Dance in Diaspora:

The Making and Maintenance of Greek Identity through Dance in Montreal

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Abstract

Between the 1950s and 1970s, tens of thousands of Greek immigrants settled in Montreal, growing the city's pre-existing Greek community and its institutions. The grandchildren of the immigrants from this wave of migration are now young adults, many of whom still participate in Greek cultural activities, most notably Greek dancing. Through interviews with Greek immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s and third-generation Greek Canadians, this thesis analyzes how members of the Greek diaspora in Montreal use dance to maintain Greek cultural identity while far removed from the homeland. It argues that, compared to other factors of identification such as language and religion, the practice and display of dance contribute in a distinct way to the preservation of Greekness.

Résumé

Entre les années 1950 et 1970, des dizaines de milliers d'immigrants grecs se sont installés à Montréal et ont ainsi contribué au développement de la communauté grecque montréalaise et de ses institutions. Les petits-enfants des personnes de cette vague migratoire sont aujourd'hui de jeunes adultes, et beaucoup participent encore aux activités culturelles de la communauté grecque, notamment la danse. Dans le présent mémoire, nous analysons, au moyen d'entretiens menés avec des immigrants grecs arrivés au Canada dans les années 1950, 1960 et 1970 ainsi qu'avec des Canadiens d'origine grecque de troisième génération, l'utilisation de la danse dans la diaspora grecque montréalaise pour la préservation de l'identité culturelle malgré l'éloignement de la mère patrie. Nous avançons que, par rapport à d'autres éléments identitaires comme la langue et la religion, la pratique et la démonstration de la danse contribuent d'une manière particulière à la préservation de la grécité.

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Many teachers and professors from before graduate school left their marks on me and inspired me to continue learning. I want to especially thank Dra. Nilda Villalta for encouraging my interest in languages when I was a high-school student. Without her confidence in me when I was younger, I do not know if I would have gone down this path.

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Introduction

> *I notice a crowd of people gazing at an unusual spectacle. In the middle of the Square, a group of men in Evzone costumes are dancing the Greek "tsamiko." When the crowd begins to laugh and poke fun at the performers, I realize I must do something quickly. So I hurl myself at the clarinet player and shout at him in Greek to stop, just as the leading dancer is about to leap into the air. At the sound of the Greek language, the dancers freeze and stare at me in disbelief. Amid words of welcome I explain to them that people here do not dance like this on public squares and explain to them that the music is not pleasant to them. They apologize profusely, explaining to me that this was their way of alleviating the pain they felt.*[1]

Montreal writer Sophia Florakas-Petsalis transcribed this quotation that she originally attributed to an immigrant named Haralambos Koutsogiannopoulos. He recalled this instance from an interaction in 1902 with newly arrived Greek immigrants in Philips Square, one of Downtown Montreal's central plazas. This quotation serves two purposes. It starkly contrasts the forms of expression of the migrants against those that are appropriate in their new Canadian environment, and it highlights dance performance as an outlet for pain. Referencing Anthony Quinn's famed dance in the iconic 1964 film *Zorba the Greek* set on the island of Crete, the anthropologist Jane Cowan reminds her readers "that Zorba is dancing out of his sorrow, not his joy, is a detail often forgotten."[2] I present these two snapshots to give examples of two expressions, one based in fact and one based in fiction, of the purpose of Greek dance. In Florakas-Petsalis's story, the migrants' sorrow is relieved through dance, even though the people witnessing their dancing cannot understand the function of the *tsamikos*. In *Zorba*, the cause of

[1] Sophia Florakas-Petsalis, *To Build a Dream: The Story of the Early Greek Immigrants in Montreal* (Sophia Florakas-Petsalis, 2000), 29-30.
[2] Jane K. Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece* (Princeton University Press, 1990), xi.

the protagonist's dance is often lost on the (Western) viewer. The impulses behind Greek dance, then, may be obscured to those who have never danced it.

Maxine Sheets Johnstone in her seminal work *The Phenomenology of Dance,* wrote: "The time and space of each dance are unique in that, in terms of the very first movement, the dance has no past, and in terms of the very last movement, it has no future. It is this very lack which explicitly differentiates the time and space of the dance from the time and space of everyday life."[3] Yet, as the quotations above demonstrate, the time and space of everyday life do not exist without dance for many people. The time and space of everyday life, for many Greeks, are interspersed with the performance of dances that are emblematic of their backgrounds and filled with personal, historical, and cultural meaning.

This thesis seeks to answer the question of how members of the Greek diaspora in Montreal use Greek dance to create and maintain their Greek identity. In addition to secondary source research on the topics of dance, diaspora, and diasporic ethnic identity, which will be outlined in the first chapter, this project consists of archival research at the Hellenic Library of Montreal. Most critical to this project, however, is its oral history component. Conducting interviews with the first-generation of Greek Canadians and third-generation Greek Canadians allows us to get a sense of how understandings of Greek dance differ between generations.[4]

After obtaining approval from the Research Ethics Board of McGill for research with human participants, I contacted potential participants. I sent a Call for Participants to the Hellenic students' societies at several universities in Montreal for dissemination among their members. I also sent it to dance groups for circulation via their mailing lists. Some participants

[3] Maxine Sheets-Johnstone, *The Phenomenology of Dance* (Temple University Press, 2015), 35.
[4] I have opted to omit the hyphen when using "Greek Canadian" as a noun and to hyphenate the term when using it as an adjective. I have applied this rule to other compound ethnicities and identities that appear throughout the text as well.

who responded to the Call for Participants introduced me to others or provided opportunities to find additional participants. The interviews for this project were semi-structured and guided by a questionnaire.

In total, I conducted four interviews with first-generation Greek Canadians, eight with third-generation Greek Canadians, and three supplemental interviews which helped to provide contemporary and historical context for Greek dance in Montreal. I use pseudonyms in place of the participants' real first names. However, I have kept other biographical details in the interviews as these identifiers are relevant to the matter of this project. Excerpts from the interviews are included in chapters two and three. I have attempted to remain faithful to what was said by the participants. I stress this, as excerpts from the older generation in particular require more time to read and comprehend as most of these participants' English was acquired informally in adulthood. I hope that, despite this, the participants' voices will come through to the reader. In addition, I have made small editorial changes, such as the omission of stuttering from the excerpts, for fluidity of reading.

The first chapter of this thesis is dedicated to scholarly literature on the subjects of Greek settlement in Canada, dance in Greece and in diaspora, and diasporic identities. It begins with a history of Greek migration to Canada and the establishment of a Greek community in Montreal, mostly based on the work of twentieth-century Greek-Canadian sociologists contemporary to the migration they were describing, as well as on a more recent wave of historically-focused MA and PhD theses. Following a discussion on the work on Greeks in Montreal and Canada, the chapter moves to theoretical work on the creation of identity in diasporas. Ending the chapter on scholarship about dance, I discuss the literature on Greek dance in Greece and in the diaspora, as well as dance in diaspora in some non-Greek contexts. Many of the scholars to whom I refer are

not historians, but rather sociologists, anthropologists or cultural theorists. Because this topic is contemporary and interdisciplinary, this chapter cannot quite be considered a review of historiography, but it is a review of literature on the subject.

The second chapter is dedicated to the interviews conducted with the migrant participants and the historical context of dance in Montreal in the latter half of the twentieth century. Using newspapers from the 1960s and 1970s, I demonstrate that Greek dance events occurred frequently in the city, and that active members of the Greek community could dance regularly, whether at dance events or in spaces dedicated to Greek music. I argue that dance was understood to be an important aspect of Greek identity by these first-generation Greek Canadians in the twentieth century and today, as it is for the third generation whom I discuss in the third chapter.

The idea of first-generation Greek Canadians 'living' their Greekness, with dance included in this, carries over into the third chapter, in which I discuss the interviews with third-generation participants. The third-generation Greek Canadians highlighted dance as an essential component and means of legitimization of their Greek identity. As some of the participants did not speak Greek, and as all of them expressed less dedication to religion than their parents and grandparents, dance has developed into their unique way of demonstrating their identities within the Greek community of Montreal and to their relatives in Greece. Dance also connects them to their ancestors, contemporary and ancient.

The themes of tradition and continuity appear throughout the interviews. The "invented tradition," a term coined by Eric Hobsbawm, is a practice or tradition which is adopted or created by a certain people or state to create social cohesion and to legitimize it.[5] This project is meant to

[5] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2; I will note that the *syrtaki* dance Zorba performs at the end

"interrogate" some of these invented traditions, to borrow the terminology of anthropologist of dance Theresa Buckland.[6] Greek dance, on a panhellenic scale, is in many ways invented tradition. Certain regional dances were co-opted by the state as 'national' dances and are the dances taught in Greek schools. These national dances transfer to the diaspora as well. A simplification or increasingly normative formalization of the dance often occurs, instead of the allowance for interregional, or even inter-village, differences in the steps.[7] It is important to note, however, that the invented quality of these dance traditions is of little to no consequence. The interrogation of the traditions does not deny their importance to Greeks or Greek Canadians in the diaspora. On the contrary, the meaning with which these invented traditions are imbued and their importance to the people who practice them are of great interest.

Performativity is another recurring theme throughout the project. By performativity, I mean the display of Greek diasporic culture to non-Greek Canadians, to older members of the Greek community, and to family members in the homeland. Several participants, especially those of the younger generation, discuss the performance of dances to native Greeks and to non-Greeks in Montreal to showcase their Greekness and legitimize it. This theme was prevalent among the third-generation participants who felt that they experience and inhabit Greekness in distinct ways from their immigrant grandparents. They shared opinions that indicated that they felt most Greek while performing, with others' eyes on them. As one participant shared, "Having an outsider

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of the film *Zorba the Greek*, to which I referred in the first paragraph of this section, was created through the juxtaposition of two different dances, *syrtos* and *hasapikos*, for the film. Due to the success of the film, the dance became emblematic of this movie and was adopted as a Greek traditional dance. It is the epitome of an invented tradition. For more on Zorba's image in the West, see Erato Basea, "Zorba the Greek, Sixties Exotica and a New Cinema in Hollywood and Greece," *Studies in European Cinema* 12, no. 1 (2015): 60–76.

[6] Theresa Jill Buckland, "Dance, History, and Ethnography: Frameworks, Sources, and Identities of Past and Present," in *Dancing From Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, ed. Theresa Jill Buckland (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 15.

[7] Jeannette Mollenhauer, *Cultural Dance in Australia: Essays on Performance Contexts beyond the Pale* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2022), 57.

look at what we're doing…it makes you feel all the more different. All the more part of this Greek community."[8]

[8] Alexander, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

Chapter One:

Historiography of Greeks in Montreal and Scholarship on Dance, Identity, and Diaspora

We can trace the Greek communities of Canada to the turn of the twentieth century, when an estimated national population of people of Greek origin grew from a few dozen to 5,740 by 1912. [1] By 1931, this population had nearly doubled to 9,450 people of Greek origin residing in Canada, with the majority of Greeks living in urban centers in Ontario and Quebec.[2] The United States was the primary destination for Greek emigrants who set sail for North America, with between 500,000 and 900,000 estimated to have arrived in the United States by World War II. Thus, the migrants who settled in Canada were the marginal consequences of this first wave of mass Greek trans-Atlantic migration.[3] This chapter will provide the historical context of Greek migration to Canada that occurred after this first major wave of Greek immigration and discuss the scholarship on Greeks in Canada and more specifically Greeks in Montreal. It will then introduce scholarship of Greek dance, (Greek) dance in diaspora, and the formation of diasporic identity to provide academic and theoretical backgrounds for the following chapters.

Between 1945 and 1971, 107,780 Greeks came to Canada.[4] After a period of immigration restriction during the interwar period and the Second World War, Canada began to allow more Southern Europeans to enter the country while still giving preference to migrants from the

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[1] Peter D. Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey: The Canadian Experience in Canada* (McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985), 26.
[2] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey,* 27.
[3] Evangelia Tastsoglou, "En/Gendering the Greek Diaspora(s): Theoretical and Historical Considerations," in *Women, Gender, and Diasporic Lives: Labor, Community, and Identity in Greek Migrations*, ed. Evangelia Tastsoglou (Lexington Books, 2009), 9; "Greek-American Immigrants Archive | A Selection of Materials from Greeks Who Migrated to the US," Greek-American Immigrants Archive, accessed December 9, 2024, https://grimmigrants.commons.gc.cuny.edu/.
[4] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey,* 29.

