,

> ***"As our kids get older and live in Canada, it's kind of hard to keep the traditions... It's just important to keep your heritage" (Sarlanis, 2005).***

8.6. Conclusion

The characteristics, which for one person or generation define their ethnic identity, are shown to take on an alternative significance and meaning for another. The survival of the Greek language and the maintenance of the Greek Orthodox faith are two characteristics that raised the most concerns and emotions for the women of the community with respect to continuity. They are the

most polarised, since members are not necessarily in agreement over their role in the construction of their hyphenated identities. While more in sync with the significance of most pre-existing traditions and customs, these too are continuously re-evaluated by all members of the community. The women fare no exception, having experienced a shift in their role in the social structure of the family. Moreover, the development of interests and connection with the established Halifax Greek community by the second and third generation Greek Canadians are concerns expressed by Greek Canadian mothers, who navigate the available networks in order to facilitate these links for their children as a means to maintain a sense of continuity and belonging.

9. Greek Fest

> ***"It has always been important that our festival...showcases our culinary specialties but also our Greek cultural and historical roots... We have proudly accepted the responsibilities of maintaining the spirit of the festival and the importance of our Greek heritage" (2013 Greek Summer Festival Steering Committee, 2013).***

9.1. Introduction

The annual summer festival of the Halifax Greek Community, *Greek Fest*, is its largest organized event of the year, where the community showcases various aspects of their Greek culture and heritage to the Greater Halifax community. It additionally serves as the primary fundraiser for the maintenance of the St. George Greek Orthodox Church and community centre, thus carrying an economic significance and responsibility for the community and the festival steering committee. Beyond the economic dependence, participant observation as a festival volunteer and interviews with current and former organizing committee members and volunteers indicate that through preparation, presentation and performance for the event, it greatly contributes to the ethno-cultural continuity of the Halifax Greek Community and the amiable relationship between the community and Halifax society. Its observed centrality has hence motivated a distinct chapter from that of other aspects of cultural continuity discussed in chapter eight, *Discourses on Cultural Continuity.*

Figure 12: Halifax Greek Fest logo (Halifax Greek Fest, 2013).

9.2. Conception

According to interviews with organizers and the festival website (www.greekfest.org, 2013), Greek Fest is the oldest (and largest) cultural festival of the city of Halifax. The first festival took place in early June of 1986, inspired by a member's visit to Florida where she had the opportunity to attend

a Greek festival organized by the local Greek community. The community priest back in Halifax at the time, was quite receptive to the idea and presented it to additional members who became the first event organizers. Although inexperienced and filled with concerns and even doubts over its success, the images of the Florida Greek festival shared to them, coupled perhaps with their own experiences from Greek festivals or *panigiria* (πανηγύρια) attended back in their hometowns and villages in Greece, developed into the plan for a Halifax equivalent.

> Chris W.: *Thankfully, that girl who'd gone to the festival in Florida...she suggested it to the priest...we met at the café when we made the final decision...an accountant said we'd go under (no profits)... "don't worry, we'd do ok," I said.*

The festival was a community affair with whole households participating and cooperating to run the event that drew large crowds. Central to the festival was the Greek cuisine, which the Halifax community had gradually began to savour, although for some it was still a new experience,

> ***"The first festival was beyond our expectations...We were overwhelmed with the attendance. We thought we had prepared enough food, but we miscalculated the interest and support of the local community. By early Saturday evening our tasty Greek food tables were empty! The Greek women found a solution (as they always do!). They communicated to others that we had more mouths to feed. The telephones were on fire at midnight that Saturday night asking individuals to help prepare food for the next day. Not only did individuals prepare food in the middle of the night, but also many of our local Greek restaurants...Talk about a community banding together..." (2013 Greek Summer Festival Steering Committee, 2013).***

In addition to Greek cuisine, entertainment included traditional folk dance performances by the Greek community dance groups of varying ages.

Interest and attendance was high that first year and was thus a first taste of event management that set the foundation upon which the community could further develop and improve their festival for the following years,

> Chris W.: *The first year, we didn't make much...but, we got together again after (to review)...what did you see wrong? The system with the envelopes, the money, it was too out in the open, accessible, there was fear that people lost money...people took it personally that we didn't trust them, but it was more the system...*

9.2.1. Growth and Current Layout

After more than twenty-five years, Greek Fest continues to attract growing crowds. There is constant review by the elected organizing committee and invested Greek community members of

all aspects of the festival; approaches to the logistics and organization of the festival, various activities and entertainment options and perceived trends of their market, which would allow for an enjoyable experience and a profitable event. Hence, while certain activities and offerings in the festival have become somewhat constant, others remain dynamic.

The choice for the festival to run during early June was originally favoured as it allowed Greek Fest to be the first festival of the summer season before people took time off and went away on holidays; this included members of the Greek community with summer travel plans to go to Greece, who could help at the festival. This was a popular decision and the early June weekend dates have since become the expected time of the year for Greek Fest and approved by the municipality of Halifax. In recent years, the popularity of the festival has allowed it to grow into a four day, end of the week festival, starting from Thursday evening. The weekend remains the busiest time for the festival, although Thursday evenings brings a respectable crowd and early Friday attracts employees of businesses nearby, especially during their lunch breaks.

Summer weather, usually more favourable was also an important factor for the success of the festival, particularly when its activities expanded beyond the indoor space of the community centre to the outdoor grounds of the Greek Orthodox Church. Rainy summer days in Halifax however, are both common and unpredictable, which can affect festival activities and profits,

> Ellie G.: *...The weather. This is Halifax, it doesn't matter if it's June, it's so unpredictable. One year, we might have great weather and a great turn out and we sell out with food and stuff...we make orders and plan for more the next year and the weather is crap and we make a loss 'cause no one shows up...one year it was so bad we had so much left over! So we sold out early this year, maybe a bit too early, but you can't be too liberal for next year...what if it rains all weekend long, God forbid, then what? It's tough because it also affects people's moods...when it's nice, you wanna be out, you want to see stuff. When it rains, I don't know, you want to go home.*

9.2.2. Food and Drink

Food was, and continues to be, central to the festival. The indoor community hall area is entirely dedicated to food and beverages with a main 'restaurant', a small seating area and additional dessert and drink stations. The main restaurant serves set dinner plates, assembled on the spot by Greek Fest volunteers. These plates are comprised of an assortment of Greek favourites such as *moussaka* (aubergine and potato based casserole, usually with meat and béchamel sauce), *dolmades* (stuffed vine leaves), small cheese (feta) pies, roast lamb, *souvlaki* (skewered barbecue meat) and, of course, a side of Greek salad. While accounts suggest that in the past many of these dishes were prepared in the homes of volunteers, the process is now more streamlined; much of the food is prepared in the community hall kitchen, which is equipped to cater for events and adheres to health and safety codes. The volunteers involved in food preparation and organization tend to be Greek

community members who are proprietors and chefs of various restaurants in and around Halifax, roles fitting their experience,

> Ellie G.: *We've tried different models...through the years. We had in the past ordered prepared souvlaki, ready to barbecue from a company based out of Toronto who was able to supply in large volumes, but we realized that it was more feasible to prepare them here, using our own recipes and our volunteers. We went back to our roots. It takes time, but they are fresh and I think tastier...plus it can be fun.*

> Natasa W.: *...we skewered our own souvlakia! Our mom used to do it when we were practicing dancing! ...on the one side they were skewering, on the other, watching us!*

The food is prepared for cooking in advance, but cooked throughout the festival so that it can be served fresh to the visitors. Assembled in a buffet style, where each food item for each set plate has a designated row, the visitors, are able to view the Greek Fest volunteers prepare their plates adorned in hairnets, gloves and aprons. Greek Fest visitors purchase food tickets at separate booths to avoid further queues at the restaurant.

> Nasia P.: *We get things ready to be cooked, but we make it on the spot almost, so always working back there (kitchen) and people see what they getting...if they ask a question we're there, there is a lot of work going on, a lot of people, in the kitchen, out here...very busy.*

Due to the number of visitors and demand for food, the committee made the decision in recent years to hire a professional crew that can help with kitchen duties, a decision that deviates from the original volunteer-only model of the festival, but also deviates from participation motivated by the cause or interest in Greek Fest and not for pay. This change was for some difficult to appreciate; certain participants expressed a degree of nostalgia for earlier festivals, where the members, they argue, were more devoted to the event and did not require additional help,

> Thalia Y.: *...we used to make things at home, each of us and take it and also give money, and if they needed more, we make more...before it was all given, given, given...but now they're buying stuff...they don't feel the way we do, that it was ours, so we helped, we didn't spend, we gave...*

Others contend however that the change was not so much a lack of investment but a necessity; experienced support staff working with volunteers can meet the demand of the growing crowd and ensure good and fast service for visitors who would then support and revisit the festival,

> Nasia P.: *What can you do? We can't keep up, I don't know (why)...but, if you can't keep them (visitors) that's no good. You have to be smart where to spend your money...if they can afford it and it still gives you a profit, I guess that's ok...*

During peak hours volunteers and employees are seen to work well together, all assigned their tasks. The good spirit and mood of the festival is maintained, regardless of people's positions over

the matter and during less busy times, the staff and volunteers are quite keen on sharing a conversation and even a dance as they get to know each other.

Figure 13: Volunteers preparing Greek coffee at the *kafeneio* (Dikaios, 2012).

The beverage stand, aptly named *kafeneio* (καφενείο), roughly translated as coffee house, specializes in serving traditional Greek coffee and frappé, a Greek cold coffee unique to Greece and Cyprus with a French name that it inconveniently shares with another cold coffee drink, often causing confusion. In addition to these specialties it serves the regular filter coffee dear to Canadians and Greeks alike for the 'less adventurous' customers,

> Chris W.: *Greeks love their coffee, I have three cups by 11 am, Greek, filter, (I drink) all of it...*

Next to the beverage stand are assortments of desserts, made by a number of Greek owned establishments and members of the community. Both the drink and dessert stands are somewhat more relaxed and do not usually attract the large crowds of the restaurant, but they are still extremely popular nonetheless, and often spark more curiosity with visitors who may be more familiar with the savoury dishes rather than the desserts and beverages. They also seem to be a favourite post for the Greek Canadian women, who some consider regulars. The women enjoy the opportunity to talk about the food and entice visitors and friends to try new things,

> Eliana H.: *I always work at the dessert stand, I like it the best there, because you get to talk to the people, you see people you might know and haven't seen in a while, it's nice.*

Volunteer: *Xenia makes the best frappés!! You need to get one when she's there making them...* – **(a suggestion by a volunteer at Greek Fest after asking where the frappé was sold).**

The food choices do not end indoors, as there is a large outdoor grill area where the Greek kebabs, or souvlaki and gyro are made, wrapped in the thick Greek pita, with condiments and served to the visitors, *sto heri* (στο χέρι), in hand, since they are the Greek version of fast food.

Additional beverages, including alcohol, are served, but only in designated areas outdoors and only to visitors who wear a bracelet provided at the entrance for adults over the age of 19, the legal drinking age in Nova Scotia.

Wine tasting

Much like most Mediterranean nations, Greece has a long history of producing wine. During the festival, wine sommeliers familiar with the wines of the country run a few wine tasting workshops which people have the opportunity to register for in advance or at the festival based on availability.

9.2.3. Entertainment

Figure 14: Greek-Canadian adult dancers performing at Greek Fest 2011 (Alexandrou, 2011).

Entertainment at Greek Fest has developed into many forms. The study of Greek dances, not only from various regions of Greece and Asia Minor, but also from different eras, has expanded the available repertoire for the dance groups that include a young children dance group, a teen dance group and an adult dance group. The schedule rotates daily to allow visitors to see more than one

performance during their time at the festival. During intervals, a Greek band performs. Each year, members of the steering committee are assigned the task to search for a talented Greek band from larger communities of Canada and the United States that can come to Halifax and perform. Based on discussions, the task to find a band that not only can entertain a crowd who is not necessarily familiar with Greek music, but also entertain the Greek community, who can be quite critical of music that they associate with their identity, is a very stressful task.

There are a number of activities for children, such as; face painting and art activities with themes from Greek mythology; games and races inspired by the Olympic Games; and a football or soccer area, where children can practice their skill, a tribute to the love Greeks have for the game.

Figure 15: Children at Greek Fest showcasing both Greek and Canadian culture with a traditional Greek outfit and an ice hockey team face paint (Dikaios, 2012)

For the adults, there is a shop, *Monastiraki*, named after the busy Athens market area, where a range of Greek products are on display and available for purchase; scheduled tours of the church run throughout the festival; and an exhibit room showcases the history and culture of Greece and the community often with a different focus or theme each year. Furthermore, although not every year, the teachers of the Greek language school organize and run small language workshops for the visitors during the festival. Finally, there is an opportunity to win a number of prizes donated by festival sponsors, with the largest prize that of a paid airline ticket to Greece announced on the final day of the festival.

Thalia Y.: *(in reference to most recent winner of the ticket)...Good thing it wasn't a Greek who got it! ...I enjoy it when it's not one of us who gets it! We want others to enjoy the*

culture and see the country...plus it might look bad if we got it, ha! ...we've gone (to Greece)... for someone else, this may be a once in a lifetime chance, so it's good...I think anyway.

9.3. Providing a sense of familiarity and security

With the exception of the Greek food that most Halifax residents may be accustomed to, the dances, music, beverages and the space itself are not necessarily things most Halifax residents are exposed to regularly. Festival guides, schedules, presenters, and alternative beverages such as the filter coffee mentioned before, and local beers sold at the designated sites are a few ways, which allow visitors to navigate the new and different experiences with more comfort.

Furthermore, as a Nova Scotia festival and per province regulations, security staff ensures that the grounds remain safe, smoking is restricted to the designated areas, no noise violations occur in the evening, and minors are not served alcoholic beverages. Safety and regulations are not necessarily the primary concerns of some visitors when at the festival enjoying a day out, but extremely important to others, such as parents with young children. Presenters facilitate the work of the security staff and provide the necessary precautionary reminders, with a hint of humour,

> ***"...Folks, you know us Greeks like to break plates, but what we don't like to do is break the law! So..."*** **– announcement introduction by one of the Greek Fest Masters of Ceremony.**

9.4. Presence in the Media and use of Social Media

The event acquires local media coverage in the form of interviews and reviews, in newspapers, television and online. In addition, the Greek Fest organizers run a festival website and maintain a constant online social media presence through a Facebook[21] page and Twitter[22] account with more frequent updates and communication as the event time approaches, throughout Greek Fest itself and for some time after. Media is essential and undoubtedly sought after by the organizing committee for the purposes of marketing and promotion, and the general dissemination of information about the event. Contact and open communication with media outlets are therefore key responsibilities for organizers, who also dedicate time to collect and review the diverse material released by the media with the help of community members for purposes of future quality control.

Media available for Greek Fest range from newspaper articles to television segments, YouTube videos and blog entries. In 2012, for instance, the Halifax branch of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) included a segment on the Halifax Greek Fest on their evening news. The segment ran on the first day of the festival and included interviews and images of volunteers and

[21] For link to Halifax Greek Fest Facebook Page (2013): https://www.facebook.com/HalifaxGreekFest?fref=ts

[22] For link to Halifax Greek Fest Twitter Account (2013): https://twitter.com/greekfesthfx

the preparation that was underway. The interviews with volunteers and community leaders also touched upon more serious topics such as the frail Greek economy, the new wave of immigration and its effects on the Halifax Greek community (Chiu, 2012)[23]. In 2011, a YouTube video of Greek Fest[24] created by the Hfxland1749[25] podcast was featured as a complete episode. The episode for the podcast, which focuses on presenting HD videos of events and places in and around Halifax, navigated the festival space documenting the various activities at each site (Lei, 2011). The two videos used different outputs but also outlooks when presenting the festival. Regardless, both were reviewed by the organizers who made both videos available to the rest of the Greek community and any other volunteers concerned with the public and media perception of the festival; the CBC report was shared online soon after its release, while the YouTube video was shared at the volunteer appreciation dinner along with other reviews of the Greek Fest from blogs and the local newspaper during a presentation discussing the perceived highlights of Greek Fest.

> Paris C.: *We look out for what people see and like about it, like how some blogs promote it as a family friendly place you can take your kids... (so) you know what people see and like about it, to work on that.* – Greek Fest volunteer, operations

9.5. Significance to Greek Community

Beyond the concern over the success of the festival, the search for sponsors, the allocation of tasks for the volunteers, and the responsibility to adequately represent Greek culture and heritage to the festival visitors, Greek Fest is also an annual cultural immersion for the Greeks and Greek Canadians of Halifax and a driver of socio-cultural continuity; the diversity of activities, the cause for the fundraising, the call for volunteers and the focus and accessibility to non-Greeks not only attracts large crowds but also the largest number of people with some Greek connection than any other event of the year.

9.5.1. Preparation

A few evenings prior to the start of the Greek Fest at the community hall, a row of volunteers, in aprons and gloves, are busy preparing trays of souvlaki and dolmades. *When approaching the preparation area for observation, Vasiliki K., who had been previously interviewed for the study and is one of the younger Greek Fest volunteers, exclaimed, "Oh my God, we've been doing this for hours!"* She continued to work filling another tray of dolmades and chatting along with the other girls who were doing similar tasks beside her. One of the girls' mothers walked around every now and again to ensure the work was getting done right, one of her many tasks, while another piled the trays and moved them into the kitchen to store in the industry-sized refrigerator.

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[23] The CBC News Halifax at 6, (8 June 2012) news report, *Greek Party* by Elizabeth Chiu, can be viewed at 07:00 minutes of the following link: http://www.cbc.ca/player/News/Canada/NS/ID/2243422957/

[24] For link to YouTube video of Greek Fest, *Episode 29,* (12 June 2011) of the Hfxland1749 Podcast by Michael Lei: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YBqciKWbKIE

[25] The direct Hfxland1749 Greek Fest (12 June 2011) Podcast blog link, *OPA!!!* by Michael Lei: http://hfxlandscape.wordpress.com/2011/06/12/opa/

There is great potential for knowledge gain when participating in the preparation and organization of the festival. During food preparation, the knowledge transfer tends to be generational; experienced chefs and cooks, who for some of these younger volunteers happen to be parents and grandparents, guide the younger generation of volunteers through the process. This guidance includes tasks such as cutting the meat and skewering it for the souvlaki, peeling and cutting the potatoes, getting the seasoning just right, preparing the dolmades and ensuring all kitchen volunteers know how to prepare the Greek salad and dressing fresh as required throughout the festival. The work is coupled with conversation, laughter and even some arguing as volunteers enjoy some time together,

> Xenia C.: *We all have an opinion, too many chefs, one stew? Or something like that...yeah it happens, but two minutes later and you're laughing about something else...that's how it is.*

For the dance performers, as discussed in the previous chapter, learning the dances is but one form of continuity; access to Greek songs allows participants to hear the language and the music of Greek folk songs, a part of their heritage, but also new songs and music that accompany the dance routine styles popular in Greece today such as, the *hasapiko*[26], *zeibekiko*[27] and *tsifteteli*[28]. Although learning and performing Greek dances has been an integral part of the community for years, the popularity of performing at Greek Fest has undoubtedly heightened their significance and interest; as a result, instructors invest in research and study of the diverse regional dance repertoire of Greece, Cyprus and Greek populations of Asia Minor. The material presented by the instructors is not only new to them and the dancers, but also other Greeks in the audience.

9.5.2. Volunteers at the Festival

Restaurant servers are popular volunteer positions for the female migrants who have years of experience in the food industry and feel quite at home when performing these tasks. Taking orders is more popular with the first and second generation, as the migrant women remain self-conscious about their English language skills. The restaurant is also a place that is usually quite busy and requires the volunteers to work fast and coordinated in their posts.

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[26] *Hasapiko*, or *Dance of the Butchers*, can be traced back to the Byzantium, although likely rooted in Ancient Greece. Originally a male dance, aimed to instill fear of the armed butchers of Constantinople. Greek cinema in the mid-20th century aided in the re-imagination of this dance and evolution of its choreography to that of its current state. It is a popular dance performed by both men and women to modern and older Greek music. It is also the base of the *syrtaki*, or *dance of Zorba*, the most globally famous representation of Greek dance (Skiadas; Pro Dance Group, 2010).

[27] *Zeibekiko*, originated from a minority group, and became popular in urban dance centres among the lower social classes in the 19th century. It is considered one of the most expressive dances and served as an outlet of the Greek men's troubled 'psyche'. Performed solo, it has a free choreographic structure. It quickly became popular for all social groups and today is performed by both men and women (Tyrovola, Likesas, Koutsouba, & Macha, 2008).

[28] *Tsifteteli* is considered the Greek version of the belly dance. Its origins may be from central Asia (as its name, which means double chords in Turkish), although there is evidence to suggest it may have Ancient Greek origins as it bares resemblance to a dance described in Aristophanes' plays. It is considered a social dance, performed in twos and solo (Kalogeropoulos, 2001; Karayanni, 2004).