British Isles, the United States, and France.[5] The need for unskilled workers for Canada's growing industries and decreasing numbers of Northern European immigrants drove this decision.[6] Southern Europeans, including Greeks, but also Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards began arriving in larger numbers, settling in urban centers, and working manufacturing jobs.[7]

Canada experienced a subsequent notable arrival of Greek immigrants from the early 1950s into the mid-1970s, which represented a second wave of trans-Atlantic Greek migration.[8] A combination of dire economic and political events occurred in Greece during this period. The German occupation of the country during World War II (1941-1944) was followed immediately by a devastating civil war (1946-1949). Greek migrants to Canada in the 1950s and early 1960s were often low-skilled, rural workers who attempted to escape Greece's dire post-war economic conditions.[9] Following a period of parliamentary rule, Greece was then ruled by a military dictatorship (1967-1974). Consequently, Greek migrants who came to Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s included skilled and highly educated enemies of the dictatorship, so despite distance from the homeland, political life among the Greek community was strong, with active pro-junta and anti-junta factions.[10]

In 1967, the same year as Greece's military coup, Canada ended its official policy of preferred national origin and introduced a points system, under which potential immigrants'

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[5] Jean Leonard Elliott, "Canadian Immigration: A Historical Assessment," in *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada* (Prentice-Hall, 1979), 164.
[6] Yannis Papadopoulos and Nikos Kourachanis, "Overall European Outflows and Internationally Assisted Movements (1945-1960): Who Was Helped to Move? Where To?," in *International "Migration Management" in the Early Cold War: The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration*, ed. Lina Venturas (University of the Peloponnese, 2015), 167, 168.
[7] Jean Leonard Elliott, "Canadian Immigration: A Historical Assessment," in *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada* (Prentice-Hall, 1979), 163.
[8] Anastassios M. Tamis and Efrosini Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Immigration to Australia and Canada* (Melbourne: The National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, 2002), 118.
[9] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey,* 91.
[10] Stephanos Constantinides, "La Nouvelle immigration grecque," *Études Helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 21, no. 2 (2013): 85.

eligibility increased according to factors such as language, education level, and occupation.[11] It is important to highlight that under the points system Canada gave preference to skilled workers. Thus, the political migrants who arrived in the late 1960s and the early 1970s were often both 'pushed' out of Greece due to its turbulent political climate and 'pulled' toward Canada by its existing Greek communities and the Canadian government's new explicit preference for educated immigrants.

Greek immigration to Canada waned in the 1970s.[12] Canada entered a recession, making migration to Canada less economically appealing to migrants, and the end of the military junta and the restoration of democracy in Greece in 1974 calmed Greece's political climate.[13] In 1971, near the end of the second wave of Greek migration to Canada, there were 124,475 Greeks in Canada, nearly forty percent of whom lived in Quebec.[14]

The Greeks who settled in Quebec were concentrated in Montreal. They settled primarily along Park Avenue, in the Mile End neighborhood, and in Park Extension. These neighborhoods were the community's centers of Greek cultural and social life.[15] During this period, local Greek-Canadian scholars began to study the Greeks of Montreal and Quebec. Sociologists Peter Chimbos, Efrosini Gavaki, and Stephanos Constantinides primarily covered topics related to Greek settlement, acculturation, and assimilation into greater Canadian society. Sociologist Evangelia Tastsoglou, who is still active, focuses her work on immigrant women's labor.[16]

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[11] Elliott, "Canadian Immigration: A Historical Assessment," 166.
[12] Tamis and Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens*, 118.
[13] Stephanos Constantinides, *Les Grecs du Québec* (Éditions O Metoikos - Le Métèque, 1983), 51.
[14] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey*, 33-34.
[15] Efrosini Gavaki, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada* (R and E Research Associates, 1977), 35.
[16] See, for example: Evangelia Tastsoglou, "'The Temptations of New Surroundings': Family, State, and Domestic Workers to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s," in *Women, Gender, and Diasporic Lives: Labor, Community, and Identity in Greek Migrations*, ed. Evangelia Tastsoglou (Lexington Books, 2009), 81–116.

Chimbos (1985), argued that the aspects of life considered most important to Greeks during this period were the Greek Orthodox Church and the family.[17] This was vividly captured in the 1969 National Film Board of Canada Documentary *The 80 Goes to Sparta* about the Greeks of Montreal.[18] But already at the time, it was suggested that one must look beyond organized religion and the traditional family structure to assess how diaspora Greeks in Montreal understood their Greekness. Acknowledging the political and social power of the Greek Orthodox Church in both the home country and in Montreal, we will consider other manners of community organization.

Almost immediately following the first wave of immigration, the Greek community began to organize. The first formal Greek community organization in Montreal was founded in 1906, and the first Greek Orthodox church and primary school in 1910.[19] In 1956, the Hellenic Canadian Community of Montreal (now the Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal) purchased land on Wilderton Avenue and Côte Sainte-Catherine, where it would eventually build a Greek Orthodox cathedral, community center, and primary school.[20] This complex is still the official center of Montreal's Greek community. By 1981, Montreal's Greek associations had grown to sixty in number, many of which were organizations based on Greek regional origins.[21] These organizations served as meeting points for social activity among Greeks in Quebec, and many of them hosted parties, dances, and picnics.

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[17] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey,* 107.
[18] *The 80 Goes to Sparta.* Directed by Bill Davies. National Film Board of Canada, 1969.
[19] Leonidas Bombas, "Greeks in Canada: A Researcher's Approach," *Études Helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 2, no. 1 (1984): 49-50. The Greek Orthodox Community of Montreal was founded in 1906. The church and school founded in 1910 were Evangelismos and Platon respectively.
[20] Tamis and Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens,* 188.
[21] Efie Gavaki, "Cultural Changes in the Greek Family in Montreal: An Intra- and Inter-Generational Analysis," *Études Helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 1, no. 2 (1983): 6.

Efrosini Gavaki's book, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada* (1977), is a preliminary sociological study of the integration of Greek Montrealers and their children to assess the level of acculturation which had taken place in the Greek community.[22] She argued that the extent of integration of Greeks into the host Canadian society depended on a number of factors, including gender, age, and occupation, but that few Greeks identified strongly with Canada, most likely because of their generally low economic status.[23] In addition, poor access to English education as well as the ghetto-like series of Greek 'villages' that made up the neighborhoods of Park Avenue and Park Extension gave the Greek immigrants "comfort and protection by living in and inhabited by those from the original village, province, or island of his homeland."[24] Despite the insular nature of the Greek community in Montreal in the 1970s, Gavaki's article, "Cultural Changes in the Greek Family in Montreal: An Intra- and Inter- Generational Analysis" (1983), suggested that children of Greek immigrants felt out of place when back 'home' in Greece and began to form a distinct Greek-Canadian identity.[25]

Just as these first-generation sociologists raised the question of the assimilation of the Greek community in the 1970s and 1980s, Vassilios Vassiliou, writing in the 1990s as a graduate student of social work, asked how political views and identity changed between first and second-generation Greek Canadians. Vassiliou conducted interviews of this population, many of whom were young adults in the 1990s as they were children of migrants of the 1950-1970 Greek wave of immigration. He concluded that, within the second generation, "The search for identity, then, is being forged in hope of constructing a new Greek reality" in the face of intergenerational

[22] Efrosini Gavaki, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada* (R and E Research Associates, 1977).
[23] Gavaki, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada*, 22, 63.
[24] Gavaki, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada*, 36.
[25] Gavaki, "Cultural Changes in the Greek Family in Montreal," 10.

difficulties.[26] Greek-Canadian young adults at the time were facing "immigrant parental rejection of dominant cultural norms, which is often perceived by the second generation as a rejection of themselves."[27] Vassiliou's interlocutors described to him the tensions between themselves and their parents, who adhered to stricter gender roles. However, his interlocutors emphasized that the Greek Orthodox Church and the family were considered extremely important to their identities and voiced a preference towards endogamous marriages in terms of ethnicity and religion.[28]

Ten years prior to Vassiliou, Chimbos had also noted the prevalence of endogamous marriages among Greeks as well as Greek immigrants' anxiety over their children's marriage choices. Referencing one contemporary study, Chimbos presented that seventy-three percent of Greeks surveyed in Thunder Bay, Ontario would have opposed their children marrying outside of their ethnic group, as opposed to fifty-two percent of Slovaks and eleven percent of Dutch parents in the same study.[29] The information presented by Chimbos on first-generation Greek Canadians and by Vassiliou on second-generation Greek Canadians suggested that the importance placed on endogamous marriages by Greek parents was transmitted to their children.

These sociologists of the 1980s and 1990s were immigrants who concerned themselves primarily with the integration of these Greek "urban villagers" in Montreal and their young and young-adult children into greater Canadian society under Canada's policy of multiculturalism. Young Greek-Canadian scholars did not take interest in the community for the better part of twenty years after Vassiliou's graduate work.

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[26] Vassos Vassiliou, "Greek Identity in Second-Generation Montrealers," *Hellenic Studies / Études Helléniques* 3, no. 2 (1995): 85.
[27] Vassiliou, "Greek Identity in Second-Generation Montrealers," 85.
[28] Vassiliou, "Greek Identity in Second-Generation Montrealers," 85.
[29] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey*, 111.

Margarita Dounia, a Greek student who came to Montreal in the early 2000s, began to fill this gap in scholarship on the community. In her 2004 MA thesis on Greek female migrants from the 1950s-1970s immigration wave, Dounia used an oral history methodology to investigate the experiences of poor and rural women who left their homeland for the unknown vastness of Canada.[30] She argued that these female migrants "became active in a new transnational ground which overlapped national borders," and that this transnationalism became important to these women's identities.[31] Diasporic communities in the twenty-first century exist within transnational frameworks. Thus, we must keep in mind how understandings of Greekness may vary between Greek Canadians and their relatives in Greece as well as how they influence one another and the potential different understandings of Greekness, homeland, and heritage with which Greek Canadians may identify.

In more recent graduate scholarship, Christopher Grafos, in his PhD dissertation (2017), challenged existing scholarship as well as narratives of Canada's Greek communities which often focus on the "boastful 'rags to riches' stories that heighten ethnic pride."[32] His work presented the complex stories of both Greek anti-junta activists who arrived from Greece during the dictatorship and those who were already living in Canada when the military coup occurred. Grafos's contribution to scholarly work on Canada's Greeks is the first publication of its kind to focus on the minority of Greek immigrants who dedicated themselves to homeland politics and the threat they posed not only to the Greek regime, but to Canadian authorities as well.

[30] Margarita Dounia, "Your Roots Will Be Here, Away from Your Home: Migration of Greek Women to Montreal 1950-1980" (MA Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 2004).
[31] Dounia, "Your Roots Will Be Here," 108.
[32] Christopher Grafos, "Canada's Greek Moment: Transnational Politics, Activists, and Spies During the Long Sixties" (PhD Thesis, Toronto, ON, York University, 2017), 3.

Acknowledging the political nature of many Greek immigrants' relationships with the homeland, Stavroula Pabst's 2019 publication on Greek consumption patterns in Montreal studied advertisements in the local Greek press in the 1960s and 1970s. Considering the context of community tension over the military dictatorship as well as an increasingly consumption-focused Canadian culture, her study revealed that the Greek community of Montreal maintained ties to Greece as suggested by majority Greek-language advertisements and advertisements about Greece or travel to Greece. It also suggested that Montreal's Greeks were increasingly influenced by Canadian consumer culture through the advertisements for new products and the increased use of French and English in later years.[33] Pabst, in her novel approach to Montreal's Greek community, echoed first-generation sociologists who discussed the community-centered nature of Greeks in Montreal and the integration into greater Canadian society that was happening simultaneously.

The MA thesis of Athanasios Boutas (2019), studied first, second, and third-generation Greeks in Montreal and its suburbs. Taking a geographical approach to his study, he argued that as Greek settlement in Montreal had become less concentrated since the days of the Greek communities of Park Avenue and Park Extension, subsequent generations of Greek Canadians have found ways to be Greek while having greatly integrated into Canada, living in the suburbs, and going to non-Greek schools. The Greek community has extended from being concentrated in these few neighborhoods to form an archipelago throughout the island of Montreal and its suburbs, held together by Greek Orthodox churches, organizations, dance festivals, and

[33] Stavroula Pabst, "One (Wo)Man's Shopping Is the Same (Wo)Man's History? Immigration, Advertisement and Consumption Patterns in the Greek Community of Montreal 1960s-1970s," *Études Canadiennes / Canadian Studies* 86, no. 1 (2019): 85.

interpersonal relationships.[34] Outremont, on the island of Montreal and the home of the current Greek community center, and Chomedey, on the suburban neighboring island of Laval, vie for the position of the community capital.