During quieter intervals, the restaurant can be a space for conversation. On the Friday afternoon, between the lunch and dinner rush, the calmer climate found the ladies sharing stories about past festivals before the younger volunteers 'could walk.' One lady compared the festival to ones she remembers as a young girl in her village in Greece in the 1940s, before World War II. The woman talked about the food and celebration commemorating a saint, and the younger volunteers asked her more about her life and how Greece compared to Halifax.

Figure 16: Restaurant volunteers taking a well deserved break at the Greek Fest 2012 (Dikaios, 2012)

A female visitor, who had been served previously, finishing her lunch approached the restaurant and asked about the dolmades,

Visitor: *I just wanted to let you know that they were cold. Is that how they should be?*

Volunteer: *I will let them know, thank you.*

The young volunteer, a Greek Canadian, runs to one of the ladies and asks them in Greek,

Volunteer: *Kyria (Mrs.) should the dolmades be cold, I don't know...we have them warm at my house...*

Volunteer II: *If there's no meat, they can be served as a cold appetizer or side, so here we serve them cold. The ones with meat, I like better warmed up. But it depends...here they are (we serve) the cold, (meatless) ones.*

Questions about the food from the visitors arise often and it is the task of the volunteers to be able to respond to their queries, but often both the volunteers and visitors learn more from the older

Greek ladies, who are able to provide that information and simultaneously prepare two plates for the next order.

The opportunity to meet and talk to people goes hand in hand with most tasks assigned to volunteers, something that for some is not simply a welcome characteristic, but rather a reason to attend the festival,

> Valeria O.: *...we've been volunteering (the past couple years), 'cause I don't really know anyone...*

Valeria O., who married a first generation Greek Canadian volunteers at the festival because, as a non-Greek 'outsider,' she perceives it as an opportunity for her to engage with the culture and the people; as she tries to learn the language and traditions, she finds the festival an entry point to a community she considers to be part of her new, married life.

Zenon S. and Gina S., a young couple, try to volunteer at the festival every year. Zenon S.'s mother is a Cypriot migrant who arrived in the 1970s, his father is British and Gina S. has no Greek background. Zenon S. can speak and read some Greek, but his life is predominantly in English. He is close to his Greek Canadian relatives and the couple agrees that Greek is part of their family's heritage. Yet, both Zenon S. and Gina S. were never able to fully immerse themselves into the community, choosing not to focus on one aspect of their heritage. Greek Fest is important to them because it is an opportunity for both partners to participate in something 'Greek' together as volunteers, something that language, religion, networks or background does not necessarily limit and it is therefore an activity that they both enjoy and feel a full part of,

> Zenon S.: *We're Canadian together, you can share that. It's not quite the same with the Greek, but Greek Fest, you can participate as a family, you can enjoy it as a family.*

Gina S. and Zenon S. worked at the ticket booth. Gina S., instructed to care for the used tickets and avoid the potential for reuse, kept them safe in her purse until the end of their shift when she handed them over to the 'supervisor.' The supervisor in turn laughs at her 'Canadian sense of taking orders so literally,' but in reality, organizers take great care to assign volunteers who are known to be trusted and careful in posts that require handling money, tickets and serving alcoholic beverages; Gina S. was granted the position because she is a person they know and trust, a member of the community.

At the admission booth, a young couple approaches and inquires about the church tours. The young woman asks if she must pay if she wishes to just view the church. She had read about Greek Fest and wanted to show her fiancé the interior of a Greek Orthodox Church. Her grandparents were Greek and she had been baptized in the church, but she had no real contact with the community. It was in fact unclear if she was a Halifax local or whether she had moved to the area. She explained that regardless of where they would choose to marry, she wanted to take the opportunity to share that piece of her heritage with her fiancé.

Emily O., a first generation Greek Canadian considers the Greek community and the Greek culture a big part of who she is. As a child and young adult, she had spent much time with the community. Her current lifestyle, she admits, does not allow her spend as much time at the community centre, but she always sets aside the time for Greek Fest,

> Emily O.: *Come Greek Fest, though, I will volunteer. So, it may not be every week or every month...maybe just once a year. I don't focus on it, but I don't consciously NOT try to help. I would never say no...*

Nina K., a journalist for Canadian television also admits that her life does not allow her to spend as much time as she had in the past in and around the church and community, but sees the hall and church as an extension of her home; she is comfortable to enter and participate at any time. She also credits the community for helping her with her career path. At Greek Fest she volunteers as a part-time presenter for the show, adding a sense of familiarity to the visitors who watch her on television, daily. She has also, in the past, ran stories about Greek Fest on her show.

Nefeli P., who argued the differentiation between religion and culture, is also present at Greek Fest with her family. Asked whether the fundraising goal conflicted with her ideals, she clarified,

> Nefeli P.: *If I think that culture and church are separate, not everyone else does, and church is a big part of their life, I wouldn't want people to lose that because it's not central to me. We are still part of the community, we do things together, plus the church and community centre are one package, one building...but Greek Fest, you see people coming together to celebrate the culture too and that is something I want my children to be part of because we don't have that many other things to do that allow us to do that...*

9.5.3. Community interest in Greek Fest

The organization of Greek Fest requires time and dedication to the task at hand and the question was raised whether the younger generation maintains the enthusiasm and drive to continue running the festival. As already mentioned, people are divided between whether they think the younger generation share the same sense of accomplishment and investment in Greek Fest. Following the end of the festival, while interviewing the current organizers, some expressed fears that there are few other members who would be willing to take the initiative and responsibility to run the festival,

> Kleo K.: *If we don't do it, then who will?*

The migrant generation who began the festival are the harshest critics of the younger generation. They fortunately confess that while there have been changes in the way the festival is run, the new generation of organizers do in fact care. Furthermore, they seem to be more confident than the organizers themselves about the continuity of the festival in the hands of younger generation; they believe the younger generations have been taught to care and will not let the festival fail, something, perhaps, their generation has instilled in them,

Thalia Y.: *Now, I think it's starting to pick up (again), people of this generation, my kids, they care...*

9.6. Greek Fest and the people of Halifax

The fixed summer festival status of Greek Fest can only lead to the conclusion that the people of Halifax, irrespective of cultural origin, enjoy the event and continue to attend year after year. The formula of its success is surely comprised of a number of dynamic variables and perhaps differs for each visitor, yet the relationship between the Greek community and the greater Halifax community is central to this support.

During interviews, when asked about the ties between the Greek community and people of Halifax, the success of Greek Fest served as a prime indication for them of their acceptance, of the good friends they have made beyond the Greek community and the ties they wish to reinforce,

Chryso M.: *...we see it at Greek Fest, the (enthusiasm over) Greek food, the dancing, you can't imagine...they have accepted us and I think they are welcoming with everyone...*

One participant pointed out that the festival was after all a *Halifax* cultural festival, a festival celebrating a community within a greater community.

9.6.1. Open Call to Volunteer

The Friday lunch shift at the restaurant receiving the tickets and calling orders was shared with a young girl in her final year of high school. She was excited because later that day she would go to prom and the final arrangements for transportation had just been confirmed. It was also her first time volunteering at Greek Fest, so she was unsure of what to expect. Asked whether Greek Canadian friends suggested volunteering, she negates the presumption; she did not hear about it from any Greek Canadians, but from another friend who, like her, had no direct connection to the community, but had volunteered last year and said it had been a fun experience.

The majority of the volunteers at the restaurant that Friday were Greek migrant women who had known each other for years and were comfortable communicating in Greek; this at first made the new volunteer feel a little out of place. Efforts were made to translate as much of the conversation as possible, and her positive demeanour, was well received by the migrant women. After asking a number of questions about the food, either to respond to visitors or to absolve her own curiosity, one of the migrant women, who was in charge of the food serving at the time turned to her,

Volunteer I (migrant woman): *Too much...too much...*

Volunteer II (young girl): *I'm sorry?*

Volunteer I: *Relax. Don't worry about it.*

The girl went quiet and looked around, worried perhaps that her questions about the cheese triangles had been misunderstood and annoyed the woman. To her surprise, the woman picked up a small cheese triangle and gave it to the girl,

> Volunteer I: *Here, try one. Tell me if you like it... (the girl tastes it and indicates that she enjoyed the taste). Now you know.*

The migrant woman then smiled and continued to work, replacing the empty trays with fresh full ones.

The girl's concern quickly changed to delight,

> Volunteer II: *Oh man, I love Greek food.*

The woman had found a way to communicate with the girl, answer her questions but also make her feel more comfortable as part of the group with a method that could be understood even if she could not understand everything that was said – through food.

While the majority of the volunteers have a direct connection to the Greek community, either through heritage or marriage, volunteering is open to anyone who would like to help with the festival. Scenarios similar to the above are commonplace as the 'new' or non-Greek volunteers familiarize themselves with members of the community and the humour and antics that go hand in hand with the generally joyful, but at times stressful occasion. Veteran non-Greek volunteers are known to show more ease when working at the festival, familiar with the surroundings

> Ellie G.: *...the mayor (of Halifax), he came in the other night, walked into the kitchen and asked what needed to be done. We were peeling potatoes, so he said okay and started peeling potatoes, you know, just a regular thing...*

All volunteers inclusive are rewarded for their help with coupons for free food and an appreciation dinner dedicated to them a few days after the completion of the festival.

9.7. Conclusion

As a cultural festival, Greek Fest aims to present and represent certain attributes of the Greek culture to the people of Halifax in a way that people can appreciate and enjoy. With this event, the Greek community raises funds to keep the Greek Orthodox Church and community centre running, which mobilizes a great number of people to volunteer from within the community regardless of whether they are regular members and participants at community events. What is not always clear to the participants, however, is that with the organization of this event they participate in activities that allow the continuity of Greek cultural characteristics of attachment to the community. In addition, their inclusive celebrations allow these attributes to become familiar and appreciated by the greater Halifax community.

10. Analysis and Discussion of Findings

10.1. Introduction

The following chapter considers how the relevant literature corresponds to the findings presented in the previous five chapters. The objective of these chapters was to thematically and semi-chronologically lay out the life experiences of members of the Halifax Greek Community, primarily those of their female members. The goal of this chapter, therefore, is to revisit the framework and relevant literature outlined in the Literature Review chapter (Chapter 2), which served as the foundation for the design and inquiry development of this study. The chapter reviews the findings with respect to the process of migration for the female migrants, the development of socioeconomic networks and their significance in mobilizing diaspora, the development of a hyphenated diasporic identity and the generational variations of its representation.

10.2. Female Migration: Migrants in their own Right

The models of migration developed throughout the years are indicative of the complexity of the migration process. Yet, while feminist analysis has identified a difference in gender experience of migration (DeLaet, 1999, p. 2), as Bondi (1992) asserts, there have been no models of migration that have successfully developed a gender-specific theory about female migration. The accounts of migration by the participants of the study do not, in fact, correspond to one single model, but are rather more adequately represented through the combination of criteria from various models. Furthermore, the role of past female labour migration is disputed with respect to being secondary or a consequence of male labour migration, as is the role of female migrants in the collective decision-making process. Moreover, the mobility of women within the home, Greek community and Halifax itself additionally challenge their view as secondary in their contributions.

10.2.1. Applying Relevant Models to Female Migration

The economic mobility supported as a cause for migration in the oldest, neoclassical model (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 433-434), holds validity due to the underlying, if not direct, economic motivations for migration expressed by the participants. The additional consideration of the new economics model, which assigns decision-making to a collective (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 436) and the network and cumulative causation models, which consider pre-existing networks of communication between migrants and countries (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 448), however, leads to a more adequate depiction of Greek migration to Halifax.

Throughout the study, data on the pre-World War II Greek migrants has been either in the form of secondary accounts or secondary data and remains comparatively sparse. As previously deduced, based on the past work of Gavaki (2003, pp. 65-66) about the migration and settlement of early Greek migrants in other parts of Canada, and the specific mentions of Vlassis (1953, pp. 127-130) and Thomas (2000, pp. 39-52) of Halifax, the initial settlement in Halifax was also likely to have

been a few random acts by a few Greek migrant men. Settlement was the probable result of opportunity arising at an ideal time for the travelling single migrants, and/or a personal choice based on preference of location and experience. The clear, exact reasons and motivations are lost to time. The profile of a pioneer Greek migrant in North America included travelling in search of opportunity and it was thus likely that the men who first settled in Halifax did not necessarily reach North America directly through Halifax. This resonates with the common criticism of the neoclassical model, which maintains that the decisions to migrate are informed decisions (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 21), igniting questions over the migrants' expectations upon arrival and their outlook on the reality they encountered, which for the early migrants of Halifax are difficult if not impossible to answer.

What is clear, nevertheless, is that the first Greek female migrants of Halifax had a more directed route, one of arranged marriage or family sponsorship; they came as wives, future wives, sisters or daughters. According to Tastsoglou & Stubos (1992), for early Greek family migration, the decision of whether whole families or certain family members migrated was dependent on what course of action would achieve family prosperity. Supporting the new economics model, the decision to migrate was that of the most important collective for Greeks, the family. Female migration, as wives, daughters or sisters would thus serve the purpose of collective prosperity, but not necessarily support personal or rather individual economic mobility for the women. Through the secondary accounts about early immigration to Halifax, the sponsorships of family members, male or female, were easily confirmed, yet whether this sponsorship was a predetermined and rigid course, is more difficult to identify in all cases; while Persephone R. recounts that both her father and his brother ventured to jointly establish a business, the account of Costas W. about his great-uncle who sent for his sister to marry his Greek business partner (Costas W.'s grandfather), may not have been the sole route his family considered for his sister. A proposal supported by a brother who also ventured for prosperity, however, probably worked in the future groom's favour, as a man capable of supporting his wife, an important attribute for a husband, regardless of where they were located.

The participants who emigrated from Greece following the Second World War provide evidence of a continued migration flow, which began at the beginning of the century; the value of family and extended kin, in addition to ties with their home towns, prompted settled migrants to respond to the difficult conditions in Greece and sponsor male and female Greek migrants. This sponsorship, which included the financial means to at least reach Canada, was evidence of the facilitation and thus slight shift in motivation in migration for new migrants, supported by both the network and cumulative causation models (Castles & Miller, 2009, pp. 27-28). Some participants in this study clearly stated that the repayment of sponsorship was expected; yet regardless of this, what they valued was that the initial loan enabled them to reach their destination. Since support for many would arrive from co-ethnics who lived in Halifax, the migrants were motivated, if not directed, to

select Halifax as their destination, despite the presence of other possible destinations. Moreover, the interviews indicated that the participants, who had sought to emigrate, did not have a specific place or city in mind, but rather a somewhat abstract, exaggerated image of Canada or North America as a 'land of opportunity' that could eliminate certain difficulties they encountered in Greece. For most, Toronto and Halifax were not known to be different, even after their arrival to Halifax, once again questioning how 'informed' an informed decision must be, or what defines 'informed decisions' in models, which advocate that migration occurs following an informed decision.

The demographic prevalence of Greeks and Greek Canadians in Halifax, who trace their origins back to the Peloponnese and southern Greek towns and villages, which first intrigued Thomas (2000, p. 40), nevertheless, is testament to the power of the networks of sponsorships. The few Greek pioneer migrants, who were from the region, sponsored other Greek migrants; once these 'new' residents were financially capable, they too sponsored more family members, spouses and friends from their hometowns. The small community shares a web of connections and ties with each other, justifying its description by a number of participants as 'very tight-knit.'

10.2.2. Women and their Role in the Decision

As females and migrants, the accounts of certain participants further challenged the view, formerly criticized by Ackers (1998, p. 61), about past female migration occurring within the family unit, as a consequence of, or secondary to male migration. Between the 1950s and 1970s, the Greek migrants who arrived to Halifax, in their majority, were low-skilled migrants with limited knowledge of the English language. The availability of employment was possible, yet simultaneously volatile, for both men and women, although other social conditions may have favoured men. The opportunity for Vera T., for instance, arose through employment as a domestic worker, while for Petra W., sponsorship was through extended family and employment was found only after her arrival. Both these women were, nevertheless, instrumental in the sponsorship of male and female siblings, whom they also supported until their siblings could work in Halifax. This cycle of family support would continue with future family members, until these new family units became financially independent. Magda N., one of the few participants who were already married when emigrating from Greece in 1959, was not in favour of leaving Greece, but decided to trust the information her husband obtained about opportunities in Halifax. Neither she nor her husband had guaranteed permanent employment in Halifax, but their decision was based on the possibility of better opportunities for both of them to support their family. The presence of cases such as Vera T. and Petra W. arguably do not challenge the fact that female migration is a consequence of male opportunity within a partnership since they immigrated as single women and therefore not part of a marital partnership. They do, however challenge the model, which does not consider the lack of such partnership and thus their observed primary role in the sponsorship and support process of other family members, which would reach Canada because of them. Magda N.,

on the other hand, directly challenges the notion of female migration as secondary, since both she and her husband were expected to enter the Halifax workforce in an attempt to support their family. Neither had set opportunities available to determine whether she or her husband were 'secondary' to the opportunity of the other. Moreover, we see that she acquires a stable income before her husband due to her skills as a seamstress.

Finch (1983), directed us to research findings, which maintain that both economic and cultural pressures resulted in the female migration for their male partners' opportunities. While we previously challenged the consequential migration of women, we cannot entirely contest Finch's conclusion, but rather highlight a link to economic status; nearly twenty years after the migration of Vera T., Petra W. and Magda N., Mina S., after having moved twice before due to her husband's academic career, agreed to move to Halifax, where, with her credentials she too found a job. In addition, Vera T., Petra W. and Magda N., who did not migrate as a result of their male partners, are seen to forfeit job opportunities and in the case of Magda N., whole businesses, in order to support family business endeavours where their male partners are, at least officially, the head. Thomas (1988) also makes note of how women continued to allow the economic mobility of their male partners to supersede their own. This development from the presumably more egalitarian initial position of Magda N. and her husband to the more patriarchal or traditional cases of subsequent years indicates that the migrants' initial approach was an allowance that did not reflect ideology, but one due to necessity; when no longer a luxury, the traditional model was reconsidered and somewhat reinstated. Alternatively, however, this presumed forfeit of personal opportunity could in fact, not be a shift in ideology, but rather reflect that same, collective, non-individual goals and ideology, which Greek women possessed from before migration that have always directed their decisions; whether cultural and economic pressures were in place or not, women maintained a vision to support family well-being. It would therefore be realistic to suggest that with their input of acquired knowledge, skills, experience and support, participation, or partnership in a family venture is not perceived as a forfeit, but a less-individualized way to support family.

The significance of the family well being as a migration motivator, which was previously identified by the Greek female migrant participants of Tastsoglou's work (1997a) in Ontario, is echoed by the participants of this study who settled in Halifax. Tastsoglou, however, argues that, although family well being and maternity were consistent personal motivators for female migrants through the years, the decision to migrate would, in time, have increasing input from the women themselves; women who immigrated in the 1950s had less input in the decision that led to their migration than women in the 1970s. The accounts of the Halifax female migrants between 1950 and 1960 do not support this rather linear progression, but rather suggest that the degree of input, varied within this generation of migrants. Vera T., who migrated in 1952, Aliki P. who arrived in 1961, Rita R. and Eliana H. in 1967 and 1968 respectively, maintained that it was their dream to go to Canada that they actively pursued, an opportunity to move away from village life and manual labour, or an

opportunity to be with the man they loved. At the same time, Petra W., who emigrated in 1959 (and her sister before her) was asked by her father to consider going to Halifax twice, an indication that perhaps her family needed her to emigrate. In addition, both Fotini P. and Nasia P. were sponsored by fiancés, which their families had approved for them. In all cases, the participants confirmed that the decision to migrate included input from the whole family, but the women's desire to go abroad in the former cases held greater resonance than the reluctance of the latter cases. The subsequent migrant generations varied less, with the majority of participants stating that their partners were already residents of Halifax or found opportunities in Halifax and did not demonstrate the same degree of emotion one way or the other. Yet, while they did not necessarily express the same degree of emotion in favour or against moving to Halifax, there was an intergenerational variation with respect to the degree of willingness in making Halifax their permanent home. Gina U. and Thalia Y. for instance, were quite vocal about their wish to return to Greece or consider other Canadian cities respectively. Their partners knew these positions and decisions were made collectively with the consideration of these positions. There was only one sole exception from the 1990s where the couple made a joint decision to settle in Halifax, based on the characteristics of the city, they perceived as ideal to make home. This case is also an exception because it is not motivated by labour requirements or economic mobility and therefore a different form of migration altogether.

10.2.3. Settlement, Connections and Development

The dynamic social and economic networks and the cultural continuity concerns of the female migrants and subsequent generations presented in the chapters, are not only ways in which a diasporic community and consciousness were developed or mobilized (Cohen, 2008, pp. 11-14) within the Halifax Greek Community, but also indicate how migrant women, by utilizing the resources and routes available to them were not consequential or secondary migrants, but rather, migrants in their own right.

Pre-WWII Migrants

The economic and social networks of pre-World War II Greek migrant women were pieced together through second-hand accounts, pictures and official documents, which could only provide an incomplete understanding of their reality. Although socioeconomic status was more diverse than the female migrants that arrived after the war, it is likely that the more 'defensive' (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992) Greek community maintained a distance from non-Greeks socially, interacting only within the context of customer or client at the family businesses. It is also likely that these business interactions with non-Greeks were limited for women, while participation in ethnic events and duties was acceptable if not encouraged, assuming the role of cultural gatekeepers (Gavaki, 2009, p. 121). This is, of course, an extension of what previous researchers (Tastsoglou & Stubos, 1992; Thomas, 2000; Gavaki, 2003; Gavaki, 2009) have determined, which second-hand accounts from members of the community supported.

Migrants of the 1950s and 1960s

Participants, who arrived after the end of World War II and the outbreak of the Greek civil war, in their majority, shared a common socioeconomic reality, which defined this larger, in numbers, wave of migration; poverty and limited opportunity in the homeland, the effects of war and political unrest. The dependence on the extended kin and ethnic networks was documented to begin prior to migration, which only occurred as a result of the establishment of these networks. The sponsors and sponsored are not gendered, in that both males and females held both roles. However, female migrants sponsored other family members, fiancés or husbands, while males could additionally sponsor non-family females as employees, since economic partnership remained unofficial.

Upon arrival to Halifax, female migrants encountered an unknown place where communication was difficult and work was competitive. This led to a somewhat ethnic-centred social and economic domain for the female migrants, at least in the early years, similar to that observed with the labour migrants in Toronto by Nagata (1969). Due to the small size of the community, which resulted in many interconnections among its members, it is uncertain whether the economic networks were strictly gendered or through family ties. Participants were not always able to identify a single person who directed them to an opportunity, but simply state that the opportunity was obtained through their ethnic connections. Certain case studies did support, however that when possible or necessary, female migrants navigated a gendered extended network for economic mobility, as perceived by Karpathakis & Harris (2009) with their New York study. Aliki P., for instance, was recruited to the factory through her sister-in-law, hired by a nun at the hospital and later found a permanent job at a restaurant through the female co-owner of a Greek family restaurant. Nasia P. too, when no longer content with living in a city with few co-ethnics, sent a letter requesting her husband's transfer to Halifax to his boss's wife and not to the boss himself. At the same time, there is support from male family members in the form of liaisons for opportunities in cases such as Petra W., whose uncle finds her a restaurant position and Vera T., returning to Halifax following the engagement of her older sister to a man who could provide work for both sisters. Socially, the networks were more clearly gendered due to the cultural social norms that limited male-female interaction beyond the family and marriage. The social networks did expand to include non-Greek women, although the closest ties and support arises from the female co-ethnics whose lives have been so intertwined that each is the other's *koumpara*. The koumpara, officially the maid of honour or spiritual guardian of a child, is selected in order to seal a lifetime connection with a non-family member, by making them family. The significance of this lifetime connection is evident in the 'widows club,' the makeshift, unofficial support group of widowed (and sometimes not) female migrants.

Migrants after 1970

Migrant women who arrived from 1970 onwards were generally less dependent on ethnic networks for social and economic mobility due to knowledge of the English language and thus the ability to explore possibilities with more personal ease. Kin networks, nevertheless remained significant contributors, both in social and economic mobility. The desire to participate in Greek cultural activities and teach their children developed into the establishment of social networks with members of the Greek community. This generation of migrants was able to interact with each other, but additionally establish networks with both older migrants and first generation Greek Canadians who were of a close age. These networks differed in that they were not necessarily developed out of the absolute necessity experienced by earlier migrant women, but because of shared interests, although the networks did in fact remain somewhat gendered.

The Evolution of negotiating the Caretaker – Co-Breadwinner Roles

The re-evaluation of their perceived role as caretakers to co-breadwinners for the Greek female migrants of post World War II was unexpected for some and one of mixed emotions; as available opportunities conflicted with their parental priorities and family duties of the imagined traditional Greek mother and wife they aspired to become. Women such as Petra W. and Aliki P. revealed their difficulty with having to juggle both family and work within the Halifax setting. Unfamiliar, unable and possibly not accepting of the very foreign, to them, notion of day care services, they chose to send their children back to Greece to be cared for by family members, as is customary within the Greek family model, or relinquished ideal economic opportunities respectively. Similar practices, also observed by Thomas (1988), were present twenty years later, with Thalia Y. recruited by her employed sister who preferred her young, albeit inexperienced with children, family member rather than day care for reasons that included affordability, custom and perhaps subsequent opportunity for the younger sister in Canada. Subsequent generations and more recent parents often revealed that they chose a combination of both, the Canadian day care and the support of family and mainly the grandmothers, particularly when their children were very young, while day care services run by other Greek Canadian women were preferred. As grandmothers, both Aliki P. and Petra W., remained faithful to the Greek model and both willingly cared for their grandchildren when the parents were at work, now able to negotiate on their own terms the time they spent at work and at home. The gradual upward mobility of Greek families could have, theoretically, enabled the women to reclaim a full-time caretaker role at home, yet all women continued working, some citing habit, others enjoying work and Ekali K. admitting that it was, following the social norm of not just the Halifax community, but also the Greek community of Halifax whose female members were employed. Work and parenting had in essence, become the more accepted and expected route for the Greek and Greek Canadian women, despite some verbal lament over the ideal of staying at home. The family-focused women therefore, particularly earlier migrants, are quite curious, if not impressive in their dedication, since although willing to

relinquish personal economic mobility to support a family business, are unwilling to stop working, yet continue to advocate the caretaker roles of women within the family.

10.3. The Halifax Donair: Developing a Hyphenated Halifax-Greek Identity

In *Discourses on Continuity,* there is mention of the creation of the Halifax Donair; a Greek migrant restaurateur, after realizing that his gyro dish was not a popular choice among his clientele, chose not to remove it entirely from the menu, but instead, amended the recipe to reflect certain culinary preferences he noticed among his clientele. The concept remained the same, but there was a sweeter sauce and the meat was not pork, but beef. The donair was a success and is considered a regional delicacy and staple, diverging from the more Scottish or British influences of the region. At the risk of perhaps oversimplifying or contributing to food stereotypes, the evolution of the Halifax Donair bares similarities to the evolution of the hyphenated diasporic identity of the Halifax Greek community members.

The Halifax Greek Community, established in the early twentieth century, has since been a permanent ethno-cultural presence for the city, most vividly observed with the support of the greater Halifax society when celebrating Greek Fest. As a diasporic community, it maintains dynamic links with an imagined, physical or historic homeland, but has established permanent ties with a (originally) host society. The customs and traditions adopted by its members to celebrate their Greekness are a fusion of the variations introduced by the members themselves and the influences of their surrounding environment and society. As a result, the members of the community acquire a diasporic identity that distinguishes them from transnational migrants, Greeks of Greece proper and other Greek diasporic communities across the globe that are inevitably influenced by their own members' experiences and environments. The Greek-Haligonian hyphenated identity of the community reflects their embrace of both a more holistic Greek and a regional Canadian identity.

10.3.1. Developing a Hyphenated Identity

From Regional Greek to Greek

Although most participants and available sources (Thomas, 2000, p. 40) on the Halifax Greek Community suggest that the majority of its present members originate from southern Greece, namely villages and towns of the Peloponnese and around the capital of Athens, followed by the island of Mylos and Cyprus, the customs and traditions introduced into Halifax by migrants did vary. Irrespective of the geographic proximity of some of the towns and villages, there were inevitable differences observed at even the family level and new traditions adopted.

Ekali K., who arrived after high school from Corinth, credits the older migrant women with teaching her Greek recipes and traditions that she had never practiced or known while growing up

in Greece. Rita R., on the other hand, was rather overwhelmed, at first, at the expectation of catering to as many as eighty people on her husband's name day, without actually being certain that this amount of people would come; the result of a Greek neighbourhood or village tradition, which may have translated somewhat inconveniently in Halifax. Thalia Y. too was surprised that when her mother-in-law was to pay them and her sister in law's family an extended visit, the expectation was that the mother-in-law stay in her home with her son, as was common in the Greek mainland, but uncommon for Cypriots who expect that the mother stay with the daughter.

The community as a whole has adopted the celebration of New Year's Eve at the community hall, the organisation of a 25th of March gala, which annually is run by a few appointed young adults of the community, and the annual Greek Fest in early June, which has become a tradition beyond the Greek community to the greater Halifax community. The transformation from the regional Greek identities to a more holistic Greek identity is perhaps more vivid to the observer during the community's dance performances, which include a number of dance sets that range from island folk dances to Cretan dances and Northern Greek routines, in addition to the more modern 'tavern' style routines, dances that evolved in the twentieth century. These dances are therefore not representative of the folk culture of the regions from which the community members originate, but from around the country. Knowledge of these dances was the result of on-going transnational ties with Greece, facilitated more recently, by online communications and dance workshops in Greece and in other communities across Canada and the United States, communities whose experiences may not be the same as those of the Halifax community, but who share an understanding about the necessities of cultural continuity among its youth (Cohen, 2008, p. 15).

From Greek to Greek Diasporic

A number of participants who immigrated to Halifax, arguably, may not have originally planned to permanently settle, but the communications and available technology did not allow the same degree of contact with home as they do in the present, which have led to distinct transnational migrants. Gina U., who came to Halifax as a newlywed, said that at the beginning, she wrote letters to her family and friends back home more than once a day, a habit that would slowly dwindle when responsibilities in Halifax inevitably took over her time. She and her partner had also planned to return to Greece after some time, which also did not come to fruition in its original form, though they do have a summer home they like to visit annually. Tastsoglou (1997b), in her study on Greek migrant women in Ontario determined a degree of hesitation or delay for some women with respect to their willingness to participate and, in a sense, accept the level of permanence in Canada and thus membership in a diasporic community and adoption of the diasporic identity. In Gina U.'s case, who gladly participated in dance and language instruction within the community, there was no such 'hesitation' or 'delay,' yet there was a strong initial and revisited attempt to maintain the same attachment to life and things in the homeland that was not possible as much as it is today. Gina U. currently maintains contact through online social networks and Greek television news

channels available both online and with certain packages provided by the telecommunications companies in Canada.

Thalia Y. and Mina S. were uncertain about their time in Halifax; Thalia Y. was unhappy working at home with limited company and freedoms, while Mina S. was at first unsure of the permanence of her husband's position. Ekali K., on the other hand, accepted, it seems, that her new home would be Halifax. These women did not indicate any hesitation or unwillingness to participate in the community, but their socioeconomic status was one that did not enable such connections unless they were actively pursued. Their Greek identity, therefore or Greekness, was present in their 'pragmatic' daily routine and expectations (Tastsoglou, 1997b). Their participation increased when they went in search for the symbolic Greekness they wished to transfer to their children, in the form of the Greek language school, community events and church. Their daily routines can be perceived as transnational in that a custom or tradition of one region (Greece) was practiced in a different region (Halifax), thus maintaining a connection. Participation in the community would reinforce this form of transnational ties with the addition of new practices and ties to the diasporic community, thus adopting the Greek diasporic identity, while simultaneously defining it.

Haligonian Greek Identity

With a more generalised Greek diasporic identity, the community also reveals a more regionalised Canadian or Haligonian identity; the conditions, which community members encountered in Halifax that make up their common community history and the concerns and issues expressed by subsequent generations, depict a reality that regardless of possible similarities with other communities is distinct to the Halifax Greek community and shape the Haligonian Greek identity. Prior to 1972, being a harbour city had a significant effect on the initial contact with Halifax and the Greek community; their first contact with the physical characteristics of the city were highly dependent on the time of year of arrival, with a usually immediate and often harsh realization of a very different landscape to that of their homeland, but also to that of their expectations of a rich, vibrant, 'big' new world. Coupled with a few weeks on board a ship and confined space did not translate into positive first impressions. At the same time, port arrival included a welcoming committee of other members of the Greek community, not limited to possible relatives or family members who may have preceded their arrival. There was, thus, an almost immediate entry into the ethnic community and its social and economic networks. These first meetings developed into both friendships and economic opportunities. In contrast, the migrant women who arrived following the closure of Pier 21 indicate a more gradual 'entry' and familiarization with the Greek community, usually initiated by few relatives or the necessity of the children to learn about their Greek culture outside the home. Their unique shared history therefore includes an attachment to Pier 21 not only as a point of arrival, but also a point of support for co-ethnics who would venture beyond Halifax, shared as either a direct experience or one that has shaped the community.

Cohen (2008, p. 15) determined that, in order for a community to be diasporic, the attachment to an imagined homeland would have remained for an extended period of time or for some generations, a reason this study also extends beyond the migrant members of the community. The community itself is relatively small and well integrated into the Halifax society, as opposed to the 'defensive' community of the early twentieth century, which can cause concern for continuity and loss of diasporic identity.

Through discussions, the participants of this study revealed their idea of homeland and home. Expectantly, female migrants, who had lived some time in Greece, more commonly used the terms 'home' or 'back home' to refer to Greece or Cyprus, regardless of whether they perceived Halifax as their current home and did not consider relocation. They were also most likely to have developed an idealised version of the home that they had left behind, different to the one they currently return to, which they admit, they find after years of living in Halifax, difficult to get accustomed to in order to consider returning. Their ties to the homeland are further evident in their daily practices (Tastsoglou, 1997b), which remain most affected by past traditions and social expectations. Moreover, in addition to the promotion of these practices to subsequent generations and although there were exceptions, the migrants were the greatest advocates of a possible future return, as supported by the most recent typology of diaspora by Cohen (2008, p. 15).

For the Greek Canadian subsequent generation of women, the point of origin of their parents or grandparents was almost never addressed to as home, despite feeling welcome or attached to the place. Home was Halifax first, while some, mainly first generation Greek Canadian women considered return migration. Some did in fact do so, as a result of the strict social expectations of their parents at home in Halifax, coupled with the wish that they fulfil their parents' goal to return to their homeland (Panagakos, 2003). Whether an attempt to gain some freedom or an attempt to ensure that their parents' wishes are fulfilled, return did not necessarily result in the experience of the place described by their parents; a result welcomed by the participants such as Chloe Z., who even through marriage gained a form of independence and mutual respect from her partner, which she did not experience or expect within a traditional Greek immigrant home.

The connection to the ancestral homeland for the subsequent generations of Greek Canadians was identified to come in the form of an interest if not commitment to continue the knowledge transfer and appreciation of the characteristics, which they perceived to define the Greek aspect of their essentially hyphenated identity. These characteristics include one or a combination of learning the Greek language, following the Greek Orthodox faith, celebrating Greek national and religious holidays, learning the Greek dances and cuisine, and maintaining strong ties with family and extended family. The notion of 'return' for Greek Canadians who were second generation was one almost entirely rejected, irrespective of the willingness to maintain various other characteristics.

Moreover, the interviews of women who entered the community through marriage were encouraged and included because these women also promoted the knowledge transfer of the symbolically Greek characteristics. Since Cohen (2008, p. 15) and Tastsoglou (2009a, p. 5) both suggest that a connection to an imagined (or idealised) homeland defines a diaspora, which Cohen continues, includes a level of promotion of the practices of the homeland, these women too, as the agents of cultural continuity, choose to support Greek cultural continuity and thus arguably belong to the Halifax Greek diasporic community.

As a second or third-tier city, the Greek community of Halifax, reiterated by Byers & Tastsoglou (2008), does not maintain a number of spaces where ethnic identity can be reinforced. The participants of this study, however, do not necessarily fully reflect the results obtained by Byers & Tastsoglou (2008, p. 25); whereas concerns over language maintenance are expressed, the role of religion is one that received varied and at times conflicting responses. Within the Greek community centre, for instance, members are able to compartmentalize the physical space, situating themselves where the activities, which they consider reflect the attributes of their ethnic identity, occur; Xanthe S., Vicky W. and Nefeli P. all expressed a disassociation with religion defining their Greek identity, but participate in other events and interact with members of the community in the spaces of shared understanding of identity.

The participants also compare the community to larger Greek communities across Canada and agree that not necessarily more effort by a single individual but rather effort by more individuals, if not all members of the community is required for their cultural maintenance. In spite of concerns that not all activities address the interests of members of the community, there is an interest in cultural maintenance that is shared by the greater Halifax community who is seen to attend, and also increasingly volunteer at the Greek Fest. The participants additionally contradict the notion of invisibility observed by Byers and Tastsoglou (2008), but rather maintain that while their customs may not differentiate them from mainstream society to the extent of other social groups, the Halifax community is aware of their presence, open to their customs, much like they are to other ethnic communities, regardless of whether they can fully understand or follow them.

Furthermore, while it is inevitable, for some ethno-cultural loss, research is curious over the impact of the 'digital age' and the ease of transportation to counter the extent of loss. Gavaki (2009, pp. 132-133) questions this possibility, while Panagakos' (2009) research deduces the possibility of new dimensions in the establishment of a diasporic identity for subsequent generations through a combination of old and new media as their transnational ties. The participants in Halifax confirm Panagakos' results. The older generation of female migrants show a higher preference, in old media and forms of communication, whose contact with Greece is their memories, knowledge of developments through television and newspapers and visits or contact with kin. Newer generations of female migrants and subsequent generations prefer a combination of new and old media, additionally introducing the older migrants (parents or grandparents) to new forms of

communication, such as Skype or YouTube in order to speak with family members and friends or see the latest music video or dance from Greece or other diasporic Greek communities. The older migrants are less comfortable or familiar with using the media on their own, but are familiar of its presence and potential to familiarize the new generations of Greek Canadian with various aspects of culture not readily available in Halifax. For some of the members of the community, new media facilitates knowledge transfer directly for the purpose of cultural expression and understanding, particularly with respect to new songs and dances for the community to learn and subsequently present. The members of the community have used new media to establish communication with other communities and Greece, although this has developed into more frequent communication and perhaps relationships with other diasporic communities.

The new dimensions of a transnational diasporic identity, nevertheless, do not necessarily indicate a reinforced and equally strong connection to the imaginary homeland, but rather an introduction of new methods of maintaining some connection. As Nina K., a first generation Greek Canadian eloquently explained, more frequent contact with her relatives back in Greece through Skype and social media have allowed her to physically see their life changes, which was previously not possible. However, the connection to family and sense of closeness that she had with these family members has not been reinforced; her affection was always strong and has remained this way. For subsequent generations or participants whose whole family and hence extended families all reside in Halifax or other Greek diasporic communities, which has been the case, there is a greater personal disconnect to Greece the place, because their families are all abroad. They do, nevertheless indicate an appreciation in the ability to create connections with other diasporic communities, enabling them to share Greek cultural knowledge with respect to food, folk customs and traditions with people who also share an immigrant family history. There is therefore an on-going desire to maintain the symbolic aspects of a Greek identity, if not the more physical and pragmatic, which perhaps the new dimensions could facilitate in some degree of continuity.

10.3.2. Consolidating the Metaphor

Whether Greek migrants fought to maintain their perceived Greek identity intact, it inevitably changed. The regional Greek variations are not prominent, influenced by membership in a small Greek community where differences were ignored for the benefit of a holistic Greek identity, which represented them all. Their participation in the community further signified an attachment to both Halifax and Greece simultaneously, making this identity diasporic, while the unique experiences and histories of being Greek in Halifax developed into a Haligonian Greek diasporic identity. The experiences of Greek migrants and Greek Canadians in Halifax were not always favourable and some changes did not occur without protest. However, both Greeks and the greater Halifax society have gone through changes and they have developed in such a way that the Halifax Greek community is visible and unique, yet fully integrated. The donair evolved from the Greek gyro, which itself has variations within and beyond the Greek borders. The introduced gyro did not

reflect preferences of the clientele, much like the Greek migrants needed to adjust to the social organisation of Halifax. The donair, its variant, is accepted as both unique, but also a staple of the regional cuisine. Had the Greek migrants or gyro settled in cities such as Toronto or Montreal, the changes experienced would have been different; a larger population of Greek migrants allowed for regional associations and thus a stronger attachment to a Greek regional identity, while a larger population of Greeks would additionally not have resulted in the creation of the donair, since the gyro could have reflected the clientele preferences. Yet, as the donair has been incorporated into various menus, it continues to evolve into variants of itself, which is the case for the dynamic Haligonian Greek identity.

10.4. Conclusion

The study of the Halifax Greek community and the particular focus on the female members identified distinct characteristics with respect to both the female migration process and settlement and the distinct hyphenated ethnic identity of the diasporic community. Female migrant participants indicated awareness and personal agency in the collective decision to migrate. Furthermore, although shaped by the social organisation and ideologies of the time, women's activities and navigation of their socioeconomic networks were instrumental in the sponsorship of other migrants, contributed to family well being and promoted cultural continuity. The Halifax Greek community case study additionally observed a distinct, dynamic hyphenated diasporic identity, which defines the Halifax Greek community as part of the greater Halifax community and simultaneously maintaining differentiating properties that are continuously re-evaluated and re-imagined in ways unique to Halifax.