I combine the inter-generational approach of Boutas's work with a similar question as a very recent MA thesis by Ioannis Karmas on the Romiosyni Dance Group in Halifax (2023). Karmas interviewed current and former dance teachers and argued that "ethnic dance plays an important role in ethnocultural maintenance and equally in creating a feeling of belonging among individuals in a multicultural society."[35] It is in conversation with this recent graduate scholarship as well as earlier scholarship on Greeks in Canada and especially in Montreal that I take on the task of analyzing Greek diasporic identity in Montreal as it relates to dance.

Identity in Diaspora

Practicing and performing music and dance in the diaspora entails the discussion of diasporic identities. Sociologist Robin Cohen claims that each diaspora has three community spheres: the household or extended family sphere, the known community sphere, and the imagined community sphere. The family sphere applies to interactions within the home. The known community sphere "takes place in spaces where one lives or has lived, among people one knows or knows of."[36] For the third community, Cohen borrows Benedict Anderson's term "imagined community," referring to the community of the nation, composed of people who do not know one another but have affinity with each other.[37] He claims that this imagined community exists even within dispersed nations. Engagement with the diasporic community

[34] Athanasios Boutas, "Evolution and Integration of the Greek Community of Greater Montreal: A Perspective across Three Generations" (MA Thesis, Montreal, Université de Montréal, 2019), 94-95.
[35] Ioannis Karmas, "Ethnic Cultural Dance, Ethnic Cultural Maintenance, Place, and Belongingness in a Multicultural Society" (MA Thesis, Ottawa, University of Ottawa, 2023), 78.
[36] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2023), 176.
[37] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London: Verso, 2016).

sphere applies to "involvement in political parties and movements, and support for insurgent, oppositional and sometimes loyalist groups and involvement in post-conflict reconstruction efforts."[38] In other words, diasporas maintain imagined community ties with the homeland through involvement in political activities despite being absent from the jurisdictions of these political parties or governments. It is the known community, created through ethnic associations or institutions in the diaspora, which are of the greatest concern to this research, but these local communities are always in contact with the greater, imagined one. Cohen also references Avtar Brah in explaining the duality of "home." He writes, "On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return…On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality," to develop the idea of a third diasporic space, or place: a space that is not necessarily here or there, home or host.[39] He indicates the liminality of the diasporic experience.

Political scientist William Safran poses the question of how the relationship between people in the homeland and the diaspora develops and impacts ideas of return. According to Safran's definition of diaspora, members of a diaspora believe that one day they will return to the homeland. People living in diasporic communities put effort into the ultimate plan of return and remain politically involved with the home country.[40] Safran also presents the following questions: "Is there an ideal relationship between country of origin and diaspora community that is contingent on their respective roles? And under what conditions are these roles inverted?"[41] Safran reminds us that diaspora exists in the context of loss, whether forced or voluntary, of the

[38] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 191.
[39] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction,* 191.
[40] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (1991): 84, 93.
[41] Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies," 95.

homeland, and is often defined by its relationship to the homeland. The question of an ideal type is beyond the scope of this project, but the relationship to homeland throughout generations of diaspora is an important aspect of diasporic identity and existence.

In the world of musicology, scholar Kay Kaufman Shelemay proposes manners of thinking of musical communities in diaspora. She proposes a definition of a musical community as "a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical process and/or performances. A musical community can be socially or symbolically constituted."[42] Shelemay then identifies three categories of musical communities: communities of descent, communities of dissent, and communities of affinity. Communities of descent are what one would consider a normal diaspora: a group of people with a shared collective identity and history "whether they are grounded in historical fact, are newly invented, or emerge from some combination of historical circumstance and creative transformation."[43] Dissent communities are built in opposition to something with claims to "a primordial connection, whether based on historical factors or invention."[44] Shelemay gives the example for diaspora Ethiopian Christians who use liturgical music as an instrument of opposition to tradition and to exile, a strategy that creates community in diaspora and creates new boundaries.[45] Communities of affinity are ones in which music is often of great importance as "straightforward aesthetic and personal preferences may, but do not necessarily, intersect with other powerful diacritica such as ethnic identity, age cohort, or gender identity."[46] Cultural capital and taste are greater factors in creating these affinity communities.

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[42] Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 362.
[43] Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 367.
[44] Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 370.
[45] Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 371.
[46] Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 373.

Shelemay's definitions of these communities present clear points of overlap, so she presents a "continuum of communities" for scholarly use, arguing that "multiple communities can be superimposed in one 'real place' or within a single musical event," and that there are factors can be applied to all three communities, such as the leadership of "charismatic musicians," fast technological evolution, and music "as a potential force for cohesion and as a source of cultural ferment."[47] She argues that the role of music in the creation and maintenance of today's widespread diasporas and mass migration must be studied.

While members of diasporas may travel between home and host countries, the majority of their lives take place within the physical boundaries of the host country. The diasporic community's social and cultural structures and practices evolve 'here,' away from home, albeit often in relation to home. Diasporas inhabit both known and imagined community spheres as well as a place somewhere outside of 'home' and 'host.' They develop structurally and culturally *within* the host country but are not fully *of* the host country. Complex definitions of community and home indicate complex definitions of identity in diaspora.

The often-cited cultural theorist Stuart Hall highlights the hybrid nature of diasporic identities in "Cultural Identity and Diaspora."[48] He presents two ways of thinking of cultural identity. One can characterize it as something that is attached to the collective, a "oneness" that offers, "a way of imposing imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation," in line with Cohen's imagined community sphere of diasporas.[49] The other way one can think of cultural identity is as one that "recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what

[47] Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 376-78.
[48] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. John Rutherford (Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222–37.
[49] Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 223.

we really are': or rather – since history has intervened – 'what we have become.'"[50] Hall suggests that human nature and the passage of time fracture the conceived 'oneness' of diasporic communities. This intervention of history reminds us that time, physical separation from the home country, and interaction with the host country create a diasporic collective, notwithstanding the "ruptures and discontinuities" within the collective, and change the diaspora and the diasporic identity.[51]

In a discussion of how communities construct identities, he underscores identities' instability and the conflicting discourses that create them and continues to emphasize the importance of historicization in the formation of modern identities. Hall writes:

> Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constructed within, not outside representation.[52]

The invocation of "an origin in a historical past" echoes historian Eric Hobsbawm's invented tradition in the collective attachment to a point, moment, or idea of the past that has passed down through generations, unchanging.[53] Rather than a particular practice marked as "tradition," an entire identity is given a primordial, traditional quality. In what form this identity is frozen is a product of internal politics and discourses within a group, and is in fact not set in stone. Identities are constructed, reconstructed, and broken. Yet, despite the fractures and changes that occur among people of the same origin in diaspora and the reconstitution and reconfiguration of

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[50] Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 224.
[51] Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 225.
[52] Stuart Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (Sage, 1997), 4.
[53] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2.

identities "within, not outside representation," in Hall's words, people outside of a diasporic group will view the diaspora as representing a particular static identity.

James Clifford in his famed article on diaspora presents the need to study the borders and boundaries of diasporas. He distinguishes between members of a diaspora and immigrants, the latter of whom are subjected to assimilationist efforts, which are fruitless when targeted towards diasporas because the state "cannot assimilate groups that maintain important allegiances and practical connections to a homeland or a dispersed community elsewhere."[54] They create "forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference."[55] Clifford here identifies an intentional community identity that is formed in opposition to the host society, in order to remain attached to the homeland.

The borders and boundedness of identity are challenged by sociologist Rogers Brubaker in his book *Ethnicity Without Groups*, written a decade after Clifford's article. Brubaker does not deny the existence of groups, but claims that "'groupness' is a variable, not a constant; it cannot be presupposed. It varies not only across putative groups, but within them; it may wax and wane overtime," but ethnicity exists nonetheless.[56]

Identity, according to Brubaker, can exist free of this "groupness" as well. He criticizes the trend in academia of claiming that "identities are constructed, fluid, and multiple" because it "leaves us without a rationale for talking about 'identities' at all and ill equipped to examine the 'hard' dynamics and essentialist claims of identity politics."[57] He insists that, "if identity is

[54] James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 307.
[55] Clifford, "Diasporas," 308.
[56] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Harvard University Press, 2004), 4.
[57] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 28.

everywhere, it is nowhere."[58] He then advocates for the establishment of analytical, that is, scholarly, manners with which to approach identity. They should be distinct from those used in practice to define identity by non-scholars. Thus, scholars may approach subjects that fall under studies of "identity" with "conceptual clarity."[59]

In an edited volume published in the same year as Brubaker's *Ethnicity Without Groups*, ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino advocates for a balance between the study of the 'hard' and 'soft' qualities of identity. He proposes a hybrid understanding of identity as it relates to the arts in diaspora. It is a definition of identity that makes space for continuums, contradictions, performance, and historical elements. He writes: "The earlier essentialist, homogenous views of identity, and more recent ideas about identities as benign, fluid, constructed, and multiple, must both be held in mind simultaneously in order to understand identity in relation to expressive cultural practices."[60] He argues that people purposely change, manufacture, and invent identity for the observer but that, despite malleability, identity encompasses practices and habits that take time to change. The slowness of identities' evolution indicates that they are "real, existing forces both at the level of individual and society. The flip side is that habits can and do continually change, they are not set in stone, and they are the result of conjecture of circumstances rather than biological or cultural essences."[61]

Dance at Home and in Diaspora

Peter Chimbos, in his discussion of Greek cultural social organizations, noted some of the dances that were often performed at Montreal's Greek gatherings: *tsamikos,* a war dance dated to

[58] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 29.
[59] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 63.
[60] Thomas Turino, "Introduction: Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities," in *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities*, ed. Thomas Turino and James Lea (Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 9.
[61] Turino, "Introduction," 9.

the Greek revolutionary era, *hasapikos* (butcher's dance), which Chimbos claimed has its origins in Byzantine butchers, and *zeibekiko*, a solo dance originating in Asia Minor and popularized in the mid-twentieth century. He acknowledged the complexity and the "infectious spirit" of these dances and their accompanying music.[62]

Chimbos's dances are known as "panhellenic," meaning they are taught, practiced, and performed throughout Greece. We can add the *kalamatianos* and *syrtos* to the list of panhellenic dances according to dance scholars Rickey Holden and Mary Vouras.[63] In reality, however, these dances are not panhellenic in the sense that they have traditionally been danced throughout Greece, regardless of the region. Anthony Shay notes that the panhellenic dances are actually prime examples of Hobsbawm's invented traditions.[64] They are historically dances that belonged to a certain region, or regions, which were spread and designated as panhellenic by the Greek state and taught in Greek schools. The panhellenism of these dances, then, does not originate from time immemorial. They are indeed invented traditions which are celebrated as national practices at home and abroad and may be danced in different ways.[65] Dance scholar Theresa Jill Buckland underscores the importance of studying these invented traditions because "interrogations of 'invented traditions' demonstrate that formerly unchallenged conceptualizations and performances of the past may have functional purposes for particular groups or agents in terms of power relations," and the scholar can also analyze "performance of memory, whatever the political discourse within which it is constructed."[66]

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[62] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey,* 86.
[63] Rickey Holden and Mary Vouras, *Greek Folk Dances* (Folkraft Press, 1965).
[64] Anthony Shay, *Choreographing Identities: Folk Dance, Ethnicity and Festival in the United States and Canada* (McFarland and Company, 2006), 96.
[65] Yvonne Hunt, "Traditional Dance in Greece," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 22, no. 1 (2004): 139.
[66] Theresa Jill Buckland, "Dance, History, and Ethnography: Frameworks, Sources, and Identities of Past and Present," in *Dancing From Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, ed. Theresa Jill Buckland (University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 15.