11. Conclusion

> *"As I started to learn more about the hardships my parents endured growing up in a small village, the limitations they faced and their dream of creating a better life for their children in Canada, I gained a whole new respect for their incredible trek to a foreign land. Luckily, they landed in the port of Halifax, where there was a burgeoning Greek community. It was a community that worked hard to maintain its culture, and to share it with their fellow Haligonians" (Nicolaou, 2009).*

11.1. Introduction

The thesis presents a comprehensive study of the complex and multifaceted aspects of the lives of female members of the Halifax Greek community. In particular, the thesis examined the social networks, economic development and concerns over the continuity of an ethno-cultural-religious identity of the women in time, within the spatial context of a smaller urban centre, the dynamic city of Halifax. The study attempted to determine how gender, place, time and membership in a diasporic community affected various and multifaceted aspects of life.

An important theme in this thesis was addressing the relative disparities in research of the female experience within migrant and diasporic communities. These disparities are evident particularly with respect to research on communities established in cities such as Halifax, whose peripheral political and economic roles for the country have affected demographics and development in ways that do not reflect the realities of larger metropolitan centres. The thesis addressed these disparities utilizing available literature on prominent models of migration, theories of diasporic identity, Greek diaspora literature and enriched with female and regional-focused studies. History of both Greek migration and settlement in Canada, particularly Halifax, further contextualized experience.

A major achievement of this thesis has been to challenge the role of the women in the decision to migrate, which has characterized them as subsequent migrants of male migration and not in control of the decision making process for migration. These contested secondary roles are extended to their later economic and social decisions, which consider their personal and family's well being. Moreover, as the Greek migrants and subsequent generations negotiate integration and continuity, the study explored what it identifies as the participants' regionally specific, hyphenated and dynamic Greek-Haligonian identity.

11.1. Review of Thesis Development

The intention of the thesis arrangement was to first present the basis of the research questions, research design and fieldwork process. This was achieved in chapters 2 to 4, which reviewed available literature and theories, historical context and the methodology.

Main migration theories and their respective critiques highlighted the intricate nature of the migration process and experience, which feminist analysis determined is further differentiated by gender. The overuse and misuse of the terms diaspora and its relation with transnationalism necessitated a presentation of the present debates and definitions in order to avoid confusion when applied within the thesis. Diaspora is used as an analytical tool as suggested by Tastsoglou (2009a, p. 5) to distinguish the social group of this study from greater society, based on the emotional attachment to an ancestral, historic, and current or imagined homeland. This is followed by the discussion of the fluid characteristics of a Greek ethnic identity that could arguably be present within the Greek diaspora, but would require a case-by-case examination to avoid inaccurate generalisations (Anthias, 1998, p. 563). Unlike diaspora, transnational ties do not require an emotional component to connections across borders; there can be both transnational *diasporic* ties and transnational *migrant* ties. Finally, due to the gradual decentralization of migration policy in Canada, the distinct regional characteristics of the country have motivated region-specific research to reflect the attributes and needs of various locations. The relative novelty of the regional focus, resulted in limited previous research conducted on the Halifax Greek community, let alone the female members of the community, indicating the study's significance.

The context of settlement in Halifax is understood through the histories of Modern Greece and Canadian immigration, which identify the push and pull political and economic factors of the two nations. The history of Halifax then discerns how settlement was considerably less than the metropolitan centres of Canada, which did not, however, prevent Greek settlement from the early 20th century and on-going presence in the city. The mixed-method ethnographic approach, which has been adopted for geography and gender migration studies, is utilized because of its ability to address specific themes such as the development of social and economic networks through observation and discussion of everyday experiences and interactions.

The empirical components of the thesis are found in the following chapters, which in brief determine:

Chapter 5 drew from Tastsoglou's 'lived experience' (1997a, p. 119) approach and provided accounts of migration by women who, with the exception of pre-WWII, were immigrants themselves. The accounts were divided into groups that differed to those in Tastsoglou's analysis, since they represented the observed waves of migration to Halifax and not Ontario. The accounts showcased the role of each woman in the decision-making process to migrate, the journey and their first impressions of the city. Living and financial circumstances in Greece, in addition to personal aspirations for travel or marriage affected these decisions, particularly in the earlier waves of pre-WWII migration. Moreover, the length of the journey was considerably less following the replacement of sea travel with air travel, which seems to have coincided with more favourable first impressions of Halifax and early settlement.

Chapters 6 and 7 examined the social and economic networks respectively. The networks are usually interconnected, however, their division into distinct chapters was to identify the importance of extended kin networks both socially and economically, and whether both these networks were equally gendered, expanding the economic-networks scope of Greek American women in New York of Karpathakis and Harris (2009). Furthermore, each chapter reviewed these qualities as they changed through time.

Chapter 8 does not concentrate solely on the identification of the characteristics that are perceived to define Greek ethnic identity, but additionally develops a discussion where participants show how these characteristics are of varying significance between the participants and members of the Halifax Greek community. These variations in significance are observed between generations, based on personal views about what defines Greek identity and are also the result of the changing concerns for continuity within a small and integrated ethnic community.

Chapter 9 focuses on the annual Halifax Greek Fest, an event to raise funds for the Greek Orthodox Church and Community Centre. This chapter approached the festival as 'organised by and for the benefit of local community' for years, 'inviting the general public to participate in public cultural rituals, which conserve or resurrect cultural traditions' (McKercher, Sze Mei, & Tse, 2006, pp. 55-56). The chapter therefore, did not focus on the fundraising aspect, but rather on the observations and interactions during the festival of volunteers and visitors, identified as knowledge transfer and achieving a sense of belonging, which Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007, p. 103) have determined support cultural continuity by both the Greek community and greater Halifax community.

11.2. Main Findings

Research in geography applies a highly contextual approach, highlighting how place affects experience and, among others, the construction and reconstruction of gender roles, relations and identity. As Herbert (2000) and Frideres (2006) argue, however, there had been a certain disconnect or lack of focus on such research in both the academic and policy milieus, which is only recently receiving increased interest. Within the spatial context of Halifax, its labour market, the immigrant home and the Greek community, the female members negotiated identity, responsibilities and established unique histories.

With the historic limitations considered throughout, the study, nevertheless, attempts to examine the experience of generations of women within a dynamic, in time, social and physical setting. Male members of the community are not ignored, despite the limited male, in-depth interviews conducted. Communication occurred in a more casual environment during participant observation. A reason for this focus was to avoid male versus female-rich narratives critiqued by Mahler and Pessar (2006, pp. 29,52); the difference in experience between genders was predetermined and extensively applied, thus the study is a progression from this confirmation, with the goal to review

how the female experiences are affected by the conditions and situations in relation to time and space. These experiences include the re-evaluation of their role within the family unit and its effects, their role in cultural continuity, and their social support and economic networks.

In-depth, life history interviews with Greek female migrants were central to the realisation that post-WWII female migration to Halifax challenged, along with Ackers (1998, p. 139), the role of migrant women in the overall process of migration and settlement. Their migration to Halifax was motivated or facilitated by extended kin networks in accordance with the cumulative causation and network theories (Castles & Miller, 2009, pp. 27-29), but once in Halifax, their role in the network would eventually change from that of the sponsored to a sponsor. Their role as sponsors within this essential network was one of great significance since it facilitated the migration of other co-ethnic females, males and families and therefore disputes their secondary or consequential role in migration. Moreover, while shaped by social organization, the perceived ideology of migrant women to work for the well-being of the collective or family, questions whether their decision to forfeit personal mobility for that of their male partner should be identified as such (Finch, 1983), since well-being was never viewed as an individual achievement; especially in the establishment of family businesses, it may be perhaps more appropriate to appreciate the contributions of both men and women as partners regardless of whether officially businesses were 'run' or owned by men, since the family unit was so significant to Greek immigrants.

The case for agency of the female migrants is further developed when reviewing their migration decisions. While highlighted by participants as a collective decision of the family unit, supporting the new economics of migration theory (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 436, 439), it was the circumstances and perhaps personalities of each female migrant that determined their input in the decision making process rather than the period of time the migration took place; the early post-WWII female migrants did not generally have less input in the decision making process than the migrants that followed as determined by Tastsoglou (1997a) and her Ontario case studies, rather this input varied based on the conditions that led to the consideration of migration, which ranged from personal aspiration, search for different opportunities, love, marriage or parental request.

In making a case for the use of ethnography in geography, Herbert (Herbert, 2000, pp. 554-555) focused on the intersection of space and gender roles, whereby space provides 'cues' for alternating roles. The negotiation of the women's roles with respect to family discussed, is an example of how place does provide cues for alternating roles; whereas, at work the female migrants acted as the co-breadwinners and business partners, at home they attempted to maintain the primary caretaker role of the imagined traditional role; hence their emotional and physical struggle of trying to adequately fulfil both roles. This negotiation was the reality of their settlement in Halifax where conditions required that both men and women, at least in most cases, enter the official work force outside the family home or family establishment, not common in Greece. Moreover, as part of the Halifax society and Halifax Greek community, the roles, for both subsequent migrants and Greek Canadian

women, are once again negotiated to a hybrid norm that does not reflect the traditional caretaker, or the 'Canadian' mainstream full-time day-care model. Since the expectation was to work and maintain some of the 'Greek' childrearing activities, grandparents (mainly grandmothers) and relatives are assigned the caretaking duties, despite the increased trust and integration within the greater Halifax community.

Gender roles were somewhat evident within the distinct space of the Greek community centre. What is interesting is the observed demographics, particularly during events such as the Greek Fest, where a considerably higher percentage of women volunteered to work at the food and drink serving stations and in pre-cooking preparation. The kitchen and outdoors food preparation, traditionally a male task especially during feasts, was male-dominated. While it may be argued that the community centre is the space where efforts to maintain Greek traditions alive are highest, the volunteer positions and shifts are entirely the selection of each person and not predetermined for genders by the organizing committee. The choice of mainly women, including younger generations to volunteer for serving and greeting guests is not so much to reinforce the traditional role of women, but rather one of pride in maintaining a female-run service, a generational knowledge transfer, resulting in the continuity of ethnic gendered social networks.

As Polyzoi (1986) identifies a lack of research on the early Greek female migrants from Asia Minor in Toronto, so too in Halifax, there is a lack of information about the role of Greek migrant women, from Asia Minor or elsewhere, in the initial creation of these structures of ethnic identity, with the exception of the mention of the importance of the all-female charity organization, Philoptochos, providing services, which allowed them to flourish (Vlassis, 1953, p. 129; 2000). Moreover, there is a historic participation and interest over the continuity of symbols of ethnic identity by the female members of the community. Persephone R., a first generation Greek Canadian who experienced a struggling Greek language school during her childhood, returned to Halifax following her education at a Philoptochos-funded Greek American college and was pivotal in establishing the stability of the school, through the introduction of a standard curriculum and school year. Until recent decades, the priest and women of the community were assigned the task of ensuring cultural continuity within the community, and it is not surprising that the majority of language school teachers, dance teachers and Sunday school teachers continue to be female, although male membership is increasing. Questioned over whether these tasks were imposed on the women due to their gender and expected role as 'gatekeepers' of culture (Gavaki, 2009, p. 121), participants clarified that teachers and instructors were roles that required dedication and willingness, in addition to a required familiarity and knowledge of the material, from candidates and therefore not easily imposed on just any candidate.

The social support networks of migrants and subsequent generations reveal variations in composition of members. The early post-World War II migrants are most dependent on other female co-ethnic migrants of their generation, an attachment that has remained strong through time;

they remain friends and extended support networks beyond the core family members. This extended network is identified as characteristic of women by Karpathakis and Harris (2009) in the economic context, which could arguably extend to the social, as determined in the Mexican context, by Curran & Rivero-Fuentes (2003). The social networks of later migrants are more diverse in that they include non-Greek key support members and are not composed of just other women. Subsequent generations of Greek Canadian women expressed strong ties with members of the Greek community, particularly female members, or '*koumpares*' who share their unique upbringing, but extend these ties to members of other ethnic communities of Halifax with similar experiences, highlighting the importance of relating childhood experiences in addition to an increased awareness of other ethnic communities in Halifax.

Focus on female members of the community revealed additional gender-specific experiences. The Greek domestic worker in Halifax, for instance, which has most recently received attention from Tastsoglou (2009b; 2010), much like what is described by the author, when possible, chooses to leave the profession and work within the ethnic community, unlike domestic workers of other ethnicities. The accounts of Halifax participants, somewhat clarify that this course of events was due to their view of their work as domestic worker, a temporary means that would enable them entry to Canada, where they could begin a new life in their new country and where they could subsequently find additional opportunities and future husbands. In more recent cases, non-Greek female partners (wives) of Greek Canadian men reveal their interaction and acceptance within the community, a result of surpassing the community's expectations of the 'non-Greek wife,' through the participation in events and activities associated with a Greek identity and the willingness to transfer this knowledge to their children. That women are the agents of cultural continuity discussed by Gavaki (2009, p. 121), does not seem to be a revelation to the female migrant participants, who consider it a given. For the early post-WWII migrants it served as a reason for objection of intermarriage, observed to have been very strong by Greek migrants, coupled with a sense of inferiority as 'immigrants,' who questioned those willing to marry into their families. Yet, perhaps the multicultural model, which Siemiatycki (2012) attributes as the cause for an increase in intermarriages, has contributed to the creation of a more open and more mutually respectful Canadian community, diminishing a sense of inferiority, which in addition to personal experiences of past intermarriages, has allowed for a more accepting community and some revised migrant views on the matter.

The indirect social and cultural significance of Greek Fest can be divided into the achievement of socio-cultural continuity for the Greeks and Greek Canadians of Halifax and the establishment and maintenance of social networks beyond the members of the Greek community.

Through generational knowledge transfer and heightened visitor interest, younger generations of Greek Canadians come in direct contact with the experiences and histories of other members of the community, through participation at the festival; the need for entertainment has led to further study

of traditional Greek dances, while volunteering at food and beverage stations, leads to knowledge acquisition of the intricacies of Greek cuisine. Greek Fest attendance and volunteering does not require any level of community cohesion, which allows Greek Canadians who do not wish to participate or cannot regularly participate in other community events to allocate the annual June weekend for Greek Fest, an event that showcases a variety of Greek characteristics.

The accessibility of the festival to all members of the public additionally provides an opportunity to build relationships and establish networks with the Greek community for non- or new members in an environment where a Greek background is not necessary. Greek Fest extends the notion of tolerance of cultures by welcoming the public not only as visitors, but also as volunteers. Moreover, adherence to safety regulations and presence in local and social media serves as a reassurance for the safety of the visitors and volunteers and a connection to the needs of the community as a whole.

Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of this study is the identification of the unique Greek-Haligonian identity observed through this defined examination. Observation and interviews determined that the individual Greek identities of migrants were influenced by those of other members of the Greek community who in turn introduced their own or learned Greek variations. These identities therefore fused to create a more general Greek diasporic identity, symbolic of the imagined homeland. Additionally, their unique presence and history within Halifax further defined this continually changing identity into a hyphenated Greek-Haligonian. The Halifax donair serves as a metaphor, which possibly best reflects this progression and development; a variant of the Greek gyro, its creation was the result of the adaptation of the initial recipe to one, which better suited the tastes of the Halifax clientele. The Greeks of Halifax had to adapt to life in Halifax, but they did so without rejecting their sense of Greekness. The Greek-Haligonian continues to redefine itself, continuously influenced by the changing demographics of both the Greek community of Halifax and greater Halifax society in addition to the changing communication links and connections with Greece proper.

11.3. Final Thoughts and Limitations

The immediacy to record data of past waves of migration discussed in the literature review chapter is evident when only second-hand accounts are available for female (and male) migrants who settled in Halifax before World War II. Moreover, there was only a single account by the first generation Greek Canadian women of pre-WWII and no access or record of women who married into the community in the early twentieth century. The spotlight on larger communities has led to more research conducted about these communities and thus, in their case, a richer archive. Previous researchers of the Halifax community, such as Thomas (1988; 2000), may have had the opportunity to interview some of the pioneer migrants directly, but with a different focus and research framework, it was impossible to predict the questions that would be relevant to this particular study. As a result, the available secondary data, although still limited, provides a

somewhat more detailed account of the early *male* migrants, who tend to have left a greater paper trail.

The secondary account provided by Persephone R. about her mother, who was one of the early female migrants, and Costas W. about his grandparents and mother, do show the potential to gradually construct a more accurate reflection of the experience and lives of the early Greek settlers of Halifax. This is a worthy and intricate study in itself, which would require additional extensive cross-referencing and access to any personal journals, letters, pictures and belongings of the historic actors that are still available. Unfortunately, these endeavours were beyond the conceptual scope of this project and would require additional time, resources, travel and permissions for its fruition.

Perhaps the main concern over selecting to focus on female members was whether the dynamic gender relations, an aspect of gender studies Mahler and Pessar (2006) consider lacking, would be clear during interviews and participant observation without the equivalent attention granted to male members of the community. Gender relations, however cannot be determined through the posing of direct, target questions, such as 'Can you describe your interactions/relationship between members of the opposite sex?' Admittedly, such questions were tested and resulted in mainly vague and superficial responses. Anecdotes and discussions during interviews, in addition to the observation of interactions between members of the community were more adequate sources of gender relation analysis than a series of questions.

Ultimately, whether gender relations could have been further enriched through additional male in-depth interviews incorporating their perspective is a likely scenario, since each additional participant contributes with their own viewpoint that always varies somewhat from all others, despite similar patterns and similarities; interviews and ethnographic work after all extend an understanding of the question with each case study (Small, 2009, pp. 24-25). For the objective of this study, as we aim to investigate female experience, obtaining the accounts and viewpoints of the women do not necessarily leave the study lacking, but rather focused. Gender roles undoubtedly affect experience, but present themselves both during observed interactions and conversation.

With the ethnographic method, comes strong support from previous researchers for comparative work (Herbert, 2000, pp. 560-561; Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 33) in order to increase the validity of qualitative research in a quantitatively directed environment, although the opposite extreme is also present (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 110; Denzin & Lincoln, 1995; Small, 2009, p. 18) and at times justifiable. The researcher can therefore choose to approach the study by completely rejecting the relevance of comparison, selecting a middle ground or selecting the comparative. For this particular study, there is no direct spatial nor gender comparative, although, where necessary, such discussions developed. There was nevertheless a comprehensive review of literature, which addressed the themes or similar themes developed in the study within the more generalized

Canadian context or the context of other Greek diasporic communities in North America and beyond, as well as the various approaches and methods utilized when conducting similar studies, with the objective to 'improve on existing theory' (Herbert, 2000, p. 561) by determining similarities and variations observed within this setting.

The reason for focusing on the Halifax Greek community in itself, however, is because it was our conviction that the study would provide extensive and rich data that would inform our understanding of this community, while a comparative would limit the degree of focus. Selecting to examine a historic migration and subsequent generations of a small community has resulted in great amounts of insight into a community whose members are equally appreciative of our interest in them as we are for their participation. Introducing this study as a comparative may have limited our approachability and the support of participants who would have perceived themselves as part of a project of 'them versus us' rather than a project about the growth and presence of their distinct community and experiences, although any sense of hesitation or disinterest cannot of course be proven. Furthermore, there is potential for future comparative work with other communities that could benefit in determining how various policies, micro- and macro- structures can determine the growth and characteristics of different ethnic communities.

Methodologically, this thesis has demonstrated how with the use of a range of methods, not only daily life, but also distinct and significant personal experiences can be explored. Specifically, the attendance of suitable and accessible community events is a recommended practice, as it allows initial participant observation and unstructured interviews, which facilitate the recruitment process.

As discussed previously in the Preface and Chapter 4, this thesis also stands as an example of insider/outsider research, or rather as an example of the complexities of positioning oneself as an insider when carrying out such research. Analytically, a possible future endeavour could be to extend the study and include this personal position within identity discourse throughout the empirical component.

Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (*Section 2.2 Migration*), Chapter 3 (*Section 3.2.6. Greece in the 21st century*) and further discussed in Chapter 6 (*Section 6.5 Migrants of the 21st century*), this thesis is being completed in the context of a new wave of Greek migration in which Canada is a candidate host country and Halifax a candidate host city for potential new migrants. While it may be too soon to assess the extent of this migration, or what effect this may have on the Greek community of Halifax and its identity construction, it will be interesting to follow the entry of these new members into Halifax society and how these new members will shape new discourses of identity within the Greek community.

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Appendix I – Interview Schedules

Interview Schedule: Migrant
Before Migration
▪ Where were you born/are you originally from?
Migration
▪ When did you move to Canada?
▪ Why did you move to Canada?
▪ Did you come to Halifax directly? Why/Why not?
▪ Did you have relatives/friends in Halifax/that area?
▪ What were your first impressions?
▪ Did you intend to stay in Canada as long as you have or did you plan/want to return?
The Greek community in Halifax
▪ Upon arrival, did you meet/make friends with other Greeks?
o If yes, who were your connections; women, men, did it matter / other migrants / class differences – did that matter?
o If not, why not? (was it a personal choice?)
▪ Has your socialising changed in time? (who are you friends with, your social networks and why have they changed/not changed?)
▪ How do you feel about the Greek community and its organisation? The changes?
▪ Do you consider yourself 'belonging' to the Greek community?
▪ Do you celebrate Greek events, take part in cultural activities with other Greek people, attend church?
▪ Do you watch Greek television or (use) other Greek media?
Greek identity
▪ Has your sense of being Greek changed since moving to Canada?
▪ When you introduce yourself to someone, where do you say you are from? Does it matter who/where they are from and where you are (i.e. Halifax/Canada, Greece, elsewhere)?
Relationship to present-day Greece
▪ Do you go back to Greece often? Where do you stay? How do you think you are seen in Greece?
▪ Did you ever consider returning/ would you like to return to live in Greece? (why/why not...)
Greek Experience in Canada
▪ Could you describe your experiences as a Greek person in Canada, within the labour market, socially?
▪ Have you had any negative experiences of being Greek in Canada?
▪ Have these (above) changed over time? (are your social networks, participation...)
Halifax identity
▪ What does living in Halifax mean to you? (positive or negative)
The Future...
▪ Do you think your children feel Greek / Greek Canadian?
▪ Do you think the younger (subsequent) generations in Halifax feel Greek in the same way that you do?
▪ Have you, as you, or as a migrant generation, encouraged a sense of Greekness?
▪ How? Through food, dance, music, language, religion...
▪ Do you have any concerns/see any positive or negative patterns for the Greek community?

Interview Schedule – Subsequent Generations

Background/Childhood
▪ Did your parent(s)/ family/ relatives often talk about their place of origin?
▪ Do you know why your family member(s) migrated (do you know the migration history)
▪ Do you remember being told stories /taught history/ taught/practiced other Greek customs & traditions?
▪ Are/Were both your parents Greek / Greek Canadian? o If Greek Canadian (subsequent generation), how was it being raised with Greek Canadian (non-migrant) parents o If not both parents, how did you negotiate your multiple heritages?
▪ Did you have many Greek friends growing up?
▪ Did you visit Greece/Cyprus often as a child? What were your impressions?
▪ Do you have family in Greece/Cyprus? Are you in contact with them?
Greek Canadian in Halifax
▪ (if first generation) Can you tell me a little bit about being raised in a Greek migrant family? Did your background cause any problems?
▪ (if second generation) Can you tell me a bit about being raised with Greek heritage in Halifax?
▪ Have you ever experienced anti-Greek/immigrant attitudes? How did you react? Has this changed over time?
▪ Is there a solidarity with other migrant communities? Is there understanding?
▪ Could you describe your experiences within the labour market and socially? Has your background ever affected opportunities or friendships...?
▪ Does being from Halifax mean something to you?
Greek community/activities in Halifax
▪ Do you have Greek friends now? Are they of your generation or migrants...?
▪ Has your socialising changed in time? (who are you friends with, your social networks and why have they changed/not changed?)
▪ How do you feel about the Greek community and its organisation? The changes?
▪ Do you consider yourself 'belonging' to the Greek community?
▪ What do you think the Greek community's role should be for subsequent generations, like yourself?
▪ Do you celebrate Greek events, take part in cultural activities with other Greek people, attend church?
Greek/ Greek Canadian identity
▪ What are the things that make you feel Greek? What are the things that make you feel Canadian? o Is this feeling a negative/positive thing?
▪ Has your sense of Greekness changed over time?
▪ What do you refer to yourself as?
▪ When you introduce yourself, where do you say you are from?
▪ Do you ever feel like you need to 'prove' you are Greek or Canadian?
Relationship to present-day Greece/Cyprus
- Do you visit Greece/Cyprus often now? Where do you stay? How do you think you are viewed in there?
- Do you think you could live in Greece/Cyprus? (Or have you ever done so?)
The Future
▪ Do you think your children feel/will feel Greek?
▪ Have you, as you, or as your generation, encouraged a sense of Greekness or hyphenated identity?
▪ How? Through food, dance, music, language, religion...
▪ Do you have any concerns/see any positive or negative patterns for the Greek community?

Interview Schedule: 'Married Into' Greek Community
Background
▪ Where are you from? Can you tell me a little bit about your background?
▪ Do you have a migrant background/ are/were a migrant yourself
▪ Can you tell me how you and your partner met?
The Greek Community of Halifax – Partner
▪ Early in your relationship, did you determine whether your partner 'belonged' to the Greek community/discussed participation in certain events?
▪ How did this change in your relationship as things were more serious?
The Family
▪ Can you tell me about when you were first introduced to the family?
▪ Was being non-Greek an issue? If yes, did this change? How
The Greek community in Halifax
▪ Upon arrival, did you meet/make friends with other Greeks?
o If yes, who were your connections; women, men, did it matter / other migrants / class differences – did that matter?
o If not, why not? (was it a personal choice?)
▪ Has your socialising changed in time? (who are you friends with, your social networks and why have they changed/not changed?)
▪ How do you feel about the Greek community and its organisation? The changes?
▪ Do you consider yourself 'belonging' to the Greek community?
▪ Do you celebrate Greek events, take part in cultural activities with other Greek people, attend church? Do you speak/are you learning Greek?
▪ Do you watch Greek television or (use) other Greek media?
The Future Generations
▪ Do you think your children feel Greek / Greek Canadian? (If you don't have children, would you want them to?
o What does this mean to you?
▪ Have you, encouraged a sense of Greekness?
▪ How? Through food, dance, music, language, religion…
▪ Do you have any concerns/see any positive or negative patterns for the Greek community?

Appendix II – Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form (English)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Hellenic Migrant Women and a Greek Canadian Legacy: Social Networks, Economic Development and Cultural Continuity

You are being invited to take part in this study. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If there is anything that is not clear, or if you would like more information, do not hesitate to ask me. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to participate.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The objective of this study is to understand the way communication and relationships of women who belong to/identify with an ethnic community develop and change over time. This study will thus examine the relationships and interactions between members of the Halifax Greek community, particularly women, and between female members of the Greek community and the Halifax society as a whole. It seeks to determine how a difference in generation and how changes in economic and social circumstances for both the Greek community and Halifax society affect relationships and communication for women of the Greek community.

An important aspect of the Halifax Greek Community is their migrant history/past, which affects or directs the forming or development of certain relationships and interactions. This study therefore will also include migration experiences of Greek migrant women members of the community, but also experiences of Greek Canadian women growing up in homes that share this history. In addition, female experiences of migration and being raised in migrant communities are often not told and it can serve as an addition to the community's history, and the fields of Greek Diaspora and gender studies.

WHAT WILL PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you choose to take part in this study, the study will take the form of an interview with specific and pre-selected discussion points/questions in two parts; the first part includes points/questions concerning the migration experience and life as a migrant or the experience of being raised in a migrant household/with a migrant history. The second part includes questions on how each participant views their ties with the community, the changes that they observed have occurred, links and relations formed and what it means to belong to a community. It is possible that the two parts will at times overlap.

The focus of the study is female members of the Halifax Greek Community, but both male and female members will be asked to participate in this study. The interview time and place will be decided between the participant and the researcher, Penelopi Alexandrou. It will take the form of a one-to-one interview and will be recorded using a voice recorder. If you are not comfortable with being recorded, but still wish to take part, an alternative method can be agreed upon, i.e. note-taking. The place where the interview will take place will be one where both participant and researcher agree is comfortable and safe.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Participation is absolutely *voluntary*. If you decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. You are still free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and it is your choice whether you allow the researcher to use material that you may have already stated. If you do not wish for any material to be used, the researcher will respect that and destroy your data and erase recorded material.

The research work will be conducted by Ms. Penelopi Alexandrou a doctoral student at Kingston University London. Access to the data will be restricted to Penelopi who will be in charge of all data collection. The results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings. As the participant, you may indicate whether you wish to keep your identity confidential. In this case, use of your interview data will appear anonymously in any published study or with the use of a pseudonym for purposes of clarity within the text. All material will be securely saved at Kingston University throughout the study and for an additional three (3) years.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the researcher:

Penelopi Alexandrou
K0958543@kingston.ac.uk / popi.alexandrou@gmail.com
Department of Geography, Geology and the Environment
Kingston University London
Penrhyn Road, London
United Kingdom, KT1 2EE

Participant Information Sheet ***You will be given a copy of this form to keep***

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Hellenic Migrant Women and a Greek Canadian Legacy: Social Networks, Economic Development and Cultural Continuity

YOUR RIGHTS TO PARTICIPATE, SAY NO, OR WITHDRAW

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You have the right to say no. You may change your mind at any time and withdraw. You may choose not to answer specific questions or to stop participating at any time.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

The results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings. As the participant, you may indicate whether you wish to keep your identity confidential. In any case, access to the data collected will be restricted to the researcher, Penelopi Alexandrou who is in charge of all data collection and will ensure that your responses will remain confidential if you so wish. In this case, use of your interview data will appear anonymously in any published study or with the use of a pseudonym for purposes of clarity within the text. All material will be securely saved at Kingston University throughout the study and for an additional three (3) years.

I agree to allow my identity to be disclosed in reports and presentations.

Yes ☐ ☐ No Initials_____

Interview process

The study is in the form of an interview. In order to ensure that your full responses are collected by the researcher, the interview will be recorded, with the use of a voice recorder. If you are not comfortable with this method, please indicate an alternative method. Access to interview recordings and transcripts will also be restricted to the researcher, Penelopi Alexandrou and stored at Kingston University London.

I agree to allow the voice recording of the interview.

Yes ☐ ☐ No Initials_____

If no, state alternative: _____

CONTACT INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS

If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the researcher:

Penelopi Alexandrou
K0958543@kingston.ac.uk / popi.alexandrou@gmail.com
Department of Geography, Geology and the Environment
Kingston University London
Penrhyn Road, London
United Kingdom, KT1 2EE

DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT

Your signature below means that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_____ _____

Signature *Date*

Participant Information Sheet *You will be given a copy of this form to keep*

Appendix III – Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form (Greek)

ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗΣ

Τίτλος Διδακτορικής Διατριβής: Ελληνίδες Μετανάστριες και η ελληνοκαναδική τους κληρονομιά – Κοινωνικα δίκτυα, Οικονομική ανάπτυξη και Πολιτισμική συνέχεια

Σας προσκαλούμε να λάβετε μέρος σε μια έρευνα. Η συμμετοχή σας είναι εθελοντική – εσείς αποφασίζετε αν θέλετε να λάβετε μέρος. Αν επιλέξετε να αρνηθείτε συμμετοχή, η απόφαση σας είναι σεβαστή και δε θα σας βάλει σε μειονεκτική θέση. Πριν πάρετε την απόφαση περί συμμετοχής, είναι σημαντικό όπως σας εξηγήσουμε τους λόγους που αναλαμβάνουμε αυτή την έρευνα. Σας παρακαλούμε όπως διαβάστε προσεχτικά όλες τις πληροφορίες και συζητήστε το με άλλους αν θέλετε. Εάν υπάρχει κάτι που δεν σας είναι σαφής ή αν θα θέλατε περισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε μαζί μου. Πάρτε όσο χρόνο χρειάζεστε για να αποφασίσετε αν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε στην έρευνα.

ΠΟΙΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ Ο ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ;

Σκοπός της μελέτης είναι να καθορίσουμε πως οι σχέσεις και επικοινωνία γυναικών που ανήκουν σε/ταυτίζονται με μία εθνοπολιτισμική κοινώτητα αναπτύσσεται και αλλάζει με τον καιρό. Η συγκεκριμένη έρευνα θα μελετήσει τις σχέσεις και την επικοινωνία μεταξύ μελών της ελληνικής κοινώτητας του Χάλιφαξ, ιδίως τις σχέσεις και επικοινωνία των γυναικών της κοινώτητας και των γυναικών μελών με την ευρύτερη κοινωνία του Χάλιφαξ.

Μια σημαντική πτυχή της ιστορίας της κοινώτητας είναι η μετανάστευση. Πολλά μέλη έχουν περάσει εμπειρίες μετανάστευσης ή έχουν μεγαλώσει μέσα σε οικογένεια οπου κάποια μέλη έχουν μεταναστεύσει, π.χ. γονείς, παππούδες, γιαγιάδες κλπ. Αυτή η κοινή ιστορία επηρεάζει την δημιουργία και ανάπτυξη ορισμένων σχέσεων. Η μελέτη αυτή επομένως περιλαμβάνει τις εμπειρίες μετανάστευσης των Ελληνίδων αλλά και των ελληνοκαναδών γυναικών που έχουν μεγαλώσει μέσα σε οικογένεια με ιστορία μετανάστευσης. Έπειτα, δεν έχουν καταγραφεί πολλές εμπειρίες γυναικών, έτσι αυτή η μελέτη θα μπορέσει να προσθέσει στο ιστορικό της κοινώτητας και να ενισχύσει την ύλη Ελληνικής διασποράς και σπουδές φύλου.

ΤΙ ΠΕΡΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ Η ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ;

Αν επιλέξετε να λάβεται μέρος, η μελέτη είναι σε μορφή συνέντευξης με προκαθορισμένες ερωτήσεις και συγκεκριμένα θέματα συζήτησης. Η συνέντευξη χωρίζεται σε δύο μέρη, το πρώτο μέρος περιλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις σχετικά με τις εμπειρίες μετανάστευσης και ζωής στο Χάλιφαξ ως Έλληνες μετανάστες ή Ελληνοκαναδοί πολίτες, ενώ το δεύτερο μέρος συμπεριλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις που ζητούν την άποψη των συμμετεχόμτων σε θέματα όπως την σχέση τους με την κοινώτητα, τις αλλαγές που έχουν παρατηρήσει, σχέσεις και δεσμούς που έχουν δημιουργηθεί και τη σημασία ύπαρξης της κοινώτητας .

Η εστίαση της μελέτης είναι τα γυναικεία μέλη της Ελληνικής κοινώτητας του Χάλιφαξ, όμως θα ζητήσουμε τη συμμετοχή αντρών και γυναικών. Η ερευνήτρια, Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου και κάθε συμμετέχων αποφασίζουν μαζί την τοποθεσία και ώρα της συνέντευξης. Η συνέντευξη θα είναι προσωπική, μεταξύ της ερευνήτριας και του/της συμμετέχων και θα καταγραφεί με τη χρήση ψηφιακού καταγραφέα φωνής. Αν δεν αισθάνεστε άνετα με αυτή τη μέθοδο, αλλά θα θέλατε να λάβετε μέρος, μπορείτε να προτείνετε και να σημφωνήσετε σε μια εναλλακτική μέθοδο π.χ. λήψη γραπτών σημειώσεων. Η τοποθεσία της συνέντευξης θα είναι κάπου οπου οι συμμετέχοντες και η ερευνήτρια συμφωνούν είναι ασφαλής και άνετα.

Είναι δική σας απόφαση εάν θέλετε να λάβετε μέρος στην έρευνα ή όχι. Η συμμετοχή σας έιναι εντελώς εθελοντίκη. Εάν αποφασίσετε να λάβετε μέρος, θα σας δώσουμε ένα αντίτυπο των πληροφορίων σημμετοχής και θα σας ζητήσουμε να υπογράψετε ένα έντυπο συγκατάθεσης. Έχετε την απόλυτη ελευθερία να αποσυρθείτε σε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, χωρίς να δώσετε λόγο ή αιτία και είναι δική σας επιλογή αν θα αφήσετε την ερευνήτρια να χρησιμοποιήσει υλικό που έχετε ήδη παραχωρήσει. Αν δεν θέλετε να χρησιμοποιηθεί το υλικό σας, η ερευνήτρια θα σεβαστεί τις επιθυμίες σας και θα καταστρέψει το υλικό/αρχείο.

Την έρευνα θα διεξάγει η Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου, φοιτήτρια διδακτορικού στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κίγκστον Λονδίνου (Kingston University London). Η πρόσβαση στα δεδομένα κάθε συμμετέχοντα περιορίζεται στην ερευνήτρια, Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου η οποία είναι υπεύθυνη συλλογής όλων των δεδομένων. Τα αποτελέσματα της μελέτης μπορεί να δημοσιευτούν ή να παρουσιαστούν σε επαγγελματικές συναντήσεις. Ως συμμετέχοντες, μπορείτε να επιλέξετε αν θέλετε να κρατήσετε την ταυτότητα σας εμπιστευτική. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση, η χήση ύλης απο την συνέντευξη σας θα εμφανιστεί ανωνύμως σε οποιαδήποτε δημοσίευση και παρουσίαση ή θα χρησιμοποιηθεί ψευδώνυμο για λόγους σαφήνειας στο κείμενο. Όλο το υλικό των συνεντεύξεων θα αποθηκευτεί με ασφάλεια στο Πανεπιστήμιο Kingston Λονδίνου (Kingston University London) καθ'όλη τη διάρκεια της μελέτης και για τρία (3) επιπλέον χρόνια.

Για οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση ή/και ανησυχία σχετικά με τη μελέτη, παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε με την ερευνήτρια, Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου στα παρακάτω,

Ηλ. Ταχυδρομείο (e-mail) – K0958543@kingston.ac.uk / popi.alexandrou@gmail.com

Διεύθυνση - **Penelopi Alexandrou**
Department of Geography, Geology and the Environment
Kingston University London
Penrhyn Road Campus, London
United Kingdom, KT1 2EE

ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗΣ

Ελληνίδες Μετανάστριες και η ελληνοκαναδική τους κληρονομιά - Κοινωνικα δίκτυα, Οικονομική ανάπτυξη και Πολιτισμική συνέχεια

Οροι Συμμετοχης

Η συμμετοχή σε αυτήν την έρευνα είναι εντελώς εθελοντίκη. Έχετε κάθε δικαίωμα να αρνηθείτε συμμετοχή. Μπορείτε σε οποιαδήποτε στιγμή να διακόψετε τη συμμετοχή σας και να αποσυρθείτε απο την έρευνα. Μπορείτε να αρνηθείτε να δώσετε απάντηση σε σε συγκεκριμένες ερωτήσεις.

Εχεμυθεια και Πολιτικη Απορρητου

Τα αποτελέσματα της μελέτης μπορεί να δημοσιευτούν ή να παρουσιαστούν σε επαγγελματικές συναντήσεις. Ως συμμετέχων, μπορείτε να επιλέξετε αν θέλετε να κρατήσετε την ταυτότητα σας εμπιστευτική παρόλο που σε κάθε περίπτωση η πρόσβαση στα δεδομένα κάθε συμμετέχων περιορίζεται στην ερευνήτρια, Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου η οποία είναι υπεύθυνη συλλογής όλων των δεδομένων και η οποία θα φροντίσει πως οι απαντήσεις σας θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές αν αυτο επιθυμείτε. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση, η χήση ύλης απο την συνέντευξη σας θα εμφανιστεί ανωνύμως σε οποιαδήποτε δημοσίευση και παρουσίαση ή θα χρησιμοποιηθεί ψευδώνυμο για λόγους σαφήνειας στο κείμενο. Όλο το υλικό των συνεντεύξεων θα αποθηκευτεί με ασφάλεια στο Πανεπιστήμιο Kingston Λονδίνου (Kingston University London) καθ'όλη τη διάρκεια της μελέτης και για τρία (3) επιπλέον χρόνια.

Συγκαταθέτω στη χρήση της ταυτότητας μου σε εκθέσεις και παρουσιάσεις

☐ Ναί ☐ Όχι Αρχικά Ονόματος _____

Διαδικασία Συνέντευξης

Η μελέτη είναι σε μορφή συνέντευξης. Για να εξασφαλιστεί όλο το περιεχόμενο της κάθε σας απάντησης, η συνέντευξη θα καταγραφεί με τη χρήση ψηφιακού καταγραφέα φωνής. Αν δεν αισθάνεστε άνετα με αυτή τη μέθοδο, μπορείτε να προτείνετε και να σημφωνήσετε σε μια εναλλακτική μέθοδο. Η πρόσβαση στις ηχογραφημένες συνεντεύξεις και οι μεταγραφές περιορίζονται στην ερευνήτρια, Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου και αποθηκεύονται στο Πανεπιστήμιο Kingston Λονδίνου (Kingston University London).