Anthropologist Jane Cowan focuses on performance in her ethnography *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece* on the mid-sized village of Sohos in Macedonia, Northern Greece. Through her field work in the village and her attendance of local weddings, dinners, and dances for local associations, she argues, "in dancing and in the discourse which surrounds it, Sohoians express important social identities and relationships; they also explore many of the ambiguities and tensions in them."[67] She takes a gendered approach to the political and social intricacies of dance events and claims, "Dance-events are bounded spheres, and it is by pushing at or playing with this boundary between the dance and the everyday that a man finds out what it is to be male and a woman what it is to be female. They discover, I realize, *not* what to be male or female 'is,' but what it implies given the ideas and relations of gender dominant in Sohos today."[68] The social and gendered identities that dancers explore and express, then, are of a particular moment. The dancers do not return to the same relationships or identities each time a dance event or a particular form of dance takes place. While dances are always performative when danced in public, this is an ethnography of dance events that occur in what one could call these dances' 'natural' environments. Performances are not rehearsed or planned, and they take place in convivial environments often filled with food, drink, and celebration.

Moving away from the homeland, scholars of dance and music in the Greek diaspora do not have the luxury of studying these dances in their historical environments. Transmission of the dance or music style requires a conscious effort on the part of the individuals or the collective in question. Distance from the homeland and the passage of time means that the diaspora, while not necessarily isolated from the homeland, must build and develop communities, in the words of musicologist Ulrike Präger, "based on preferences, such as a specific musical or

[67] Jane K. Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece* (Princeton University Press, 1990), 26.
[68] Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*, 226.

dance style…sometimes such communities of affinity are driven by a shared cultural heritage, making cultural backgrounds and a shared cultural understanding the community-building force."[69] Shared ethnic or national backgrounds allow for community building to occur in diaspora. With shared "preferences" of music and dance from the homeland, these leisurely or ritualistic and celebratory pastimes create a point of commonality between individuals in the diaspora and lead to a cohesion based on these practices, regardless of, but also often in conjunction with, other cultural commonalities.

Bringing dance or music from the homeland implies that these practices remain unchanged. In fact, they rarely are. Jeanette Mollenhauer notes that dance will often evolve or change once it is brought to the receiving country. For instance, Lebanese-Australian *dabke* dancers took this dance, whose steps vary by region, and simplified it in the diaspora so that Lebanese Australians have a streamlined and common dance to share with each other.[70] Another example of how dance changes in the diaspora given by Mollenhauer is the dance culture among a Polish community in Toronto. Older members of the community prefer to dance spontaneously whereas younger ones prefer highly structured dances, meaning that while "the older people dance as a form of nostalgic commemoration, the younger dancers are focused on developing their cultural identities as Canadians of Polish heritage or background."[71] I note, then, that the dance can change in diaspora - its look, its steps, its style - and that the meaning attributed to the dance by its performers can also change through the dance's displacement.

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[69] Ulrike Präger, "Community," in *The Routledge Handbook of Music and Migration: Theories and Methodologies*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer et al. (Routledge, 2024), 25.
[70] Jeannette Mollenhauer, *Cultural Dance in Australia: Essays on Performance Contexts beyond the Pale* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2022), 16
[71] Jeannette Mollenhauer, *Cultural Dance in Australia*, 57.

One must also look to the institutions with which diasporic communities may engage in addition to their dance groups. In the case of Montreal, sociologists who have studied the Greek community have claimed that the Church and the patriarchal family are of utmost importance while acknowledging the loosening of rigid gender roles and the reduction in church attendance among second-generation Greek Canadians in Montreal.[72] These institutions are accompanied by the many regional, cultural, and philanthropic associations of Montreal's Greek community. One can find certain parallels among diasporic communities in Australia. As Mollenhauer notes, the Croatian Catholic Church and the many Croatian cultural associations in Australia are of great importance to the country's Croatian communities. From involvement in these community institutions, "a dance-based network has arisen, which is stronger at local and national levels than within the international arena," making Australia's network of Croatian dancers and dance groups a truly diasporic phenomenon.[73]

Anthony Shay reminds us of the importance of the Greek Orthodox Church as an institution to North America's Greek communities, and he links the growth of Greek folk dance in the United States with the Church, writing, "The role of members of the clergy of the Orthodox Church in many parts of the United States, was crucial in determining how dance not only served to create a visual icon of Greek identity, but how dance supported the cohesion of the Greek community," and noting that Greek folk dance among Greeks in the United States was often slow to be accepted by the community. [74] One of his interlocutors, a Greek immigrant whom Shay credits with popularizing Greek dances on the American folk dance scene, told him, "Many did not consider them to be Greek."[75] Despite the slow acceptance of Greek folk dance in

[72] Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey*, 150.
[73] Jeannette Mollenhauer, *Cultural Dance in Australia*, 61.
[74] Shay, *Choreographing Identities*, 95.
[75] Shay, *Choreographing Identities*, 101.

the United States, just as in Canada, folk dance eventually became common practice among Greek and Greek Americans, with church and cultural festivals showcasing dance groups and the institutionalization of Greek dance performances with the countrywide Greek Folk Dance Festival.[76]

Cultural dance festivals and performances of this kind are the subject of religious studies scholar Paul Bramadat's discussion of the 'authenticity' of such performances. He proposes that we move past the question of authenticity, since the festivals showcase the local culture of the specific diasporic community where the festival is held. He notes that culture and practices change in the diaspora as well as in the homeland and that "Greece (the nation state) and Greek-Canadian culture are complex entities that are impossible to essentialize, especially now that many members of the second and third generation have never been to Greece, or have been there only for brief visits."[77] Distance from the homeland and changing customs and cultures may give the impression that difference makes cultures of the diaspora more inauthentic, but Bramadat proposes "to move towards a new politics of authenticity" that can only be done by "pay[ing] more attention to the hybrid, fluid, discursive (perhaps 'postmodern') definitions of identity and authenticity."[78]

Australian anthropologist Gillian Bottomley argues that policies of multiculturalism and the allowance of Greek institutions has allowed for "a sense of communality as well as a pride in Greekness," but the dancing also allows for an escape. It is an expression of nostalgia for a past which these Greek Australians may or may not have once truly known.[79] She adds, "I have also

[76] Shay, *Choreographing Identities*, 103.
[77] Paul A. Bramadat, "Toward a New Politics of Authenticity: Ethno-Cultural Representation in Theory and Practice," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques au Canada* 37, no. 1 (2005): 10.
[78] Bramadat, "Toward a New Politics of Authenticity," 14.
[79] Gillian Bottomley, "Polyphony, Polythetic Practice and Intercultural Communication in Greek-Australian Creative Work," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 23, no. 1 (2002): 51.

heard dancers speak of the pleasure of 'expressing another side' of themselves, a sense of freedom and passion, a celebration of Greekness, sensuality, masculinity, femininity and *extasis* that literally moves them beyond their everyday life."[80] Echoing Cowan's argument that dance in Sohos is an expression of social and gender relationships, Bottomley suggests that dance communicates the intangible and inexpressible aspects of these relations: "Some of the force of music and dance is that they cannot be readily contained within authorised forms of knowledge. They are, in part, communicated below the level of consciousness."[81]

The abstract nature of this anthropological comment is perhaps more concretely expressed in Philia Issari's essay, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience and the 'Embodied Language' of Dance."[82] Mingling sociology with psychology, Issari argues that greater cultural understanding of Greek Americans will enhance the quality of counseling that psychologists offer to this ethnic group. Understanding dance as "a transmission of cultural knowledge" that is "a language of communication, embodied speech, and embodied memories," the author emphasizes the importance of dance to her interlocutors as a social practice that creates Greek community in the United States and as a cultural practice that connects them to the homeland. [83] As one interlocutor says, "From the measured, heavy steps of prideful Macedonia, to the bright, bouncy rhythms of sunny Crete, each dance I have learned has given me new insight into a different part of my heritage and roots."[84]

Folklore scholar Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou speaks to dance more specifically when discussing Greek-Australian ethnic identity. She argues that dance, as opposed to language, is the

[80] Bottomley, "Polyphony, Polythetic Practice and Intercultural Communication," 54.
[81] Bottomley, "Polyphony, Polythetic Practice and Intercultural Communication," 54.
[82] Philia Issari, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience and the 'Embodied Language' of Dance: Implications for Counseling," *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 33, no. 4 (2011): 252–65.
[83] Issari, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience," 252, 254.
[84] Issari, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience," 259.

cultural practice that bonds third and fourth-generation Greek Australians. Through dance, "they learn how to express their Greekness in practical ways" and to acquire Greek habitus, to borrow Pierre Bourdieu's term, practiced unconsciously but acquired through discipline and repetition.[85] Becoming Greek through dance is not only a type of Greek diasporic identity formation; it is community preservation. Friendships made through Greek dance in Chryssanthopoulou's case study often lead to marriages.[86] These marriages parallel Montreal researcher Vassiliou's remarks that endogamous marriages are favored among Montreal's second-generation Greek Canadians. Learning Greek dance is then not only a manner of creating Greek practices in the diaspora, but dance also provides a space for the people of the community to gather, for children to socialize, and for the Greek community to remain cohesive. Identity in this case is attached to the practice and learning of dance rather than the institutions of the Church and the family.

Mary Avgoulas and Rebecca Fanany similarly interview second and third-generation Greeks in Melbourne to investigate their motivations for dance. Their interviews touch on the following themes: "the participants' motivation for participating in Greek dancing; the meaning of Greek dancing to them in terms of their cultural heritage; the connection between dancing and the participants' conceptualization of identity; and the interest in pursuing health and fitness through participation in Greek dancing."[87] The first three themes identified by the authors are of particular interest. To add to Issari's classification of Greek dance in diaspora as a "transmission of cultural knowledge," Avgoulas and Fanany note a desire among their interviewees to keep hold of the cultural knowledge, lest they lose it, with one of their participants saying, "In Greece,

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[85] Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou, "The Role of Greek Dance in the Formation of Ethnic Identity among Diaspora Greeks. A Case Study from Australia," Greek Dance Archives, 2008, https://www.dancearchive.gr/article.php?id=45#:~:text=Traditional%20Greek%20dances%20in%20Australia%20function%20as%20summarising%20and%2F%20or,those%20participating%20in%20the%20ritual.

[86] Chryssanthopoulou, "The Role of Greek Dance in the Formation of Ethnic Identity among Diaspora Greeks."

[87] Maria Avgoulas and Rebecca Fanany, "The Symbolic Meaning of Greek Dancing in Diaspora," *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 2 (2019): 102.

they do make fun of you when you dance Greek. It's because they don't have to do it there. Even if they don't do it, they are Greek and they won't lose it," and, "I don't want to lose it. See I have lost it in a way, as I have left Greece and I'm trying to keep it here. Hold onto it. It's like they say, you never know what you have until you lose it. But here, it's an effort, and we have to do it."[88] The fear of losing this practice from the homeland encourages Melbourne's Greeks to preserve and to display the culture of their parents or grandparents, in turn creating an Australian-ified Greek culture which dominates Melbourne's Greek community despite the arrival of new Greek migrants within the past two decades. Instead of the new immigrants influencing or 'modernizing' the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne, the immigrants adapt to the Greek-Australian community, which prompts the authors to argue, "The conceptualization of Greekness built on the perceptions and memories of the immigrant generation is strong."[89] This conclusion is important to keep in mind, as this project seeks to answer similar questions about dance in the Greek diaspora in Montreal.

While not focused on dance, ethnomusicologist Panagiotis League studies Anatolian Greeks in his book *Echoes of the Great Catastrophe: Re-Sounding Anatolian Greekness in Diaspora*. Studying the diaspora of Asia Minor Greeks in the greater Boston area, League explores these "culturally marked Others in the context of the wider Greek diaspora,"[90] their connections to their homelands of Greece and Anatolia, both lost, and the forms that Anatolian artistic expression takes among the artists of this community. He argues that the personhood of Anatolian Greeks is:

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[88] Issari, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience," 252; Avgoulas and Fanany, "The Symbolic Meaning of Greek Dancing in Diaspora," 104.
[89] Avgoulas and Fanany, "The Symbolic Meaning of Greek Dancing in Diaspora," 108.
[90] Panayotis League, *Echoes of the Great Catastrophe: Re-Sounding Anatolian Greekness in Diaspora* (University of Michigan Press, 2021), 17.