Επιτρέπω την ηχογράφηση της συνέντευξης

☐ Ναί ☐ Όχι Αρχικά Ονόματος _____

Εαν επιλέξατε όχι, δηλώστε την εναλλακτική μέθοδο που έχει συμφωνηθεί_____

Πληροφοριες Επικοινωνιας

Για οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση ή/και ανησθχία σχετικά με τη μελέτη, παρακαλώ επικοινωνήστε με την ερευνήτρια, Πηνελόπη Αλεξάνδρου στα παρακάτω,

Ηλ. Ταχυδρομείο (e-mail) – K0958543@kingston.ac.uk / popi.alexandrou@gmail.com

Διεύθυνση - Penelopi Alexandrou
Department of Geography, Geology and the Environment
Kingston University London
Penrhyn Road Campus, London
United Kingdom, KT1 2EE

Παροχη Συγκαταθεσης

Η υπογραφή σας επισημάνει πως σημφωνείτε εθελοντικά στη συμμετοχή σας σε αυτήν την έρευνα

_____ _____

Υπογραφή *Ημερομηνία*

Appendix IV – Participant Information

	Name	Gender	Place of Birth	Origin	Age / Age Range	Year of Migration	Marital Status at Time of Migration	Point of Entry	Current Residence	Current Marital Status	Employment Status	Additional Life Facts
1	Aliki P.	F	Greece	Aiges village, Corinth, Peloponnese	70s	1961	Engaged	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Widowed	Retired; previous: waitress, hospital baby garment maker, clothing factory worker	Sponsored by fiancé a few years after he had come to Halifax - wanted to first save some money. Enjoyed spending time with the pioneer Greek women. Husband did not believe it was healthy for a marriage for the couple to spend all their time together and therefore never started a family business. After illness lost savings, but worked hard and collected savings. Worked as a waitress for many years and recently retired. Spends time with other widowed women of the community. Has three adult sons with own families; one lives in Ontario.
2	Carla F.	F	Halifax, NS	Rome, Italy	50	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Development Specialist	Had contact with the Greek community from a young age. Went to school with Greek Canadian children who were the same age and lived in her neighbourhood. Felt a connection due to own background (Italian). Parents were more open-minded than most Greek families and therefore maintained friendships with both males and females. Participates in Greek community events and celebrates Greek holidays with her family.

	Name	Gender	Place of Birth	Origin	Age / Age Range	Year of Migration	Marital Status at Time of Migration	Point of Entry	Current Residence	Current Marital Status	Employment Status	Additional Life Facts
3	Chloe Z.	F	Greece	Artemissia village, Messinia regional unit, Peloponnese	54	1962	Single (child)	Pier 21, Halifax	Nicosia, Cyprus	Married	High School Teacher	Came to Halifax with mother and sisters. Father came a few months before them. Family was sponsored by their uncle who they lived with before they could afford their own house. Had a very difficult time at school and tried to hide her background outside the home and community events. Did not socialise with people in the community when not required. Met husband in university who was from Cyprus. Moved to Cyprus with him. Has accepted her background and is more comfortable participating in community events and socialising with members of the community.
4	Chris W.	M	Greece	Artemissia village, Messinia regional unit, Peloponnese	70s	1961	Engaged	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Married	Semi-retired; coffee shop and restaurant business	Sponsored by fiancée he had only seen in a photograph to come to Halifax (Petra W.). Wanted to run own business. First restaurant business was unsuccessful. Worked as a salesman then went into a restaurant partnership with wife's uncle. At the suggestion of his wife, purchased own restaurant they ran together, this time successfully. Later expanded to coffee shop business. When wife became pregnant, sold restaurant and kept coffee shop, now run by second son. Continues to work at coffee shop in the mornings. Sponsored sister's family from Greece to come to Halifax.

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												Active in community politics, church and member of original festival organising committee.

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5	Chryso M.	F	Greece	Athens	50s	1996	Married	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS	Married	Housewife & Greek school teacher	Born in Toronto to Greek migrant parents. Her family returned to Greece where she met her husband, a Greek American. Spent ten years in Saudi Arabia because of husband's work after which the family decided that they needed to settle somewhere. Wanted to settle somewhere near both families (parents returned to Toronto) that had access to good education for their children, but did not like Toronto, nor the United States. Had one request - to be by the sea. Drove up from the USA to see Halifax and loved the city. Did not get to know the Greek community until son made some Greek Canadian friends at school. Was hired as a Greek language school teacher. Considering relocating to Greece with husband when both children become adults. Gradually spending more and more time in Greece every year. Shares the concerns of other Greek language school teachers for language loss. Values the presence and freedom of having a Greek community and a church, something they did not have when living in Saudi Arabia.

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6	Costas W.	M	Halifax, NS	Katouna village, Aitolokarnania, Naxos island; Vourla-Smyrna (Izmir), Turkey	70s	x	x	x	St. Margarets Bay, NS	Married	Heritage; previous: politician	Mother's parents were two of the first Greeks to settle in Halifax and establish the community. Father was a Greek sailor who died at sea. Was raised by his mother and grandparents who ran a food market. Was very involved with the Greek community as a child. Married a non-Greek woman. Marriage was not Greek Orthodox, which created some distance from the community. Maintained certain with childhood friends and established some friendships with the newer migrants. Is interested in the documenting of the history of the Greek community in addition to his work in the heritage field for the city of Halifax. Also served as a politician. Has three adult children.

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7	Ekali K.	F	Greece	Corinth (city), Peloponnese, Greece	50s	1971	Married	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS	Married	Semi-retired hair stylist; previous: hair stylist, secretary	Met husband while he was on holiday from Halifax. Received credits from high school in Greece and continued in Halifax. Liked her new home, but did not like school in Halifax. Perceived the role of the wife to be one at home. Attended secretarial school instead of university and worked until she became pregnant. After some time at home, realised that even Greek women did not stay home with family but worked. Went to work at husband's hair salon. She enjoyed the work and trained and worked as a hair dresser. Now works fewer hours. Was slightly older than many of the first generation Greek Canadian women and all had children at the Greek language school. Became involved in the community through the school. Appreciated the help of the older Greek women and families who treated her like family. Returns to Greece every few years for holidays.

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8	Eliana H.	F	Greece	Stefania village, Sparta, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese	early 70s	1968	Married	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: restaurant business	Met husband while he was on an extended holiday from Halifax where he had already settled. Was content with migrating to Halifax to join him because she did not like manual labour at the village - did not feel it was the work for her. Helped with restaurant business established by husband and his brothers. Would alternate years to visit Greece with husband's brothers' families. Now returns to Greece to visit adult children who have relocated to Greece. Enjoys volunteering at various Greek events but does not participate continuously. Close friendships with other Greek female migrants.

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9	Ellie G.	F	Halifax, NS	Papari village & Petra village, Arkadia regional unit, Peloponnese	late 20s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Pharmacist	Maternal grandparents migrated to Halifax in the 1950s and father in the early 1970s for work. Family has always been very connected with the community and Ellie G. serves as a member in the festival organizing committee, Philoptochos and the adult dance group. Was teased at school because having spent time with her grandparents, she spoke English with an accent. Grew up feeling that Greek parents were strict in comparison to her peers and therefore grew more attached to other Greek Canadian girls who shared similar experiences. Went to university in Ottawa, but followed the same career path as her mother. Recently purchased a house. Does not think it is necessary to marry another Greek or Greek Canadian, especially since she sees most in the community like family, but thinks it is more likely to connect with someone from a similar culture. Voiced concern that not all members of the community realise that without their support and participation, there may not be cultural continuity in the future.

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10	Emily O.	F	Halifax, NS	Papari village & Tripolis (city), Arkadia regional unit, Peloponnese; Omvriaki village, Lamia	early 30s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Blackberry employee	Youngest sister of Vasso O. The only sister still in Halifax. Went to Greece after university but did not want to stay like her sisters before her. Lives with her father and is concerned for him, especially since she travels for work frequently. Appreciates her ties to the community and hopes that if she were to have children, her children will have the same access to Greek culture and language she had. Has a group of childhood friends from the community that meet regularly.
11	Fotini P.	F	Greece	Mylos island	70s	1963	Married	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: housewife, garment alterations	Sponsored by husband who worked in Cape Breton. Lived many years in the much smaller community. Stayed home and raised daughter. Did not want her daughter to feel the same loneliness she did and allowed her to have a 'Canadian lifestyle.' When daughter got older, worked at a dry cleaning and made clothing alterations. Used physical characteristics to differentiate customers, since she spoke limited English. Daughter (Naya W.) met Greek Canadian husband and settled in Halifax. Moved with husband to Halifax following retirement to be close to daughter and her family.

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12	Gina U.	F	Greece	Athens	55	1972	Engaged	Montreal, QC	Halifax, NS	Married	Bank employee, Greek school language and dance teacher; principal	Met fiancé in Athens when still in high school. Agreed to move to Halifax (as was his plan) for a few years in order to make some money and return to Greece. Married in Montreal where most of husband's extended family settled. Found Montreal Greek community very similar to living in Greece. Liked Halifax because was surrounded with family. Began working in family restaurant and took courses at the university. Went to work at the bank after family restaurant burned down. The priest of the community suggested she apply for a dance teacher position. Joined the school and continues to teach language and dancing as principal. Has two adult children. Urges young parents and grandparents in community to take time to speak the Greek language to their children otherwise language loss will be inevitable. Participates in many community events. Plans to relocate to Greece never materialised although she visits almost annually and has a summer home.

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13	Kleo K.	F	Halifax, NS	Gytheio town, East Mani regional unit, Peloponnese; Athens	30s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Dental technician	The youngest of four siblings. Parents both migrated from Greece and met in Halifax. Has a large extended family in Halifax and Toronto. Lived in Toronto for a few years as an adult. Volunteers at Greek Fest and attends many community events. Does not participate as much as she feels she should. Values the community and hopes it will be there when she starts a family. Does not find Halifax a great city, but stays because of family. Visits Greece and Toronto frequently and has considered relocating to both places.
14	Krini Y.	F	Halifax, NS	Xerokampi village & Sparta (city), Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese	50	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Employee at brewery & family business	Parents migrated from Greece. Remembers great poverty as a child, and being teased at school as a result. Family was not very involved in the community because parents did not go to church and worked many hours running a neighbourhood grocery store. Became acquainted with the families of the neighbourhood instead. Met other Greek Canadians through her cousins, including her husband at age 16. Has three adult children. Thinks that her children should wait and not get married as young as she did. Does not visit Greece very often. Feels proud of her Greek heritage. Considers Halifax her home.

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15	Magda N.	F	Greece	Papari village, Arkadia regional unit, Peloponnese	80s	1959	Married	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: restaurant business, garment alterations	Joined husband in Halifax with young son following the suggestion of husband's relatives that life was better in Canada. Was uncertain about move since family ran own market in village in Greece. Felt great disappointment with conditions in Halifax. Instability of labour market prompted her to start her own clothing alterations business inside own home. Expanded her business. Gave business away to co-ethnic and joined husband and brother in-laws with restaurant business. Opened a successful restaurant family business with husband and the help of eldest son. Closed restaurant, following husband's illness since he was the chef. Sold homemade dips under restaurant label at local markets until markets refused to carry products. Two adult children.

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16	Mina S.	F	Cyprus	Kaimakli, Nicosia, Cyprus	60s	1971	Married	Toronto, ON	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: university and high school teacher	Came to Halifax from Toronto because of husband's employment opportunity. Met husband who is British when studying in the UK. Moved to Toronto with him so he can pursue postgraduate education. Had studied education and got a job in that field soon after. Became acquainted with Greek community after having children who attended the Greek language school. Attends church and various events organized by the community. Believes culture is important and hopes her adult children and grandchildren continue to participate, but does not pressure them.
17	Nadia G.	F	Halifax, NS	Papari village & Petra village, Arkadia regional unit, Peloponnese	20s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Pharmacist	The younger sister of Ellie G.. Also a member of the Philoptochos and adult dance group. Helps run the Sunday school. Studied to be a pharmacist like her mother and sister. Grew up feeling that Greek parents were strict in comparison to her peers and therefore grew more attached to other Greek Canadian girls who shared similar experiences. Has strong ties to the community. Worried about language loss and how casual parents are about Sunday school.

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18	Nasia P.	F	Greece	Mylos island	70s	1964	Married	Gander, Newfoundland	Halifax, NS	Widowed	Retired; previous: Dry Cleaning businesses	Husband's relatives were pioneer Greeks who ran dry cleaning businesses in the Maritimes. Lived for some time in smaller community, but requested from owner's wife that husband be transferred to Halifax where she had heard the Greek community was larger. Ran with husband dry cleaning shop until they opened a second shop, which she ran on her own. Husband passed away due to illness. Grateful to members of community (particularly the women) who gave her support after husband's passing. Very active in community organizations. Three adult children, one lives in Greece.
19	Natalia S.	F	Greece	Tolofona village, Fokida regional unit	40s	1993	Married	Halifax, NS	Halifax, NS	Married	Housewife & Greek school teacher	Met husband while both on holiday in her village. At the time was working in Athens at a supermarket. Husband was raised in Halifax by Greek migrant parents. Was introduced to other people living in Halifax who were her maid of honour and best man at her wedding. Found Halifax a very friendly place with patient people. Misses Greece because parents and relatives are there. Considers Halifax a good place to live and raise children, with good access to education. Hired as a Greek language school teacher. Concerned over language loss in the community.

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												Suggests that children should visit Greece and spend time there with other children.
20	Natasa W.	F	Halifax, NS	Petra village, Arkadia regional unit, Peloponnese; Athens	late 20s	x	x	x	Dartmouth, NS	Single	Private sector employee	Parents are both migrants. Attended Greek language school and was part of the dance group as a child. Member of the Greek fest organising committee. She and her siblings all participate at community events. Values the cultural contribution of the community that she would like to provide her children to have access to in the future, but for her as an adult, it is the close friendships she has made with other Greek Canadians that are most significant.
21	Naya W.	F	Cape Breton, NS	Mylos island	40s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Bank employee	Daughter of Fotini P. Did not grow up with many Greek Canadians. Many close friends are non-Canadian. Parents were not as strict because there were not many Greeks around and they did not want her to be alone. Studied near Halifax and took a job in Toronto. Met husband when in Halifax and had a long-distance relationship for some time before requesting to transfer to Halifax and get married. Very close with her family. Has two daughters she hopes will remain involved in the community. Visits Greece frequently and would love to retire in Mylos.

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22	Nefeli P.	F	Greece	Tripolis (city), Arkadia, Peloponnese	50	1967	Single (child)	Toronto, ON	Halifax, NS	Married	Insurance company	Moved to Toronto from Greece with her parents at age six. Did not like that at school she was placed in a younger class because she did not speak the language and worked hard to reach her age group. Worked hard throughout school. Considered law school but changed her mind. Met husband at university who had come from Greece. They moved to the United States so he can pursue his PhD and then Halifax where he was given a teaching position at a university. Because of her children, she met Greek Canadian women from the community who have become some of her very close friends. The older Greeks do not always consider her as part of the community. She participates in various events but does not feel that religion is an aspect of her Greek identity.

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23	Nicole P.	F	Greece	Skoutari village, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese	60s	1959	Single (10 years old)	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: restaurant business	Came to Halifax with mother and younger sister to join her father. Left Greece because of poverty. Attended school and worked in the summer to help family at the infirmary folding clothes. Mother was unhappy in Canada until she got to know the Greek community and found great joy in going to Pier 21 to greet other Greek migrants arriving. Parents run a restaurant. Trained as a hairdresser but got married soon after high school. Husband joined parents` family business and she also worked at the restaurant instead of as a hairdresser. Husband and her ran restaurant until they sold it a few years ago to retire. Has two adult children.
24	Nina K.	F	Halifax, NS	Lira village, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese	late 30s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Journalist	Parents are both migrants who met in Halifax. Parents run a restaurant. She worked at the restaurant and helped her parents from a young age. Found her parents very supportive of her education and her career path as a journalist. Credits the community as supporting her career as well. Is very connected to both Halifax and her Greek roots. Admits that she would like to participate in more community events. Appreciates modern technology because it facilitates contact with extended family in Greece. Enjoys visiting Greece, but considers Halifax her home.

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25	Paula O.	F	Halifax, NS	Athens	18	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Undergraduate university student	Youngest participant of the study. Mother was raised in Halifax, NS by Greek immigrant parents and met father in Greece. Has one older sister. Both she and sister are very involved in Greek community activities. Has also worked at various Greek-run establishments throughout high school. Appreciates the extended network of the community and how connected people are, discussing how this has helped her with reference letters and university. Considers many of the girls she attended Greek language school and dance school close friends.

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26	Persephone R.	F	Halifax, NS	Caesaria (Kayseri) & Istanbul, Turkey; Athens, Greece	70s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Widowed	Restaurant business (with son), cultural interpreter; previous: Greek school teacher & principal, choir teacher	Parents were both migrants. Father migrated with brothers from Kayseri in Turkey (then Asia Minor) and opened a candy store. His parents married in Athens when his father went to visit his aunt and find a bride. Was raised in Halifax when the Greek community was only a few families. Greek was the only language allowed to be spoken at home, although her mother was fluent in English and French as well. After high school, she went to college and studied to be a Greek teacher. Taught for two years in Ohio before returning to Halifax. Her husband was a migrant from Greece she met through friends (he was the business partner of her friend's fiancé). She became well acquainted with the new wave of migrants and acted as an interpreter for them when needed. Served as a Greek language teacher, principal and choir instructor. Also worked with her husband at the restaurant. Occasionally gives private Greek lessons and continues to work at the restaurant she now runs with one of her sons.

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27	Petra W.	F	Greece	Kalamata (city), Peloponnese	70s	1959	Single	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: restaurant & coffee shop business	Sister came to Halifax before her at the suggestion of her father. Was trained and worked as a hairdresser in Greece before coming to Halifax. Did not want to leave Greece but obeyed her father's wishes. Sponsored by uncle. Worked at a diner and sponsored her siblings and fiancé she had never met to come to Halifax. After wedding, she and her husband opened a business on their own, based on her knowledge from the diner, but were not successful. Had to send young children to Greece for a few years in order to work long hours and save money. Husband partnered with uncle in new business then she and husband opened own business, which was successful. Husband later opened coffee shop, but she continued to run the restaurant until later pregnancy. When daughter reached school age, worked some hours at the coffee shop. Retired when grandchildren arrived and stayed home to take care of them. Has three adult children.

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28	Phoebe N.	F	Halifax, NS	Mylos island	50	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Family business accountant	Parents sponsored by relatives to come to Canada. Her family was one of the few that moved outside of the city of Halifax, across the bridge to Dartmouth. Although she did participate in many of the activities of the community, she lived further away and therefore the ties with other Greek Canadians were not as close until she became an adult. Parents were not as strict as other Greek parents and allowed her to study in Toronto where she met her husband. Although he was Greek, she does not think her parents would have objected to a non-Greek. She also has no objections if her children choose to marry non-Greeks. Worked for some time in Toronto, but eventually moved back to Halifax and works in the family business. Church and community are very important to her and her family.

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29	Rita R.	F	Greece	Klima Doridos village, Fokida regional unit	70s	1967	Engaged	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Married	Retired; previous: hair stylist	Her ambition was to immigrate to Canada. Met husband while working in Athens. Saw that his brother had sent him an invitation to come to Halifax. Expressed her wish to go to Canada. Husband (fiancé at the time) sent the paperwork and went first, she then followed. Got married in Halifax. Was greatly disappointed with life in Halifax and was depressed for many years. Finally accepted that life would be better for her children there and decided to stay. Husband worked as an electrician and she as a hair stylist. Purchased a home, which was partly theirs and partly rented out. Both she and her husband are now retired and take extended trips to Greece. Does not wish to relocate to Greece indefinitely because children and grandchildren live in Halifax. Close friends with women in community, but does not like to participate in many organized events.

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30	Thalia Y.	F	Cyprus	Kaimakli, Nicosia, Cyprus	50s	1972	Single (student)	Toronto, ON	Halifax, NS	Married	Housewife & part-time nanny	Came to Halifax to help her older sister (Mina S.) with her newborn. Had previously lived and studied in the United Kingdom and Whitby, Ontario where she stayed with other siblings. Did not enjoy her first year in Halifax because she knew no one and was not allowed to leave the house without a companion. Returned to Cyprus and then moved to Toronto to help her brother with his new family. Enjoyed the freedom of Toronto where she was able to have her own apartment. On a visit to Halifax, she met her future husband and together they decided to stay in Halifax. He was a Greek migrant with family and an established community network. She was able to make friends and get involved in the community where she remains active. Her opinion of Halifax became more positive and they stayed. Has two adult sons. Cares for a family friend's young child a few days a week. Child is part Greek Canadian so she ensures that she speaks to her in Greek. A key contact and community representative for new migrants from Greece.

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31	Valeria O.	F	Halifax, NS	Lebanon	20s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Bank employee	Married into the Greek community. Met husband in university. The child of Lebanese immigrant parents. Was often teased as a child because of her background. Makes an effort to participate in community events and learn the language in order to get to know more people and become part of the community. Young members of the community were easier to get to know. Wants children to participate and learn the Greek language, especially since it is the culture of their father. If her children express a willingness to also learn Arabic, she would be happy for them to learn that also.
32	Vasiliki K.	F	Halifax, NS	Xerokampi village, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese & Athens; Gytheio town, East Mani regional unit, Peloponnese	20s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Undergraduate university student	Daughter of Xenia C. and granddaughter of Vera T. Has a large family network in Halifax, since all her grandmother's siblings eventually settled in Halifax and had families. Father migrated to Halifax as a teenager in the 1970s. Followed mother's example and is very active in all aspects of the Greek community, but also maintains ties with relatives and friends in Greece. Has considered moving to Greece as an adult. Visits very often. Finds that parents are more protective of her, as the girl, than her younger brother. Works and studies.

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33	Vasso O.	F	Halifax, NS	Papari village & Tripolis (city), Arkadia regional unit, Peloponnese; Omvriaki village, Lamia	30s	x	x	x	Athens, Greece	Married	Telecommunications & IT	Parents met and married in Halifax. Mother was sponsored by a cousin and worked as a hairdresser. Father worked at the shipyard. The oldest of three children. Remembers a happy childhood and very supportive parents. Spent many summers in Greece with extended family. Worked very hard at university. Mother passed away after graduation. Went to Greece to take a break. Her cousin offered her a job there and she met her husband. Decided to stay in Greece. Father was supportive while certain members of the community criticised her leaving her widowed father. One of her sisters followed and also lives in Greece. Wishes her father would also move back. Still maintains contact with friends in Halifax and is happy that she has an option to return should economic conditions in Greece affect her employment.

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34	Vera T.	F	Greece	Xerokampi village, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese	80s	1953	Single	Pier 21, Halifax	Halifax, NS	Widowed	Retired; previous: restaurant business	Followed older sister to Canada. Father had previously worked in America but returned to village in Greece and had a family. Sponsored by Greek family in Montreal. Relocated to Halifax to be closer to sister. Worked in restaurant. Raised funds and sponsored additional siblings. Met and married Greek husband who worked at shipyards in Halifax. Opened and ran diner with husband, sister and brother-in-law. Husband also had second job, selling kitchen equipment. Has two adult children. Never considered return to Greece. Does not visit Greece due to health.
35	Vicky W.	F	Halifax, NS	Kalamata (city) & Artemissia village, Messinia regional unit, Peloponnese	30s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Bank employee	Daughter of Petra W. and Chris W. The youngest of three. Believes that parents were not as strict with her as her brothers. Has many childhood friends that are also Greek Canadian because parents were very involved in the community. They did not however stop her from playing with all the neighbourhood children. Went away for university, but returned to Halifax. Thinks that her generation is not as involved in the community as those before, but also after, which she thinks is promising.

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36	Wanda Z.	F	Newfoundland	Newfoundland & Lebanon	late 40s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Marketing & Media	Married into the Greek community. In-laws were very much against the marriage, so she and her husband eloped. Never took the issue personally, because they did not get to know her before voicing their disapproval. When in-laws started to show signs of change, she urged her husband to forgive them because she wanted her children to know their grandparents and decide which aspect of their heritage they want to keep. She participates in community events, but chooses when and where to participate. Has exceeded expectations of a 'good wife' as a Canadian.
37	Xanthe S.	F	Halifax, NS	Quebec; Hungary & Athens	20s	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Single	Undergraduate university student	Father is Greek from his mother's side and Hungarian from his father's. Mother is French Canadian. Attended Greek language school as a child, but did not continue and was not surrounded by Greek speakers, especially after parents divorced and grandmother passed away. As an adult, has chosen to remain active in the community. Although she does, at times, wish she could speak the language, she does not find that this affects her relationships with people in the community. She also does not share the same faith and therefore chooses to separate religion from her community experience, which she also does not believe affects her ties to the community.

	Name	Gender	Place of Birth	Origin	Age / Age Range	Year of Migration	Marital Status at Time of Migration	Point of Entry	Current Residence	Current Marital Status	Employment Status	Additional Life Facts
												Aware that her choice to follow the Arts concerned some of her Greek relatives with respect to future financial gain, but they know she has always worked hard.
38	Xenia C.	F	Halifax, NS	Xerokampi village, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese & Athens	50	x	x	x	Halifax, NS	Married	Data centre manager; previous: sales	Mother is Vera T. Daughter is Vasiliki K. Remembers parents always working and as children, having to help. At school, spent most of the time with cousins and other Greek Canadian children. Was teased. Parents were strict, but maintains that she became very determined and strong as a result. Met husband in Halifax. Husband had migrated from Greece as a teenager in the 1970s. Refused all other suggestions for a husband made by her parents. Credits multiculturalism programmes as allowing her and her peers to realise that many people were like her. Hopes that her children appreciate the hard work of their grandparents and respect all migrants that come to Canada.
39	Yvonne N.	F	Halifax, NS	Mylos island	26	x	x	x	Dartmouth, NS	Single	Postgraduate university student	Daughter of Phoebe N. A dance instructor for the adult dance group. Enjoys studying the variety of dance traditions in Greece and showcasing them through the dance group to the rest of the community. Volunteers for other events, but has enjoyed the connections the dance

	Name	Gender	Place of Birth	Origin	Age / Age Range	Year of Migration	Marital Status at Time of Migration	Point of Entry	Current Residence	Current Marital Status	Employment Status	Additional Life Facts
												group has created for her beyond Halifax. Is very close to her grandparents in Toronto, her favourite city, but chose to remain at home for university since she could not justify the added expense of living away from home. Church is important in her family, but she also believes that regardless of the degree of religiosity, church for Greeks is an aspect of their culture and therefore from even the cultural side, something that must be valued.
40	Zena C.	F	Greece	Monemvasia village, Lakonia regional unit, Peloponnese	70s	1960	Married	Montreal, QC	Halifax, NS	Married	Restaurant business (with family); previous: garment factory	Majority of husband's family immigrated to America or Canada. First settled in Montreal for many years where she worked at a factory. Followed husband's siblings to Halifax where they opened a family restaurant. Later opened own restaurant. Took some time to adjust to Halifax from Montreal. Considered moving back to Montreal. Had three children. Daughter left after university for Montreal to pursue MBA, then moved to Cyprus with husband. Youngest son running restaurant with parents. Eldest son passed away and is buried in Halifax, therefore she no longer wants to leave for Montreal.

Appendix V – Upcoming Book Chapter Publication: *Halifax Greek Fest: The social and cultural significance of hosting a festival for the Halifax Greek community and Halifax society*

Book Title: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF EVENTS

Editors: Omar Moufakkir & Tomas Pernecky

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Abstract

The annual summer festival of the Halifax Greek Community, Greek Fest, is its largest organized event of the year where the community showcases various aspects of their Greek culture and heritage to the greater Halifax community. The festival additionally serves as the primary fundraiser for the maintenance of the St. George Greek Orthodox Church and community centre, thus carrying an economic significance and responsibility for the community and the organizing committee. Beyond the economic dependence, detached and active participant observation, online social media 'fieldwork' and interviews with current and former organizing committee members and volunteers indicate that through preparation, presentation and performance for the event, the festival greatly contributes to the ethno-cultural continuity of the Halifax Greek Community, the creation or maintenance of diverse social networks and the amiable relationship between the community and Halifax society.

Introduction

The following chapter examines the significance of ethno-cultural festivals for the community they represent but also on society as a whole in a Canadian context. The Halifax Greek Fest, an annual festival hosted by the Halifax Greek community annually since 1986, is the main supporter of the operational and maintenance costs of the Halifax Greek Orthodox Church and Community Centre. Through responsible cultural marketing, members of the Greek community showcase characteristics of their ethno-cultural identity in order to raise funds for the cause. However, the event is not overshadowed by this objective, but rather promotes an entertaining, family friendly event, supported by volunteers from the Halifax Greek community and beyond.

Using the mixed-method approach of ethnography (participant observation, semi-structured interviews) and content analysis of festival materials, Greek Fest is examined in order to attain an understanding of how the organisation and management of a festival go

beyond economic concern emphasized by community members and affect social and cultural characteristics and interactions of the small Greek community of Halifax.

A brief outline of the present literature on ethno-cultural festivals and events, which either focus on the festival process or the creation or preservation of a contested ethno-cultural identity is followed by a discussion of the selected methodology. The findings include an account of how the first festival transpired, the observed current (2011) layout and the significance of the festival for the members of the Halifax Greek community and the greater Halifax society.

Literature Review

Ethno-Cultural Festivals and Ethnic Identity

The growing literature on ethno-cultural events and festivals is founded within various fields relevant to the festival process that include, events as tourist attractions (see, McKercher, Sze Mei, & Tse, 2006), event and festival management (see, d'Astous, Colbert, & d'Astous, 2006), cultural policy (see, Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007), marketing of place and urban planning (see, McClinchey, 2008), the economic impact of events (see, Bramadat, 2001; Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007) and the effects of such festivals on the sense of community and identity of the people involved (see, Bankson III & Henry, 2000; Bramadat, 2001; Derrett, 2003; Shin, 2004). The positive economic impacts and tourist attraction potential of festivals have in fact generated policy makers, regional and urban planning authorities to review and create or modify festivals and events in order to acquire these benefits for their cities and neighbourhoods, at times calling into question the 'authenticity' of the culture or ethnic group represented (see, Shin, 2004; Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007).

In the article, *Shows, Selves and Solidarity: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Spectacles in Canada*, Bramadat (2001) defines the ethnic cultural spectacle as 'an organized event in which a group represents itself both to its own members and to non-members.' The events are reviewed as spectacles because 'they are highly dramatic, entertaining, and (in a literal sense) extraordinary' and are therefore, 'special occasions or periods in which audience members are expected to be engrossed and often entertained.' (Bramadat, 2001, p. 80). Ethno-cultural festivals, which are common throughout multicultural Canada, according to Bramadat, are prime examples of such spectacles and hold particular roles in the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity (2001, p. 80). He continues throughout the article to outline these roles, which include; the representation of alternate economies of status, whereby participation in the festival of both community members and visitors serves as validation of their life experiences and empowers their position for a set time;

the reconstruction of identity due to the dialogue and selection among members of the ethnic community of the aspects of their identity they wish to present to the public; the ability to influence the greater Canadian society and allow better understanding of possible cultural characteristics that are unknown or controversial and the occasion to inform the general public about various such characteristics.

Subsequent studies on cultural and ethno-cultural events or festivals around the world tend to resonate one or more of the roles discussed in Bramadat's article with respect to identity maintenance and creation; McKercher et al (2006, pp. 55-56) for instance, state that cultural or ethno-cultural events are, 'organised by and for the benefit of local community,' for years, 'inviting the general public to participate in public cultural rituals, which conserve or resurrect cultural traditions,' and Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007, p. 103), reinforce the notion that cultural events are tools, which facilitate community acceptance of a group and its cultural continuity. An earlier article by Bankson III and Henry (2000) challenges the effects of ethnic identity and discusses how in the case of the Louisiana Cajuns, the evolution of their ethno-cultural festival is a reflection of their rise in socioeconomic status, which as a result saw cultural value assigned on commodities available at the festival for purchase; the cultural significance of these commodities are thus modern fabrications and rather the result of assimilation to American consumerist culture. Quinn (2003) further supports the notion of negotiating or contesting cultural meaning in festivals by people involved in order to support their own objectives or goals rather than the group identity.

In the case of the Halifax Greek Fest, an ethno-cultural festival with an acknowledged financial goal - to raise the majority of funds that enable the operation and maintenance of the Greek Orthodox Church and community centre - the commodification of culture is in essence presupposed as is the marketing of Greek cultural characteristics, albeit responsibly. The goal was therefore to showcase ethnic cuisine and entertainment to the greater Halifax community the purpose of the survival of the community. The objective of this study however is to determine the indirect effects on cultural continuity for Greek community members and the relationships between Greek community members, other volunteers and visitors through participation in Greek Fest.

Methodology

Ethnography

Ethnography as a methodology is a diverse approach with no single, unchallenged definition that could adequately incorporate these variations. Nevertheless, it is generally recognized as an in depth investigation of social life and immersion within a social world or culture, 'concerned to make sense of the actions and intentions of people as knowledgeable agents; indeed, more properly it attempts to make sense of their making sense' (Ley, 1988, p. 121). Hence, the researcher is required to observe and study various social conditions and interactions of a particular group within a set amount of time and identify the cultural meanings of these observed actions and interactions.

Traditionally associated with the discipline of Anthropology, through time, due to its suitability in researching the intricate notions of culture and social life, which are difficult to research and embody through quantitative techniques, ethnographic research has been adopted by various disciplines within and outside the social sciences. This has enabled postmodern and social constructionist reforms in ethnographic approach; ethnography has evolved beyond and away from the study of remote cultures and the 'other' and encompasses studies of Western culture, the study of researchers' own social groups or even *themselves* (autoethnographies) (Jones, 2005). Greater access and interaction among cultures has further modified the ethnographic *method to* focus on particular aspects of the culture rather than a culture as a whole. This way, particular research questions are addressed (Hine, 2000, pp. 41-42). Furthermore, adaptations of traditional ethnography such as the online ethnography, also termed 'netnography,' allows the study of "cultures and communities emerging through computer mediated communications and uses information publicly available in online forums" (Kozinets, 2006, p. 130).

According to Kozinets (Netnography 2.0, 2006, p. 130), conducting a successful netnography requires the development of an 'entrée' and the collection and analysis of data that do not disregard a set of ethical guidelines. While his own research focuses on consumer behaviour in a marketing setting, he acknowledges that online ethnography can be applied to various disciplines interested in determining and understanding people's needs and influences.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection for ethnography is a multi-method affair. According to the research questions, a researcher needs to determine the way relevant data can be collected. Nevertheless, participant observation is a characteristic approach for any ethnography. In the case of participant observation, a researcher observes social interactions and may choose to participate at some level. Based on these observations, a researcher can then make certain inferences about the culture.

During the four day Greek Fest of 2011, participant observation varied in form, from 'detached observer' (Adler & Adler, 1987, p. 36) to 'active participant' (Adler & Adler, 1987, p. 50); while for the majority of the duration, the role was most similar to a festival visitor, observing the processes and environment of the festival, certain hours were dedicated to volunteering at the festival. The latter was an opportunity to experience first-hand the operations of the festival and the volunteer environment. Although 'active participant' suggests membership in the activities of the observed group, festival volunteering is rather more complex, as volunteering is open to all and does not necessarily require that participants are fully familiar with the activities they are asked to support.

A component of this study, used to supplement background information on Greek Fest and determine social interaction between Greek Fest organisers and the greater public required the review of media content, all of which was available online. In an online ethnography, the

traditional 'fieldwork' is substituted with 'deskwork' where a researcher collects data found on websites rather than while in the 'field' within the community in question (Rutter & Smith, 2005, p. 84). Participant observation in an online ethnography collects data in two forms. The first is a duplication of relevant data directly from the website, while the second is observations of the researcher about the computer-mediated interactions on the site. The participant factor for this study was, in fact limited to the former. The main ethical debate with respect to the Internet and computer-mediated-communication is what can be classified as public and what as private (Kozinets, 2006, p. 134). The accessed websites however were open to all internet users, while the Facebook and Twitter accounts assigned to Greek Fest can be accessed to all users of the social network sites. Therefore, it is possible to deduce that this information is public. Nevertheless, a researcher must be considerate and respectful of people's opinions and views and not manipulate their power to distort facts for the benefit of their research (Kozinets, 2006, p. 135).

Conducting interviews is another form of data collection, popular in ethnography, which can collect personal accounts that can further reinforce general observations. For this case study, in addition to the participant observation, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The people selected for interviews were recruited throughout the event and ranged from casual volunteers to current and former event organisers. Interviewees are informed of the objectives of the research and guaranteed anonymity and respect of their views and opinions. The names provided throughout the chapter have been changed to ensure this anonymity.

Semi-structured interviews are preferred because meeting with the interviewee is likely to occur only once. Questions and topics that the researcher wants to address are predetermined, yet the researcher also provides an atmosphere where the interviewee can further expand on their responses in directions that the researcher may not have considered, yet may prove beneficial to the study (Bernard, 2006, p. 212). The interviews took place face-to-face, which on the one hand may not favour anonymity of the interviewee, yet it may enhance intimacy between the interviewee and the researcher who are in fact strangers (Johnson, 2005, p. 26). That way, the interviewee may feel more comfortable answering questions if they can in turn see a researcher with a friendly disposition.

Analysis

The analysis of the text is based on the logic of content analysis. The research questions and objectives have already been set. Once the observation and interview data has been collected, analysis occurs. The data are coded and divided into particular themes and topics related to the research objectives (Alexander, 2008, p. 467). Unlike Grounded Theory, the themes are developed prior to content analysis and do not develop during data collection, although certain modifications may occur (Fielding, 2008, p. 276). In the case of this study, the themes included settings for learning, networking and cultural continuity.

The Origins of Greek Fest

Greek Fest, according to the festival website, www.Greek Fest.org (2013), and organisers, is the oldest (and largest) cultural festival of the city of Halifax. The first festival took place in early June of 1986, inspired by a member's visit to Florida where she had the opportunity to attend a Greek festival organised by the local Greek community. The community priest at the time was quite receptive to the idea and presented it to additional members who became the first event organisers. Although inexperienced and filled with concerns and even doubts over its success, the images of the Florida Greek festival shared to them, coupled perhaps with their own experiences from Greek festivals or *panigiria* (πανηγύρια) attended back in their hometowns and villages in Greece developed into the plan for a Halifax equivalent. One of the first involved, Dino, recalls,

> Dino (former steering committee member): *Thankfully, that girl who'd gone to the festival in Florida...she suggested it to the priest...we met at the café when we made the final decision...an accountant said we'd go under... 'don't worry, we'd do ok,' I said.*

The festival was a community affair with whole households participating and cooperating to run the event that drew large crowds. Central to the festival was the Greek cuisine, which the Halifax community had gradually began to savour, although for some it was still a new experience,

> ***The first festival was beyond our expectations...We were overwhelmed with the attendance. We thought we had prepared enough food, but we miscalculated the interest and support of the local community. By early Saturday evening our tasty Greek food tables were empty! The Greek women found a solution (as they always do!). They communicated to others that we had more mouths to feed. The telephones were on fire at midnight that Saturday night asking individuals to help prepare food for the next day. Not only did individuals prepare food in the middle of the night, but also many of our local Greek restaurants...Talk about a community banding together... (2013 Greek Summer Festival Steering Committee, 2013)***

In addition to Greek cuisine, entertainment included traditional folk dance performances by the Greek community dance groups of varying ages.

Interest and attendance was high that first year and was thus a first taste of event management that set the foundation upon which the community could further develop and improve their festival for the following years,

> Dinos (former steering committee member): *The first year, we didn't make much...but, we got together again after...what did you see wrong? The system with the envelopes, the*

money, it was too out in the open, accessible, there was fear that people lost money...people took it personally that we didn't trust them, but it was more the system...

Growth and Current Layout

After more than twenty five years, Greek Fest continues to attract growing crowds. There is constant review by the elected steering committee and invested Greek community members of all aspects of the festival; approaches to the logistics and organization of the festival, various activities and entertainment options and perceived trends of their market, which would allow for an enjoyable experience and a profitable event. Certain activities and offerings in the festival have become somewhat constant, while others remain dynamic.

The choice for the festival to run during early June was always preferred as it allowed Greek Fest to be the first festival of the summer season before people would take time off and go away on holidays; this applied to possible volunteers, members of the Greek community with summer travel plans to Greece, a common occurrence for many Greek Canadian families. This was a popular decision and the early June weekend dates have since become the expected time of year for Greek Fest. In recent years, the popularity of the festival has allowed it to grow into a four day, end of the week festival, starting from Thursday evening. The weekend remains the busiest time for the festival, although Thursday evenings brings a respectable crowd and early Friday attracts employees of businesses nearby during their lunch breaks.

Summer weather, usually more favourable was also an important factor for the success of the festival particularly when its activities expanded beyond the indoor space of the community centre to the outdoor grounds of the Greek Orthodox Church. Rainy summer days in Halifax however, are both common and unpredictable, which can affect festival activities and profits,

Maria (volunteer – organisation): *...The weather. This is Halifax, it doesn't matter if it's June, it's so unpredictable. One year, we might have great weather and a great turn out and we sell out with food and stuff...we make orders and plan for more the next year and the weather is bad and we make a loss 'cause no one shows up...one year it was so bad we had so much left over! So we sold out early this year, maybe a bit too early, but you can't be too liberal for next year...what if it rains all weekend long, God forbid, then what? It's tough because it also affects people's moods...when it's nice, you wanna be out, you want to see stuff. When it rains, I don't know, you want to go home.*

Food and Drink

Food was and continues to be central to the festival. The indoor community hall area is entirely dedicated to food and beverages with a main 'restaurant', a small seating area and additional dessert and drink stations. The main 'restaurant' serves set dinner plates, assembled on the spot by Greek Fest volunteers. These plates are comprised of an assortment of Greek favourites such as moussaka, dolmades (stuffed vine leaves), small cheese pies, lamb, souvlaki and of course a side of

Greek salad. While accounts suggest that in the past many of these dishes were prepared in the homes of volunteers, the process is now more streamlined; much of the food is prepared in the community hall kitchen, which is equipped to cater for events and adheres to the provincial health and safety regulations. The volunteers involved in food preparation and organisation tend to be Greek community members who are proprietors and chefs of various restaurants in and around Halifax, roles fitting their experience,

> Anna (steering committee): *We've tried different models...through the years. We had in the past ordered prepared souvlaki, ready to barbecue from a company based out of Toronto who was able to supply in large volumes, but we realized that it was more feasible to prepare them here, using our own recipes and our volunteers. We went back to the more basics. It takes time, but they are fresh and I think tastier...plus it can be fun.*

The food is prepared for cooking in advance, but cooked throughout the festival so that it can be served fresh to the visitors. Assembled in a buffet style where each food item for each set plate has a designated row, the visitors, are able to view the Greek Fest volunteers prepare their plates adorned in hairnets, gloves and aprons. Greek Fest visitors purchase food tickets at separate booths to avoid further queues at the restaurant.