> Formed, informed and continuously transformed in performative response to the tuneful hails of a plethora of scriptive things - can be best thought of in terms not of a linear movement from old world to new, from nineteenth century migrant to twenty-first century global citizen, but of an inherently circuitous model of identity in which every point is connected to every other one, through geographical space, cultural ideology, and historical time.[91]

"Scriptive things" are material entities with which humans interact and which cause performative actions "in the same focused, dynamic, and improvisatory way that a theatrical actor responds to the playwright's script." [92] Scriptive things command something of the subject. These scriptive things, in League's case, the songs and instruments of Anatolia, generate an interactive mode of creating and recreating identity. These confrontations between subjects and remnants or reminders of the materiality of the lost homeland also shape encounters with the long-gone people who created these things and "gives us the opportunity to make them part of our own."[93] League here signals to a change within materiality and within the personhood of those who created the things and those who interact with them now, but it is this constant engagement with the material culture of the homeland that keeps members of the diaspora present within it.

In addition, Sylvia Angelique Alajaji's work on music in the Armenian diaspora serves as a reminder that a diaspora as a spreading and ultimate spatial separation between people from the same homeland can indeed separate people in terms of their identity and in terms of their relationships with the homeland's material culture.[94] In the Armenian case, just as in that of League's Anatolian Greeks, the homeland is not only distant, but lost. Studying the Armenian diasporic communities in Beirut and Los Angeles, Alajaji argues that distinct Armenian identities were forged in each city. Proximity to the homeland, in modern-day Turkey, led

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[91] League, *Echoes of the Great Catastrophe*, 81.
[92] League, *Echoes of the Great Catastrophe,* 80.
[93] League, *Echoes of the Great Catastrophe*, 72.
[94] Sylvia Angelique Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile* (Indiana University Press, 2015).

Armenians in Lebanon to cleanse their language and their music of Turkish influences and tie themselves to Soviet Armenia, whereas the Armenians in the United States maintained the cultural fluidity that characterized the music of the Ottoman Empire. [95]

Regarding materiality and memories of the diaspora, Alajaji references Anthony Smith, writing, "Collective orientation comes from 'ethnic ties' on which mobilizing movements draw: myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritage."[96] She adds that for many diasporas, "these elements take on an almost sacred status, since the road to collectivity is more precarious and there are no literal borders to separate the Self from the Other."[97] While this understanding of collective identity especially applies to League's and some of Alajaji's subjects as people who can never return 'home' and who look to distinguish themselves from not only people in the host country but also from other diaspora Greeks and Armenians, it can also help explain the attachment to music and dance in diaspora communities that have only experienced one displacement or migration, such as most of Montreal's Greek Canadians.

Greek music and dance, just as in Boston, have been performed by and among diaspora Greeks in North America for many years. Introducing the first edited volume on Greek music in diaspora, Tina Bucuvalas laments that it has taken well into the twenty-first century for scholars to put together such a volume, noting that the performance of acoustic Greek music has been present in the United States for generations: "Greek acoustic communities have long been transnational in nature – physically, emotionally, and culturally."[98] Indeed, Sotirios Chianis describes the long-standing popularity of Greek music in New York, that reaches back over one

[95] Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora,* 90.
[96] Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora*, 90.
[97] Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora,* 90.
[98] Tina Bucuvalas, "Introduction," in *Greek Music in America*, ed. Tina Bucuvalas (University Press of Mississippi, 2019), 3.

hundred years. He argues that Greek regional folk music, around which diaspora Greeks build their dance groups, was popular and often performed in New York before bouzouki ensembles overtook the Greek music scene.[99]

What type of connectivity do these musical practices entail? Smaragdi Boura took a similar task in working with Greek labor migrants in Stuttgart, Germany. The geographic proximity of Germany to Greece and the newness of immigrants to Germany create a distinct social context from the longstanding Australian, American and Canadian Greek diasporas which have been the topics of study of many of our scholars. Mass Greek migration to Germany occurred at the same time as mass migration to Canada, with about 400,000 poor and rural people in the 1960s and 1970s settling in industrial areas.[100] In parallel with North America, the large wave of Greek immigrants created an isolated community with regional associations and the Church at its center.[101] Not only did Greeks interact primarily with each other, but Boura recounts that her musician interlocutor sought interactions with Greeks specifically from his region of origin and had little desire to interact with members of the host society or other ethnic groups in Germany when he arrived.[102] Boura's interlocutor emphasizes his commitment to his fellow Greeks in Germany. The insular nature of this migrant musical community is of note, as it avoids interaction with the host society, and Boura reminds her readers that diaspora musicians "undertake the task of transmitting and maintain[ing] their homeland's cultural values by performing music within a context of massive displacement and emigration," echoing other scholars discussed above.[103]

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[99] Sotirios Chianis, "Survival of Greek Folk Music in New York," in *Greek Music in America*, ed. Tina Bucuvalas (University Press of Mississippi, 2019), 176.
[100] Smaragdi Boura, "Imagining Homeland: Identity and Repertoires of a Greek Labour-Immigrant Musician in Germany," *Forum Qualitative Research* 7, no. 3 (2006), 5.
[101] Boura, "Imagining Homeland," 7.
[102] Boura, "Imagining Homeland," 16-17.
[103] Boura, "Imagining Homeland," 30.

Dance and music, as demonstrated through these scholarly works, are fundamental parts of diasporic life for Greeks. They are transmissions of cultural practices and knowledge that then take on specific forms away from the homeland. The question of how ethnic identity forms and how dance affects this identity will be further explored in the following chapters.

Chapter Two:

"In This Lies All of Our History": Dance and First-Generation Greek Canadians

"Crime at *Place des Arts*: For God's Sake" and "Crime at *Place des Arts*: The Greek Community of Montreal Killed Greek Culture" headlined two newspaper articles in January and February of 1976. These articles, published in one of Montreal's local Greek-language newspapers, *Paroikiaka Nea*, lambasted a Greek dance performance put on at Montreal's *Place des Arts*, the city's major performing arts center.[1] It stated that the performance lacked the "depth and seriousness" needed in a Greek cultural performance that was outward facing towards non-Greeks.[2] In response to the performance, the paper presented descriptions of the correct forms of dance and accurate cultural costumes that should be performed and displayed in such folklore events. These explanations were lifted from the work of a renowned Greek folk dance scholar, Dora Stratou. Stratou did not only research and write about Greek dance, but she spearheaded Greek dance education in schools and founded the Greek Dances Theatre "Dora Stratou" in Athens, which continues to research and perform Greek dance and calls itself "The living museum of Greek dance."[3]

These *Paroikiaka Nea* articles were critiques of the 'authenticity' of this representation of Greek culture, and in particular, of this outward representation of Greek culture to non-Greeks on such a large and public stage. Stratou's work read: "Where can you find historic continuity in

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[1] The titles of these articles are originally in Greek and have been translated by the author. The articles' author(s) is anonymous, but I suspect that these articles may have been written and compiled by Dr. Nikos Metallinos, a Montreal-based professor and Greek dance and Greek theater teacher. The images of Greek instruments used in these articles are identical to those used in 1980s Greek Community folk dance programs of performances that were produced by Metallinos.

[2] "Έγκλημα Στο Place Des Arts: Για Όνομα Του Θεού. Η Ελληνική Κοινότης Του Μόντρεαλ Δολοφόνησε Την Ελληνική Κουλτούρα," *Παροικιακά Νέα (Paroikiaka Nea)*, January 1976, Hellenic Library of Montreal.

[3] While the anonymous author wrote the introduction to the articles, the text was borrowed from Dora Stratou (1903-1988); "Dora Stratou Greek Dances," accessed February 24, 2025, https://www.grdance.org/en/greek-dances-theatre-dora-stratou/; See the chapter on the Dora Stratou Greek Dances Theatre in Anthony Shay's *Choreographing Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation, and Power* (Wesleyan University Press, 2002) for more on the history of the institution.

Greece? Only in its culture: in its popular dances and folk songs. It is in what Greeks dance and sing, whether to mourn or to celebrate. In this lies all of our history, all of our 'life' as a nation which no one can take from us."[4] Stratou's assertion that all of Greek history lies in Greek folk music and song gives paramount importance to these cultural practices as vestiges of ancient times and suggests that these are art forms that Greeks should exalt and respect. However, teacher and researcher of Greek dance, Yvonne Hunt, points out that despite the distillation of dances to certain forms and certain steps, the way people perform a dance will change between regions and even between villages. In addition, dance forms are not even static throughout recent generations. Hunt argues that there is no conclusive evidence to support the diachronic "continuity" argument, and to scholars it sounds obviously counterintuitive.[5] She therefore highlights a flaw in the argument that there are specific ways to correctly perform Greek dances. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Stratou's work in these articles and the insistence that there is indeed continuity in Greek dance and music suggests that preserving Greek culture was of concern to members of the migrant generation.

Figure 1. An advertisement in *Ellinikos Tachydromos* on July 27, 1977 for "Greek Band *Arahova*." The advertisement stated: "For association dances, parties, weddings, baptisms, and for any social event, try our band. You will be thrilled." The band offered "Greek folk music, Greek popular music, European music, modern rhythms and music."

This chapter concerns Greek dance in the years during and after the largest wave of Greek immigration to Canada. I give a brief overview of the culture surrounding dance, both folk and popular, in the 1970s and 1980s in Montreal, and recount interviews with immigrants who

[4] "Έγκλημα Στο Place Des Arts: Για Όνομα Του Θεού." Translated by the author.
[5] Yvonne Hunt, "Traditional Dance in Greece," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 22, no. 1 (2004): 139.

arrived in Canada from the 1950s through the 1970s to inquire about their relationships with dance and its importance to the Greek community. They claim that it is central to Greek culture, in addition to other cultural practices. Despite generational differences between first and third-generation Greek Canadians, the participants shared a general sentiment that there has been continuity in Greek culture within Montreal's diaspora community.

Greek Dance after the Largest Wave of Greek Immigration

This folk dance performance was seen by some as such a catastrophic misrepresentation of Greek culture that editors of *Paroikiaka Nea* allowed for substantial space in two subsequent issues of the newspaper to be taken up by critique of the performance and the presentation of 'correct' information on Greek dance and costume. Placing Stratou's words on the front page of a local newspaper indicates something significant about the Greek community at this point in its existence. Even in the mid-1970s, when the largest Greek wave of immigration to Canada was just winding down and Greek immigrants themselves were still young and not yet integrated into Anglophone or Francophone Montreal society, members of the city's Greek community were worried about maintaining the cultural integrity of the community and about displaying it to non-Greek Montrealers.[6] Even so early on in the life of the community – the community of course was not new, but it had recently received an influx of new immigrants – the concern of preserving Greek culture was already present.[7] These descriptions of dance origins and regional costumes were written for an adult Greek audience, so Montreal's Greeks could inform themselves on these most important aspects of their culture perhaps with the goal of eventually presenting 'deeper' examples of Greekness outwardly.

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[6] Anastassios M. Tamis and Efrosini Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Immigration to Australia and Canada* (Melbourne: The National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, 2002), 118.
[7] Stephanos Constantinides, "La Nouvelle immigration grecque," *Études Helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 21, no. 2 (2013): 84.

What is perhaps most notable about this article is that it was printed at a time when newly-arrived immigrants had established local businesses and institutions. They were active in regional associations that often hosted social events, and Greek restaurants and nightclubs with live music were found throughout the older and newer Greek neighborhoods of the city. Greek nightlife prospered during and in the decades following the second wave of Greek migration to Montreal. Adding to Greek establishments that existed closer to downtown Montreal since the earlier days of Greek settlement in the city, Greek restaurants and nightclubs began to pop up on Park Avenue and in Park Extension, with many establishments on Jean Talon Street West as well. I spoke with a performer who was often hired to dance at these night clubs with live musicians, and she described to me lively restaurants with nearly entirely Greek clientele that would remain open until the morning, featuring mainly urban Greek music.[8] Advertisements for these were interspersed throughout the pages of local papers with pictures of musicians that promised an

Figure 2. An advertisement in *Anagennisi* on May 12, 1974 for Acropole Cafe on Park Avenue in the Mile End. A night out at Acropole offered "comedy, laughter, high spirits, dance, song."

[8] Louise, in an interview with the author, January 2025.

enjoyable experience (see figure 2). The commonplace existence of these venues suggests that these Greek clubs were popular places for members of the Greek community to gather, socialize, and dance.

Figure 3. An advertisement in *Ellinokanadiko Vima* on January 30, 1970 for the Roumeliotian Association Dance. hosted on February 7 at Royal Hall in Park Extension. "High spirits, celebration, revelry" were advertised. The event featured both a Greek folk band and a European one, but it promised to be a "Roumeliotian party."