> Tina (volunteer – restaurant/kitchen): *We get things ready to be cooked, but we make it on the spot almost, so always working back there (kitchen) and people see what they getting...if they ask a question we're there, there is a lot of work going on, a lot of people, in the kitchen, out here...very busy.*

Due to the number of visitors and demand for food, the committee made the decision in recent years to hire a professional crew that can help with kitchen duties, a decision that deviates from the original all-volunteer model of the festival, but also deviates from participation motivated by the cause or interest in Greek Fest, not for pay. This change was for some somewhat difficult to appreciate; certain participants expressed a degree of nostalgia for earlier festivals, where the members, they argue, seemed more invested and did not require additional help,

> Lina (volunteer – sales/tickets): *...we used to make things at home, each of us and take it and also give money, and if they needed more, we make more...before it was all given, given, given...but now they're buying stuff...they don't feel the way we do, that it was ours, so we helped, we didn't spend, we gave...*

Others contend however that the change was not so much a lack of investment but a necessity; experienced support staff working with volunteers can meet the demand of the growing crowd and ensure good and fast service for visitors who would then support and revisit the festival,

> Tina (volunteer – restaurant/kitchen): *What can you do? We can't keep up, I don't know (why)...but, if you can't keep them (visitors) that's no good. You have to be smart where to spend your money...if they can afford it and it still gives you a profit, I guess that's ok...*

During peak hours volunteers and employees can be seen working organically, all assigned their tasks. The good spirit and mood of the festival is maintained, regardless of people's positions over the matter and during less busy times, the staff and volunteers are quite keen on sharing a conversation and even a dance as they get to know each other.

The beverage stand, aptly named *kafeneio* (καφενείο), roughly translated as coffee house, specializes in serving traditional Greek coffee and frappé, the Greek cold coffee unique to Greece and Cyprus with a French name it shares with another cold coffee drink, often causing confusion. In addition to these specialties it serves the regular filter coffee dear to Canadians and Greeks alike for the 'less daring,

> Dinos (former steering committee member): *Greeks love their coffee, I have three cups by 11 am, Greek, filter coffee, all types...*

Next to the beverage stand are the assortments of desserts, made by a number of Greek owned establishments and members of the community. Both these stands are somewhat more relaxed and do not usually attract the large crowds as the restaurant, but they are still extremely popular nonetheless, and often spark more curiosity with visitors who may be more familiar with the savoury dishes rather than the desserts and beverages.

Both coffee and dessert stands seem to be a favourite post for the Greek Canadian women, who some consider regulars. The women enjoy the opportunity to talk about the food and entice visitors and friends to try new things,

> Stella (volunteer – desserts): *I always work at the dessert stand, I like it the best there, because you get to talk to the people, you see people you might know and haven't seen in a while, it's nice.*

> Elena (volunteer & participant – dance): *Gia makes the best frappes!! You need to get one when she's there making them...*

The food choices do not end indoors, as there is a large outdoor grill area where the Greek kebabs, or souvlaki and gyro are made and wrapped in the traditional Greek pita and condiments and served to the visitors, *sto heri* (στο χέρι), in hand, as they are the Greek version of fast food.

Additional beverages, including alcohol are served, but only in designated areas outdoors and only to visitors who wear a bracelet provided at the entrance for adults over the age of 19, the legal drinking age in Nova Scotia. Moreover, wine sommeliers familiar with the wines of Greece, which shares a long tradition of wine production with many Mediterranean nations, run a few wine tasting workshops which people have the opportunity to register for in advance or at the festival based on availability.

Entertainment

Entertainment at Greek Fest has developed into many forms. The study of Greek dances from various regions of Greece and Asia Minor, but also from different eras has expanded the available repertoire for the dance groups that include a young children's dance group, a teens' dance group and an adult group. The schedule rotates daily to allow visitors to see more than one performance during their time at the festival. During intervals, a Greek band performs. Each year, members of the organizing committee are assigned the task to search for a talented Greek band from larger communities of Canada and the United States that can come to Halifax and perform. Based on discussions the task to find a band that not only can entertain a crowd who is not necessarily familiar with Greek music, but also entertain the Greek community who can be quite critical of music that they associate with their identity is a very stressful task.

There are a number of activities for children, including face painting and art activities with themes from Greek mythology, Olympic Games inspired games and races and a soccer or 'football' area, where children can practice their skills, a tribute to the love Greeks have for the game.

For the adults, there is a shop, *Monastiraki*, where a range of Greek products are on display and available for purchase, scheduled tours of the church run throughout the festival and an exhibit room showcases the history and culture of Greece and the community often with a different focus or theme each year. Furthermore, although not every year, the teachers of the Greek language school organize and run small language workshops for the visitors during the festival. Finally, there is an opportunity to win a number of prizes donated by festival sponsors, with the largest prize a paid airline ticket to Greece announced on the final day of the festival.

> Lina (volunteer – sales/tickets): *Good thing it wasn't a Greek who got it! ...I enjoy it when it's not one of us who gets it! We want others to enjoy the culture and see the country...plus it might look bad if we got it, ha! ... we've gone, for someone else, this may be a once in a lifetime chance, so it's good, I think anyway.*

Significance to Greek Community

Beyond the concern over the success of the festival, the search for sponsors, the allocation of tasks for the volunteers, and the responsibility to adequately represent Greek culture and heritage to the festival visitors, Greek Fest is an annual cultural immersion for the Greeks and Greek Canadians of Halifax and a driver of socio-cultural continuity; the diversity of activities, the cause for the fundraising, the call for volunteers and the focus and accessibility to non-Greeks not only attracts large crowds but the largest number of people with some Greek connection than any other event of the year.

Knowledge Transfer

Festival Preparation

A few evenings prior to the start of the Greek Fest, at the community hall, a row of volunteers, in aprons and gloves are busy preparing trays of souvlaki (skewered meat) and dolmades (stuffed vine leaves with rice),

"Oh my God, we've been doing this for hours!" one of the younger female volunteers exclaims as she fills another tray of dolmades. She continues to work and chat along with the other girls who are doing similar tasks beside her. One of the girls' mothers walks around every now and again to ensure the work is getting done right, one of her many tasks, while another piles the trays and moves them into the kitchen to store in the refrigerator.

There is great potential for knowledge gain when participating in the preparation and organization of the festival. During food preparation, the knowledge transfer tends to be generational; experienced chefs and cooks who for some of these younger volunteers happen to be parents and grandparents, guide the younger generation of volunteers through the process, which includes tasks such as cutting the meat and skewering it for the souvlaki, peeling and cutting the potatoes, getting the seasoning just right, preparing the dolmades and ensuring they know how to prepare the Greek salad and dressing fresh throughout the festival. The work is coupled with conversation, laughter and even some arguing,

> Andy (volunteer – restaurant): *We all have an opinion, too many chefs, one stew? Or something like that...yeah it happens, but two minutes later and you're laughing about something else...that's how it is.*

For the dance performers, learning the dances is but one form of continuity; access to Greek songs allows participants to hear the language and the music of Greek folk songs, a part of their heritage, but also new songs and music when practicing dance routines to music styles popular in Greece today. Although learning and performing Greek dances has been part of the community for years, the popularity of performing at Greek Fest has undoubtedly heightened their significance and interest; as a result instructors invest in research and study of the diverse regional dance repertoire of Greece, Cyprus and Greek populations of Asia Minor. The material presented by the instructors is not only new to them and the dancers, but also other Greeks in the audience.

Volunteers at the Festival

Restaurant servers are popular volunteer positions for the female migrants who have years of experience in the food industry and who felt quite at home when performing these tasks. The order-taking is more popular with the first and second generation, as the migrant women remain self conscious about their English language skills. The restaurant is also a place that is usually quite busy and requires the volunteers to work fast and coordinated in their posts.

During quieter intervals, the restaurant is also a place of conversation. On the Friday afternoon, between the lunch and dinner rush, the calmer climate finds the ladies sharing stories about past festivals before the younger volunteers 'could walk.' One lady compares the festival to ones she remembers as a young girl in her village in Greece in the 1940s, before World War II. The woman talked about the food and celebration commemorating a saint, and the younger volunteers asked her more about life in Greece compared to Halifax.

A woman, finishing her lunch approaches the restaurant and asks about the dolmades,

> Female Visitor: *I just wanted to let you know that they were cold. Is that how they should be?*
>
> Volunteer I: *I will let them know, thank you.*

The young volunteer, Greek Canadian, runs to one of the ladies and asks them in Greek,

> Volunteer I: *Kyria (Mrs.) should the dolmades be cold, I don't know...we have them warm at my house...*
>
> Volunteer II: *If there's no meat, they can be served as a cold appetizer or side, so here we serve them cold. The ones with meat, I like better warmed up. But it depends...here they are the cold ones.*

Questions about the food from the visitors arise often and it is the task of the volunteers to be able to respond to their queries, but often both the volunteers and visitors learn more from the older Greek ladies who are able to provide that information and simultaneously prepare two plates for the next order.

Building Relationships

The opportunity to meet and talk to people, goes hand in hand with most tasks assigned to volunteers, something that for some is not simply a welcome characteristic, but rather a reason to attend the festival,

> Leana (volunteer – sales): *...we've been volunteering 'cause I don't really know anyone...*

Leana, who married a first generation Greek Canadian sees the festival as an opportunity for her to engage with the culture and the people; as she tries to learn the language and traditions, she considers the festival an ideal entry point to a community she considers to be part of her new life.

Tom and Amy, a young couple, try to volunteer at the festival every year. Tom's mother is a Greek migrant who arrived in the 1970s, his father is British and his wife, Amy, has no Greek background. Tom can speak and read some Greek, but his life is predominantly in English. He is close to his Greek Canadian relatives and the couple agrees that Greek is part of their family's heritage, but both Tom and Amy were never able to fully immerse themselves into the community, choosing not to focus on one aspect of their heritage. Greek Fest is important to them because it is

an opportunity for both partners to participate in something Greek together as volunteers, something that language, religion, or background does not necessarily limit and it is therefore an activity that they both enjoy and feel a full part of,

> Tom: *We're Canadian together, you can share that. It's not quite the same with the Greek, but Greek Fest, you can participate as a family, you can enjoy it as a family.*

Continuity

Hera, a first generation Greek Canadian considers the Greek community and the Greek culture a big part of who she is. As a child and young adult, she had spent much time with the community. Her current lifestyle, she admits does not allow her spend as much time, but she always sets aside the time for Greek Fest,

> Hera (volunteer – restaurant/dessert): *Come Greek Fest, though, I will volunteer. So, it may not be every week or every month...maybe just once a year. I don't focus on it, but I don't consciously NOT try to help. I would never say no...*

Paula, a journalist, also admits that her life does not allow her to spend as much time as she had in the past in and around the church and community, but sees the hall and church as an extension of her home; she is comfortable to enter and participate at any time. She also credits the community for helping her with her career path. At Greek Fest she volunteers as a part time presenter for the show, adding a sense of familiarity to the visitors who watch her on television daily.

Cleo too, who argued the differentiation between religion and culture is present at Greek Fest with her family. Asked whether the fundraising goal conflicted with her ideals, she clarifies,

> Cleo (volunteer – restaurant): *If I think that culture and church are separate, not everyone else does, and church is a big part of their life , I wouldn't want people to lose that because it's not central to me, we are still part of the community, we do things together, plus the church and community centre are one package, one building...but Greek Fest you see people coming together to celebrate the culture too and that is something I want my children to be part of because we don't have that many other things to do that allow us to do that...*

Community interest in Greek Fest

The organization of Greek Fest requires time and dedication to the task at hand and the question was raised whether the younger generation maintains the enthusiasm and drive to continue running the festival. As previously mentioned, people are divided between whether they think the younger generation share the same sense of accomplishment and investment in Greek Fest. Following the end of the festival, while interviewing the current organizers, some expressed fears that few members would be willing to take the initiative and responsibility to run the festival,

Petra (volunteer – operations): *If we don't do it, then who will?*

The *migrant* generation who began the festival who are the harshest critics of the younger generation, fortunately admit that while *there have been* changes in the way the festival is run, the new generation of organizers, do in fact care. Furthermore, they seem to *be more confident* than the organizers themselves about the younger generation who they believe have been taught to care and will not let the festival fail, something perhaps their generation has instilled in them,

Lina (volunteer – sales/tickets): *Now, I think it's starting to pick up (again), people of this generation, my kids, they care...*

Greek Fest and the people of Halifax

The fixed summer festival status of Greek Fest can only lead to the assumption that the people of Halifax enjoy the event and continue to attend year after year regardless of background. The formula of its success is surely comprised of a number of dynamic variables and perhaps differs for each visitor, yet the relationship between the Greek community and the greater Halifax community is central to this support.

During interviews, when asked about the ties between the Greek community and people of Halifax, the success of Greek Fest serves as a prime indication for them of their acceptance, of the good friends they have made beyond the Greek community and the ties they wish to reinforce,

Andrea (visitor, Greek community member): *...we see it at Greek Fest, the (enthusiasm over) Greek food, the dancing, you can't imagine...they have accepted us and I think they are welcoming with everyone...*

One participant pointed out that the festival was after all a *Halifax* cultural festival, a festival celebrating a community within a greater community.

Providing a sense of familiarity *and* security

With the exception of the Greek food that most Halifax residents may be *accustomed* to, the dances, music, beverages and the space itself are not necessarily things most Halifax residents are exposed to regularly. Festival guides, schedules, presenters, and alternative beverages such as the filter coffee mentioned above and local beers sold at the designated sites are a few ways, which allow visitors to navigate the new and different experiences with more comfort.

Furthermore, as a Nova Scotia festival and as per province regulations security staff ensures that the grounds remain safe, smoking is restricted to the designated areas, no noise violations occur in the evening, and minors are not served alcoholic beverages. Safety and regulations are not necessarily the primary concerns of some visitors when at the festival enjoying a day out, but extremely important to others, such as parents with young children. Presenters facilitate the work of the security staff and provide the necessary precautionary reminders, with a hint of humour,

Master of Ceremonies: *...Folks, you know us Greeks like to break plates, but what we don't like to do is break the law! So...*

Social Networks

Open Call to Volunteer

The Friday lunch shift at the restaurant receiving the tickets and calling orders was shared with a young girl in her final year of high school. She was excited because later that day was her prom and the final arrangements for transportation had just been confirmed. It was also her first time volunteering at Greek Fest, so she was unsure of what to expect. Asked whether Greek Canadian friends suggested volunteering, she negates the presumption; she did not hear about it from any Greek Canadians, but from another friend who like her, had no direct connection to the community, but had volunteered last year and said it had been a fun experience.

The majority of the volunteers at the time were Greek migrant women, who had known each other for years and were comfortable communicating in Greek, which at first made her feel a little out of place. Efforts were made to translate as much of the conversation, as possible and her positive demeanour were well received by the women. After asking a number of questions about the food, either to respond to visitors or to absolve her own curiosity, one of the women, who was in charge of the food serving at the time turned to her,

"Too much...too much..."

"I'm sorry?" the volunteer replied

"Relax. Don't worry about it," continued the woman.

The girl went quiet and looked around, worried perhaps that her questions about the cheese triangles had been misunderstood and annoyed the woman. To her surprise, the woman picked up a small cheese triangle and gave it to the girl,

"Here, try one. Tell me if you like it...Now you know." The woman smiled and continued to work, replacing the empty trays with fresh full ones.

The girl's concern quickly changed to delight.

"Oh man, I love Greek food."

The woman had found a way to communicate with the girl, answer her questions but also make her feel more comfortable as part of the group, even if she could not understand everything that was said.

While the majority of the volunteers have a direct connection to the Greek community, either through heritage or marriage, volunteering is open to anyone who would like to help with the festival. Scenarios similar to the above are commonplace as the 'new' or non-Greek volunteers

familiarize themselves with members of the community and the humour and antics that go hand in hand with the generally joyful, but at times stressful occasion. Veteran non-Greek volunteers are known to show more ease when working at the festival, familiar with the surroundings

> *"...the mayor (of Halifax), he came in the other night, walked into the kitchen and asked what needed to be done. We were peeling potatoes, so he said okay and started peeling potatoes, you know, just a regular thing..."*

All volunteers inclusive are rewarded for their help with coupons for free food and an appreciation dinner dedicated to them a few days after the completion of the festival.

Presence in the Media and use of Social Media

The event acquires local media coverage in the form of interviews and reviews, in newspapers, television and online. In addition, the Greek Fest organizers run a festival website and maintain a constant online social media presence through a Facebook page[29] and Twitter account[30] with more frequent updates and communication as the event time approaches, throughout Greek Fest and for some time after. Media is essential and undoubtedly sought after by the organizing committee for the purposes of marketing and promotion, and the general dissemination of information about the event. Contact and open communication with media outlets are therefore key responsibilities for organizers who also dedicate time to collect and review the diverse material released by the media with the help of community members for purposes of quality control.

Media available for Greek Fest range from newspaper articles to television segments, YouTube videos and blog entries. In 2012, for instance, the Halifax branch of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) included a segment on the Halifax Greek Fest on their evening news (Chiu, 2012)[31]. The segment ran on the first day of the festival and included interviews and images of volunteers and the preparation that was underway, additionally discussing issues such as the frail Greek economy, the new wave of immigration and its effects on the Halifax Greek community with the volunteers and community leaders. In 2011, a YouTube video of Greek Fest[32] created by the Hfxland1749 podcast[33] was featured as a complete episode. The episode for the podcast, which focuses on presenting HD videos of events and places in and around Halifax, navigated the festival space documenting the various activities at each site (Lei, 2011). The two videos used different outputs but also outlooks when presenting the festival. Regardless, both were reviewed by the organizers who made both videos available to the rest of the Greek community and any other

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[29] For link to Halifax Greek Fest Facebook Page (2013): https://www.facebook.com/HalifaxGreekFest?fref=ts

[30] For link to Halifax Greek Fest Twitter Account (2013): https://twitter.com/greekfesthfx

[31] The CBC News Halifax at 6, (8 June 2012) news report, *Greek Party* by Elizabeth Chiu, can be viewed at 07:00 minutes of the following link: http://www.cbc.ca/player/News/Canada/NS/ID/2243422957/

[32] For link to YouTube video of Greek Fest, *Episode 29,* (12 June 2011) of the Hfxland1749 Podcast by Michael Lei: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YBqciKWbKlE

[33] The direct Hfxland1749 Greek Fest (12 June 2011) Podcast blog link, *OPA!!!* by Michael Lei: http://hfxlandscape.wordpress.com/2011/06/12/opa/

volunteers concerned with the public and media perception of the festival; the CBC report was shared online soon after its release, while the YouTube video was shared at the volunteer appreciation dinner along with other reviews of the Greek Fest from blogs (Everything Mom, 2011) and the local newspaper (Thompson, 2011) during a presentation discussing the perceived highlights of Greek Fest.

> Paris (volunteer – operations): *We look out for what people see and like about it, like how some blogs promote it as a family friendly place you can take your kids... (so) you know what people see and like about it, to work on that.*

Summary and Discussion

The indirect social and cultural significance of Greek Fest can be divided into the achievement of socio-cultural continuity for the Greeks and Greek Canadians of Halifax and the establishment and maintenance of social networks beyond the members of the Greek community.

Through generational knowledge transfer and heightened visitor interest, younger generations of Greek Canadians come in direct contact with the experiences and histories of other members of the community, through participation at the festival; the need for entertainment has led to further study of traditional Greek dances, while volunteering at food and beverage stations, leads to knowledge acquisition of the intricacies of Greek cuisine. Greek Fest attendance and volunteering does not require a degree of community cohesion, which allows Greek Canadians who do not wish to participate or cannot regularly participate in other community events to allocate the annual June weekend for Greek Fest, an event that showcases a variety of Greek characteristics.

The accessibility of the festival to all members of the public additionally provides an opportunity to build relationships and establish networks with the Greek community for non- or new members in an environment where a Greek background is not necessary. Greek Fest extends the notion of tolerance of cultures by welcoming the public not only as visitors, but as volunteers. Adherence to safety regulations and presence in local and social media serves as a reassurance for the safety of the visitors and volunteers and a connection to the needs of the community as a whole.

The choice to focus on the social networks and aspects of socio-cultural continuity observed at Greek Fest through ethnographic research allowed a focused study of characteristics related to identity maintenance, construction or reconstruction discussed and contested in previous articles. The study determines the variation between individuals in the significance of the event and how they choose to use the event to either come in contact with their heritage, to share an aspect of their heritage with a partner, the voluntary or involuntary network creations and the involuntary or voluntary knowledge qualities.

As discussed within the chapter, while some features of Greek Fest seem static and repeated annually, the event itself is dynamic; participants, responsibilities and experiences differ every year

and it is therefore important to review these findings as representative of a single occurrence that perhaps further observation or examination can determine its validity in the future.

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