In addition, Greek associations and their events began to truly take hold in these years as numbers of immigrants grew, and they hosted annual dances and fundraisers. Some dances may have been closed off to the public, but many were published in local Greek newspapers, often attaching appealing words to the advertisements, such as "*kefi, glenti,* and *choros*" until the early hours of the morning with the accompaniment of multiple orchestras and the promise of both Greek and European style music and dance (see figures 3 and 4).[9] Advertisements for such events were accompanied by graphics of dancers. Sometimes the graphic was of a man and

[9] *Kefi* is what Jane Cowan describes as "high spirits" in her ethnography of Greek dance in the town of Sohos, *glenti* is a party or celebration, and *choros* is dance; Figure 3 is an advertisement taken out by the Roumeliotian Association "George Karaiskakis." The right side displays the advertisement for the folk band headlined by a clarinetist and accompanied by performers in traditional costume. Roast lamb and wine was to be offered "that will remind you of your village *panigyria*" (festivals). Towards the bottom of the advertisement is the European-style band, with images of couples ballroom dancing on either side of the page. This orchestra was promised to "accompany your *kefi* with modern music until the morning." The bottom of the advertisement reads: "Come all for an unforgettable evening;" The Cretan Association event shown in Figure 4 features the same European-style band, led by Spiros Athanasiou, as the Roumeliotian event. Below the image of the couple ballroom dancing, "fine *mezedes*" (small plates) and "plentiful drink" are advertised above a notice that there will be a raffle and the message that this event is not to be missed.

woman dressed in a tuxedo and ball gown dancing a waltz. Other times, the graphic would feature multiple dancers in a line, mid-Greek dance, and the figures would be dressed in examples of Greek cultural clothing, with men in *foustaneles* and women in ankle-length dresses with puffed sleeves.[10] Sometimes, the advertisements would feature subjects in both styles of dress, to give potential attendees hints of the various styles of dance in which they could expect to participate throughout the night.

Figure 4. An advertisement in *Ellinokanadiko Vima* on March 14, 1974 for the Cretan Association's dance held on March 16 at St. Marc's Hall in Rosemont with "celebration, song, dance until morning."

The variations in the costume of the advertisements' subjects suggest that both styles of dance and music – European and Greek – were appealing to Greek adults in Montreal. The advertised dances seem to have been open to anyone who wished to attend, and were held in large dance halls or restaurants with event rooms. Many of these halls and restaurants took out advertisements in local Greek newspapers as well, and they often advertised the event spaces as well as the number of people these rooms could accommodate. These ubiquitous ads, paired with the frequent notices of association dances, hint at the vibrant social lives of active members of the Greek community.

[10] The *foustanela* is a form of dress associated with Greek revolutionaries and one that is still worn in some Greek military ceremonies and dance performances. The women's costume paired with the *foustanela* is called an Amalia costume, named after the first queen of Greece.

The local Greek press would sometimes document the successes of these events as well. These blurbs would feature photographs of jovial event attendees, eating, drinking, and Greek dancing. The chronicling of these events suggests interest among readership within the community. In addition, the abundance of printed pamphlets distributed to advertise these association dances, their orchestras, and their menus, indicate healthy attendance to these events.

First-Generation Interviews

With time, memory becomes less reliable. Distance from past events can alter one's memory of them, and they fade when they are not kept alive or reshaped by people who made these memories. Just as the historian must be mindful of the possible biases, omissions, and fabrications of historical textual sources, so she must be mindful of the challenges memory poses to the interviews given by interlocutors regarding events or experiences far in the past.[11] The third-generation interviewees who told me about their parents' and grandparents' lives in Canada would sometimes falter on the events of the past or the years in which these events happened and the details of the stories, since they were recalling stories heard from family members and events that they did not witness themselves. Likewise, my older interviewees would have trouble recalling things I asked of them.

Just as time can blur and distort one's memories, age can reduce one's capacity to recall those memories at all. In addition, the inability to reminisce with other people who lived through the same moments pushes the past further into the recesses of memory. When one is asked to recall something about which he or she had not thought or talked for decades, it is difficult to reach back to the past to extract details.[12]

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[11] Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 114.
[12] Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), 3.

Elizabeth Tonkin, in her book on oral history, argues that "memory and cognition are partly constituted by social relations" and that people "continually constitute themselves as social beings in the processes of social interaction and survival."[13] If social relations create and impact memory and this happens continually, distance from past events and distance from people who experience past events with interlocutors will impact their ability to remember events that they witnessed or in which they participated. I took note of discontinuities within my participants' stories as well as moments in which the participants had trouble recalling things. This discussion is not to highlight an unreliability of these oral sources, but rather to add nuance to their stories and to communicate the uncertainty of the past.

I spoke with four first-generation immigrants. Elpida, age seventy-seven, moved to Montreal in 1979. George, age eighty-two, came to Canada in 1965. Maria moved to Montreal in 1976 and was eighty-six when she was interviewed. The oldest participant, Calliope, was eighty-nine at the time of our interview and migrated to Canada in 1953. These participants' arrivals in Canada span the three decades of major Greek immigration to Canada. My interviews with the older generation took on more in-depth qualities than my interviews with the younger generation. The participants did not linger on the qualities of Greek dance or diasporic culture as the younger generation did, but they discussed their lives and experiences in Canada in greater detail. Although all the participants knew how to dance, and two of them participate or participated formally in Greek dance groups, they expressed relatively little interest in discussing the subject at length. Nonetheless, one can glean important information about the Greek community of Montreal from these interviews, and the interviews serve as case studies of migration to Montreal and the practice of dance in the city.

[13] Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts*, 97, 112.

George had been involved in his regional association, the Laconian Brotherhood (Λακωνική Αδελφότητα), for decades. He served on the board of the association and taught dance there as well. When I asked where he learned to dance, he told me that he had learned in school in Greece as a child, just as all of this generation of participants did, but he continued once he moved to Montreal and even taught basic dances to his grandchildren when they were young. Among his favorite dances were the *tsamikos*, the war dance originating in the Peloponnese, and *ta nisiotika*, or dances from the Greek islands. When asked why he favored these dances, he described a "mathematical precision" to the steps of these dances that appeal to him and that he enjoys the *figoures,* or choreography, that one can perform in these dances.[14] When asked how important Greek dance was to the Greek community, his response was: "How can I say it? I mean, that we love Greek culture because it gives us life…Yes, it gives us life. What else does it give? It gives us exercise. And more than that, the pleasure when we dance. We feel a sharp pleasure and our spirit moves from the floor to the heaven."[15]

George explained a deeper feeling than enjoyment or camaraderie with fellow dancers that he experiences while dancing. It seems that the experience that George attempted to convey was that of *kefi*. As previously explained, *kefi* is a common word used to describe an ideal experience of Greek dancing, one of intense enjoyment. Just as newspaper advertisements for Montreal's Greek association dances advertised *kefi, glenti,* and *choros* to ensure potential attendees that these dances were worth attending, it is a state that is sought by dancers themselves. Jane Cowan writes, "*kefi* is performed as well as felt."[16] *Kefi,* as described by

[14] George, in an interview with the author, October 2024. Translated from Greek: [μαθηματική ακρίβεια.]
[15] George, in an interview with the author, October 2024. Partially translated from Greek: [Πώς θα το πω, ρε, ότι αγαπούμε τον ελληνισμό γιατί αυτό μας δίνει ζωή…Ναι, δίνει ζωή, λοιπόν. Και τι άλλο δίνει; Ε, δίνει και καλό *exercise* και γυμναστική. Ε, είναι και μετά, *the pleasure when we dance*…]
[16] Jane K. Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece* (Princeton University Press, 1990), 105.

Cowan, is a state that one reaches in the *glenti* setting. One must be around others in a joyous environment, and she adds that "*kefi* has philosophical dimensions, particularly concerning the relation between the self and the collectivity." [17]

Maria also had a close relationship with music. First moving to Toronto and then to Montreal, Maria came to Canada with her husband, who was a flautist and saxophonist contracted with a Greek nightclub on Park Avenue after years of attempting to obtain a Canadian visa. As a performer entrenched in Montreal's Greek music scene, he was also hired to play at association dances and dinners, and Maria would often attend. She jumped up to show me videos of her dancing with childhood friends on her last trip to Greece. When asked about the importance of Greek dancing, she stated: "It's very important because we feel explosion inside the feelings. Another thing you are proud if you know to, to teach few steps to somebody doesn't know nothing about dance. To continue the tradition of dance."[18] Just as George, who claimed that dance caused "sharp feelings," Maria expressed the importance of dance as relating to feeling. However, she also noted it as a practice through which Greeks can feel pride and as a practice that they can display and teach to others "to continue the tradition."

Elpida had also been dancing since childhood, and she spoke to me as a lifelong performer of Greek dance. She learned in school and would perform at festivals in Larisa, Greece, with her school dance group. Her history of Greek dance performance exceeded that of the other participants, and she began to teach dance when she lived temporarily in Ottawa as a young woman. She then returned to Greece, married, and eventually returned to Canada to settle in Montreal in 1979 after having had two children.

Dance, to Elpida, was part of a cultural chain. She said:

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[17] Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*, 107.
[18] Maria, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

> You have the dance, you have the school, you have the language, you have the customs. You have the church, you have the community, you have the different parts of communities that they have, the people that they're coming from Crete, they come from the *Peloponnisos,* from up north, from the islands, from the Ionian Sea, from Crete, from Cyclades. This is one chain that has the loops. That makes what is Greece. And everything helps, especially if the people they speak the language. And they respect the language, first of all, and to use it nicely to go to the church, we have to keep this to be members of this community. To be members of these social clubs, let's say, like the cultures, the theaters, the different small communities and the dance. It's one of these loops that create the chain.[19]

Elpida suggested that these cultural links - religion, language, region of origin, dance - are all essential aspects of Montreal's Greek cultural chain. Dance is an important factor in the maintenance of Greek culture and identity in Montreal. In describing the importance of dance to the Greek community, Elpida explained to me that she felt Greek dances had so much weight because they were filled with meaning and symbolism, and she attributed this quality to costumes worn when certain dances were performed. She described them as enduring pieces of Greek cultures that represent the old customs and traditions. However, the Greek diaspora's manner of transmitting these cultural links differ from the ways in which they were transmitted to Elpida.

Transmission of Dance and Montreal's Greek Community

My participants also spoke to me about the nature of the Greek community of Montreal, how it had evolved, and in what ways the Greek culture of these immigrants' children and grandchildren differed from theirs. Having witnessed two subsequent generations reach adulthood, the first generation holds valuable insights into the affairs of the community. Despite the participants' varying views, overall there was a sense of cultural continuity within the Greek

[19] Elpida, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

community despite broader shifts in cultural attitudes that have occurred between the generations.

Elpida's description of Greekness as a chain connected by many links led to the discussion of how this chain remains intact through generations. She ensured that her children and grandchildren learned to dance and speak Greek, adding that she only spoke and wrote to her grandchildren in Greek and "if they understand, fine. If they don't, they have to find a way to understand it, sorry."[20] Regarding the "link" of Greek dance, Elpida said that while she did learn and perform Greek dances at school, many people in her generation learned basic and regional dances at weddings, parties, and festivals, whereas children in the diaspora learn to dance because they go to class to be explicitly taught the dances. Transmission of these aspects of culture, in Montreal, is planned and formal. Regional identities are maintained through associations, language is learned in Greek school, and dance is learned often through programs associated with schools or associations, or through other independent dance troupes. However, a parent cannot force his or her child to appreciate these cultural links. "The thing is if you like to dance and you participate, you have to hear, you have to have it in you if you like it. If you don't like it, you're not supposed to enjoy it," Elpida explained.[21] A parent has to introduce children to music and dance without forcing the activity on them. This allows the children to grow an appreciation for dance without feeling pressured and makes the transmission of the practice seem natural. Dance is an essential part of Greek culture, but for it to be maintained, it must be delicately transmitted.

Elpida did not critique third-generation Greek Montrealers. Having been a Saturday school Greek teacher for decades and having raised children and grandchildren of her own in

[20] Elpida, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[21] Elpida, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

Montreal, she felt that she had a fair understanding of the cultural contributions to Canadian society as a whole. The Greek community, in Elpida's mind, has survived for multiple generations in Montreal because of the careful transmission of Greek practices. Yet Montreal's Greek community exists within the larger Montreal, Quebec, and Canadian contexts. The children and grandchildren of her generation, she told me, were consciously working to be contributing members of Canadian society while maintaining a clear Greek identity. Second and third-generation children may have social relationships primarily with each other and even often marry each other because of these cultural activities and the instillation of similar values. But she cautioned me, "We're open to the other communities and to the society of Quebec, but we keep our values."[22] Elpida claimed that the Greek community was not assimilated into greater Canadian society and that the older generations have been successful in preserving Greek culture among younger generations of Greek Canadians, all while contributing to Quebec's society through fruitful careers and economic contributions.

Maria, a few years prior to our interview, had moved to residences owned by the Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal and was led there by the isolation she experienced living away from other Greeks, especially as she grew older. Although her late husband performed on Park Avenue and the couple's social life during their working years would have been primarily Greek, Maria and her husband did not live in the Mile End or in Park Extension, and in their older years they were completely isolated from the Greek community. When Maria's husband died, she remained isolated and described her life as melancholic. Her neighbors would not greet her on the street, and she could not speak Greek with anyone. She told me, "In Greece, you can go walk

[22] Elpida, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

in the street, *na na na*, you find somebody. But here, it's not easy. That we need in Canada to make…how do you say that when you meet people?"

"Community?"

"Community!"[23]

To Maria, community meant the ability to converse with her neighbors, to spend time with them, and to know them. Living in a residence with other Greek retirees provided that "community" from which she was previously isolated and allowed her to live in a space where other residents were friendly and Greek. There was no language barrier or social barrier thanks to their shared backgrounds. Maria qualified the lack of community found in Montreal as a characteristic of Canadian society, and she could only find her desired community by surrounding herself with other Greeks. It was with this move that she overcame her melancholy.

Yet, a complaint she expressed was that the culture of dance was absent in her residence: "They don't make often something in the big room here to make people pass one Saturday night, for example, once a month. To pay twenty dollars, twenty-five dollars, it doesn't matter. To go there to meet other people, say 'Hi' and see the youngers dance."[24] In the past, she said, the Hellenic Community would host gatherings, and children would bring their aging parents to these events where theater or dances would take place. Decades ago, when her husband was a working musician, he would play at such events. Age has made her unable to dance as she used to, but she would still enjoy watching from the sidelines most of the night.

In passing down the sense of community to younger generations, Maria believed that her grandchildren's generation was distinct from her own. Neither of her children married Greeks, and Maria felt that times had changed:

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[23] Maria, in an interview with the author, October 2024.
[24] Maria, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

> I find here in Canada, after the past years I met other families, are good people, very respectable, very the parents worry for the kids, they don't let the kids do anything you want. The first years it happens that I met families, beautiful, in Toronto, in Montreal also. My grandchildren are now have nothing to do with my kids when they used to be young, different. Mentality, different. Because they live different culture, different universities, it's big and different…I understand the kids. I understand any kids. Today it's different people, different. It passed so many years, when it used to be Maria, you're engaged, in six months, you married him, and you make kids. When you're gonna be pregnant? It passed eight months. Bravo! That was that years ago. Today, if you're happy, you're best. If you're healthy, it's the best… I don't blame them. I don't blame.[25]

Maria's grandchildren speak Greek, but they are half Greek and dating non-Greeks. Maria felt that her grandchildren's lifestyles were different from hers because the world is different from when she was a young adult. She did not pass judgment on her grandchildren's lives or the fact that their Greekness is unlike hers. Her children Greek dance, but her grandchildren are more reluctant. They dance some popular dances, such as the *kalamatianos*, and will sometimes dance spontaneously. However, she emphasized that her grandchildren, do not take Greek dance classes as young adults. Regardless, the family continues the tradition of dance.

George and Calliope both asserted that the nature of Montreal's Greek community has not changed since they started to set up their lives in the city. Calliope expressed a kind of disapproval towards third-generation cultural attitudes. These opinions were not offered as criticism of third-generation Greek Canadians in particular. Rather, they were critiques of the generation in general in Canada, both Greek and non-Greek. She felt that the prioritization of familial relationships had been overtaken by more individualistic impulses and attitudes, much in the same way that Maria expressed. Despite the differences between her generation and that of her grandchildren, Calliope maintained that the Greek community of Montreal itself had not changed. Greek culture is still practiced and the churches are still in use.

[25] Maria, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

George, however, was the only participant that asserted that, not only was the community as a whole static, but so was the culture of its individual members. He shared:

> No change because we keep, all the old men like me - we try to teach our kids and grandkids. Like her brother (gestures towards granddaughter), we are in the same brotherhood…and because now I'm old and cannot drive at night, and sometimes her brother helps me because I cannot drive because I cannot see because the lights of the cars. So I told them from today I have to tell you I feel sorry, but I resign because I cannot help. I have a problem to drive and this and that, and one woman asked me, "How did you come today?" My grandson.[26]

With old age giving George trouble on the road, he often needed his grandson's assistance to attend association meetings. George's story resolved with his grandson taking his place at the regional association once he told his brotherhood that he was unable to drive alone to meetings at night and had to resign. In George's view, this transferal of community participation to his grandson is indicative of the static quality of the Greek community and Greek culture in Montreal. His grandson was born in Canada to one parent who was not of Greek origin. He does not speak Greek as his first language. Yet, his connection with his immigrant grandparents and, perhaps more important, his engagement with the community through dance, church, learning Greek, and now participating actively in association life, signifies to George that there is a complete transmission of Greek cultural and social life onto his grandchildren.

The Preservation of Greek Culture in Montreal

These participants are but a few case studies within a large and varied Montreal community. However, the opinions shared with me provide snapshots into some of the beliefs that first-generation Greek Canadians hold towards the importance of dance to Greek culture and towards the cultural continuity of Greek Montrealers. Elpida and George felt that Greekness had been sufficiently passed from their generation to that of their grandchildren, and Calliope and

[26] George, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

Maria noted differences in cultural attitudes. Exogamous marriages of children or grandchildren were not expressed as a concern by the participants, nor was the authenticity of Greek culture in Montreal. Overall, the transmission of Greek culture through language, education, and the arts were seen as a success by the participants. However, apart from George, these interviewees acknowledged differences between the generations.

Despite the different experiences of dance between the generations, Greek dance is understood to be an important aspect of Greekness. Elpida even had an opportunity to perform with her granddaughter at a large event nearly a decade before our interview, and she expressed great pride in it. Dance was seen by all of the participants as something traditionally Greek and as something to be passed to younger generations. Dance for them, while important and learned in school, was always a part of their lives. It is a part of Greekness that was taught, acquired, and enacted in social spaces with other Greeks who acquired dance in the same way, as opposed to in formal dance groups.

In terms of Greek dance and the feelings and emotions that it elicits from those who do it, I will return to *kefi*, as two of the participants alluded to these high spirits. *Kefi* is not something that one experiences on his or her own and in a formal performative environment. *Kefi* is experienced when dance is performed in jovial social settings among other participants. It is something that emerges as part of the relationship between the self and collectivity, rather than between the collectivity and onlookers. This is in contrast to the younger generations of Greek Canadians, who rehearse dances and perform them at *panigyria* or cultural festivals for both Greeks and non-Greeks to observe and look upon as emblematic of Greek culture.[27] This is one key way in which the importance of Greek dance, as communicated to me by my first-generation

[27] A *panigyri* (pl. *panigyria*) is a festival held in celebration of a Church feast day.

participants, differs from the importance it has for subsequent generations, as will be communicated in the next chapter.

Today's Greek Canadians acquire dance skills in ways that are distinct from their older family members. Both culture and dance have changed, and perhaps 'true' forms of dances and costumes described by Dora Stratou and espoused by the anonymous author in the 1976 *Paroikiaka Nea* articles have been altered in diaspora. However, older members of Montreal's Greek community feel Greek culture is sufficiently transferred to younger generations and that, despite these changes, Greekness has been maintained,

Chapter Three:

"Passing the Torch": Dance among Third-Generation Greek Canadians

Dancing is what unites the younger crowd with each other because it's something that we all enjoy doing, and we're learning about stuff that our ancestors used to do, stuff that our ancestors used to wear.[1]

Young Greek Canadians have been learning their ancestors' dances for decades. Smiling youth in and out of costume, action shots of dance groups practicing and performing, and proud displays of dance instructors' names feature in pamphlets printed by Montreal's Greek associations throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The recipients of such pamphlets would have been members of the associations, often the parents or grandparents of the children photographed. The pamphlets showed these dance groups to showcase to the Greek community that they were preserving and transmitting Greek, and often regional Greek, culture to the youth of the community. There were at least twenty-nine Greek associations, twenty-five of them regional ones, that had children or youth dance groups, or both.[2] These pamphlets convey an image of abundance, indicating the popularity of dancing for one's regional association and the variety of dance groups in which children of Greek immigrants or Greek Canadians could participate.

Although many regional associations have ended their dance programs or ceased activity entirely, a certain number of them have jump-started their dance activities in an attempt at revival. The Laconians and Maniots figure among them. The Cretan Association also maintains a large and multilevel dance group. The large, panhellenic dance groups, such as *La Troupe Folklorique Grecque Syrtaki* and the Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal's *Laografiko Ergastiri Montreal* (LEM), dominate the city's dance scene. Despite the fact that there are fewer

[1] Theodora, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[2] These numbers are taken from association publications available in the Hellenic Library of Montreal's archives. It is possible that more regional associations had dance groups as the collection of publications at the library is not exhaustive.

dance groups, there have been efforts of revival in the Greek dance scene, which has become more "national" than "regional."

Marcos, a young dance teacher, took it upon himself the year before I interviewed him to spearhead a dance group at a regional association that had long ended its dance program. Another interviewee, Anastasia, had family who personally restarted a regional organization, although at the time of her interview, her relatives were its only members. Both of these stories are part of a larger trend to reinvigorate the organizations that were once the social centers of the city's Greek community. It is important to note that it is within the greater context of a desire to revive these organizations that the interviews with third-generation Greek Canadians took place, although this development was not central to the interviews.

Each participant had a different story of how he or she began Greek dancing. Of my eight interviewees, three began Greek dancing of their own accord during their teenage or young-adult years, although two of them had been exposed to Greek dancing in certain settings during their childhoods. The others had had more consistent contact with Greek dancing as children and made the decision to continue to dance as they grew older. The participants expressed a mostly cohesive understanding of the role that Greek dance plays in their identity as third-generation Greek Canadians, claiming that practicing and performing dance is a continuation of tradition and the maintenance of a cultural practice that has remained stable despite the drastic changes in community life between their grandparents' generation and their own. Importantly, the ability to dance adds legitimacy to their identities as Greeks. These interviews demonstrate that third-generation Greek Canadians' understandings of their own Greekness and of their place within the greater Greek community of Montreal vary, but all of their Greek identities are tied to their knowledge of and performance of dance. They tend to view dance as a primordial practice that

connects them to their ancient and more contemporary ancestors and as an expression and portrayal of Greekness by a generation that has lost its 'authentic' Greek lifestyle. Their practice of Greek dance justifies their identities within their community, outwardly to Greeks in the homeland, and to people of other ethnicities in Montreal.

Dance as Tradition

Alexander, a twenty-four-year-old dancer, only began Greek dancing two years prior to our interview and had been prompted by his older brother to enroll in dance classes. Alexander stands out from other participants as he is one of the two half-Greek people I interviewed, and his parents did not put him in Greek school or Greek language classes as a child. I asked what was appealing to Alexander about learning how to Greek dance in adulthood. He explained that dance is part of his heritage and history, and through dance he connects to these "because of the example of my brethren being able to dance a bunch of different music and history."[3]

Not having had much exposure to Greek dance in his younger years apart from Greek weddings, events, or *panigyria*, Alexander felt that dancing allowed him to connect to history. He was not alone in this assertion. Nick, another twenty-four-year-old interviewee, also told me that through his practice of dance, he feels connected to a longer history. His pride in his Greekness stemmed from the contributions of the Ancient Greeks, to Greece's independence after "four hundred years of slavery" under the Ottoman Empire, to Greece's contributions in support of the Allied Powers during the First and Second World Wars.[4] He said: "I'm dancing to honor. I'm dancing to continue tradition. I'm dancing to continue my culture, my values through what over two thousand years of history has brought to today."[5]

[3] Alexander, in an interview with the author, October 2024.
[4] Nick, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[5] Nick, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

Eleni, a twenty-two-year-old interviewee, told me that she identifies her curiosity for learning as characteristic of her Greek heritage. Describing her recent reading of Plato, she said, "I am a very deep thinker, and I think that comes from the fact that I'm Greek and that we have this philosophy in us, this gene of wanting to understand the workings of life. Being able to know it comes from ancient Greece…I just feel so proud."[6] Eleni identified her disposition towards learning as an inherited attribute from the ancient Greek philosophers. Some diaspora Greeks, then, may not only feel that practices have traveled through millennia. There are also certain natures that one can attribute to Greekness, not in the modern sense, but in the ancient one.

Theodora, aged eighteen at the time of our meeting, was heavily involved in theater as well as Greek dance and planned to specialize in performing arts in CEGEP and university.[7] Her love of acting was rooted in Ancient Greek theater. She said:

> I feel like it was something that was meant to be because theater got started by the Greeks. It's something that was created by us…If we trace everything back to Ancient Greece, like the dances, the theater, it's all something that I want to bring back, and I want to bring back into my career, and it's what I want to bring back into teaching and stuff. So I feel that I've kind of come full circle.[8]

These three interviewees highlight the importance of continuity to these third-generation Greek Canadians. They attach themselves to the ancient glory of the homeland. Practicing and performing Greek dance not only connects them to the land their grandparents chose to leave for North America but to the ancestors that preceded them.

Safran identifies diasporas as groups which have left, or have been forced to leave, their homelands and often wish to return. The importance of return is an aspect of an 'ideal type' of

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[6] Eleni, in an interview with the author, October 2024.
[7] CEGEP is the acronym for Quebec's *Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel*, academic and professional colleges whose programs Quebec students must complete if they are to attend universities in the province.
[8] Theodora, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

diaspora.[9] While many Greeks who came to Canada arrived with the intention of returning home, and many did, Montreal's large Greek community is a testament to the thousands of Greeks who did not return to Greece with their families, but they are still attached to their homeland and to its history.[10] In addition, connecting oneself, one's disposition, and one's actions – dancing, acting, reading – to Ancient Greece adds prestige to one's heritage in the Canadian context. Georgios Anagnostu, Modern Greek Studies scholar, argued in his dissertation on Greek-American Hellenism and Neohellenism that positioning Greek immigrants as direct descendants of Ancient Greeks put them at an advantage among other Southern European ethnic groups.[11] In Western countries, Ancient Greece is often still perceived as the birthplace of Western 'civilization.'[12] Creating a direct link between antiquity and the modern Greek diaspora exalts Greek diasporic culture and those who participate in it.

Values, Community, Coherence

All of the participants grew up with exposure to the Greek Orthodox Church. Some of their families took them to church every Sunday when they were younger, and some only attended church occasionally on holidays or for special events. Some were interested in religion and others were not, but none of my interviewees believed that their religious convictions were nearly as strong as what they perceived their grandparents' to be. Yet, all of them considered the Orthodox Church to be an indispensable aspect of Greek identity. Just as these third-generation Greek Canadians felt that their practices of dance and theater are continuations of ancient

[9] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (1991): 83–84.
[10] Anastassios M. Tamis and Efrosini Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Immigration to Australia and Canada* (The National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, 2002), 118.
[11] Georgios Anagnostu, "Negotiating Identity, Connecting through Culture: Hellenism and Neohellenism in Greek America" (PhD Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1999), 71.
[12] Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 58.

practices and culture, they did in most cases ascertain that they inhabit social spheres and live lives that are continuations of their ancestors' in terms of values, religious and otherwise. "Values" was a word that I heard often from my participants when they discussed how their experiences of Greekness were similar to those of their parents and grandparents.

But what are these "Greek values" that they credit their grandparents with passing down to them? After Theodora told me that she was "more attached to the Greek values" than Canadian ones, and that is why she identified herself as Greek rather than Greek Canadian in and outside of Canada, I asked her to explain to me what she meant.[13] She immediately jumped to the Greek word *filotimo*.[14] She felt that her gestures of never going to someone's home without something in hand and her habit of "treating others like yourself" were instilled in her through her family's Greek culture rather than through being raised in Canada.[15]

Nick emphasized the importance of Greek values to him as well and that these values manifest themselves in the nature of Greek dancing. When asked for further clarification, he pointed to the common formation of Greek group dances from throughout the country: dancing in a circle with people hand in hand or hand on shoulders. The dancers are synchronized in their steps and have a leader who sets the pace for his or her followers. Nick said, "It's very hard to make sure the guy next to you is in the same step. But the fact that we're all in a circle, holding hands or holding shoulders, or, you know, hands crossed, we're all doing the same stuff. It's very like we're all doing this. We're all going to do the same goal. No one's trying to show off." He added: "Greek dancing revolves around community, unification, and being united all together. The communal part is that you're next to your friends. You're next to your neighbors and people

[13] Theodora, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[14] *Filotimo* roughly translates to honor in English.
[15] Theodora, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

that you want to know."[16] To Nick, Greek dancing creates and sustains Greek community. One can surround himself with other Greek Canadians whether friends or strangers to spend time with other members of the same ethnicity.

Most of the participants viewed dance as a way to create and participate in the Greek community in Montreal and as a way of maintaining ties to the homeland, so they can visit family and dance with ease at *glentia* and *panigyria* with their distant relatives, and as a way of maintaining a cultural practice that they view as Greek. As I have previously noted, culture and cultural practices are never static, and traditions, real or invented, from the homeland will change in diaspora. My interviewees also commented on the differences and discontinuities between themselves and the previous generations of Montreal's Greeks.

It is important to note that, just as Bramadat wrote, cultural folk performances are reflections of diasporic cultures in particular cities at particular times. Greek-Canadian diasporic cultures vary between cities and even within them.[17] The way dance is taught, appreciated, and performed may not be the same between families and regional associations, just as these same dances may be performed differently between distinct regions or different villages in Greece.[18] I asked each interviewee in what ways his or her Greekness – that is Greek identity and cultural practices – differed from that of his or her parents or grandparents.

Nick told me that the nature of the community itself has changed since his grandparents arrived in Montreal from Greece. The summer before our interview, Nick had attended a *panigyri* in Montreal's Park Extension neighborhood on the fifteenth of August.[19] At this

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[16] Nick, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[17] Paul A. Bramadat, "Toward a New Politics of Authenticity: Ethno-Cultural Representation in Theory and Practice," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques Au Canada* 37, no. 1 (2005): 12.
[18] Yvonne Hunt, "Traditional Dance in Greece," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 22, no. 1 (2004): 139.
[19] Park Extension still hosts celebrations for the Greek community, such as the annual parade on March 25 that commemorates the Greek War of Independence and large *panigyria* on August 15 for the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, a major feast in the Orthodox Church.

celebration, Nick saw Greeks from all over Montreal gather for the festivities and asked his father about his life growing up in Park Extension when it was a Greek enclave. Nick explained to me that his father recalled moments when he walked down the street smelling incense from multiple houses because families all over the neighborhood were mourning the death of the same person.[20] There was a sense that people in the neighborhood not only knew each other but shared intimate relationships, and that they watched each other. He noted with amusement that when his father was a teenager, he would sneak out of his parents' house and often be tattled on by his aunt who watched him from her window as he escaped. Nick's father of course was annoyed by his family's and neighbors' surveillance. But Nick lamented that he could not experience life as a Greek Montrealer with "all the senses. The touch, feel, the smell, sound…Everything was kind of unified."[21] In stating this, Nick suggested that his father, through growing up in this ethnic enclave, was living a Greek existence: hearing and speaking Greek, eating Greek food, and smelling Greek smells.

Nick perceived his father's upbringing in Park Extension as being one which immersed him in Greek life. He did not even need to leave his block to smell Greek cooking or to hear the Greek language. The Greek enclave of Park Extension created real boundaries and borders to the Greek community. The immigrants' culture and social relations were preserved in diaspora, according to Nick. The dispersal of Greeks to other areas of Montreal fractured the community, in the sense that Greek-Canadian young adults did not experience the "unified" community.

Fredrik Barth argues that ethnic boundaries are maintained physically and mentally.[22] Moving away from heavily Greek and insular communities required a more pronounced effort to

[20] This is a reference the tradition of burning incense or candles to remember a deceased loved one.
[21] Nick, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[22] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Waveland Press, 1969).

maintain practices which seemed innate before the dispersion of the Greek community, and these "ethnic boundaries," having been physically ruptured, have been more difficult to maintain without the proximity. In addition, Anya Peterson Royce offers that there is a "boundary maintained from the inside, and the boundary imposed from the outside."[23] Cultural boundaries created from the "inside" of the Greek community are more easily maintained when Greeks live near one another, and once they scatter, the community may seem less cohesive from the "outside," in the eyes of others, as well.

Marcos highlighted language as a point of difference between his parents' and grandparents' generations and his own generation and as an indicator of the loss of this community cohesion. As his father was a Greek immigrant himself and his mother a child of two Greek immigrants to Montreal, Marcos categorized these two preceding generations as being more similar to each other than to Marcos's because their primary language of communication was Greek, and their social lives were centered on Greek events. Also important to Marcos was dwindling church membership among younger Greek Canadians. At the time of our interview, Marcos had been making an effort to go to church every Sunday even when he was unable to stay for the entire service, and he was always struck by the lack of young people in attendance. He told me culture and community were not properly passed down and that, "this is one of the reasons I decided to teach Greek dancing because I'm trying to gather the most youth as possible for them to understand the importance of Greek identity." He fashioned dance as the simplest and most effective way to salvage this Greek identity.

[23] Anya Peterson Royce, *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity* (Indiana University Press, 1982), 29.

However, Marcos did not believe that dance was a sufficient transmission of Greek culture because to him the most important aspect of Greek identity was the Greek language. Speaking of friends who are not comfortable speaking in Greek, he said:

> They've expressed to me their frustration at how they don't feel like real Greeks because they don't speak the language, and they go to Greece and they feel like a tourist because they're speaking in English, so it's very saddening to see. But I just feel like there's something missing. There's no one carrying and passing on the torch. I can do so much, but we need a bunch of other people as a whole to continue to promote Hellenism.[24]

To Marcos, the priorities of families in Montreal's Greek community need to shift to focus on the transmission of Greek cultural practices to their children. Greek dance, according to Marcos, is only one aspect of a legitimate transferal of Greekness. He suggests that it is ultimately parents' responsibilities to expose their children to Greek religious customs and to ensure that they learn to communicate in the Greek language. The loss of the Greek language does not only limit Greek Canadians' ability to fully participate in Greek-community life with older generations but precludes them from feeling at home when visiting Greece.

Alexander is an example of a Greek Canadian who finds himself limited in his linguistic ability, as his father did not enroll him in Greek classes when he was younger. He said that when he visited his grandparents' village the summer before our interview, he felt that he was at home but at the same time an outsider, because he could not speak Greek. Older villagers would stop and ask him who he was and to what family he belonged, and he told me that in these moments, "I found myself not being able to communicate properly, which makes you feel kind of like an outsider, even though you're not, you know. This is the village that we're from. I take part in cultural activities, but I just can't communicate with my own people there."[25] Not speaking

[24] Marcos, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[25] Alexander, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

Greek exacerbates Alexander's feeling of isolation from Greeks in Greece, but dancing in Canada allows him to feel Greek despite his difficulty with the language.

I've noted that Alexander is my only participant who expressed frustration with his knowledge of Greek and a desire to take formal language classes in adulthood. All other participants told me that they studied Greek, spoke it, and practiced it regularly. Assuming that their language abilities are indeed at levels that allow them fluid, if not fluent, conversation with their immigrant parents, grandparents, and relatives who still live in Greece, are there cultural practices that make them feel less like outsiders when they visit their ancestral cities and towns?

This "outsider" feeling was not only expressed to me by Alexander. Theodora said, "I feel like I'm too Greek to be fully Canadian and I'm too Canadian to be fully Greek to like people in Greece. So it's kind of like an in-between that, yeah, being Greek is like one of the biggest parts of my identity, if not my whole identity. So I couldn't see myself identifying as anything else."[26] However, she also stated that when she travels, even outside of Canada, she introduces herself as Greek when someone asks where she is from. While she expressed that she did not feel fully Greek around native Greeks or fully Canadian around Canadians, she chooses only one of these nationalities with which to identify, claiming that Greekness was her "whole identity."

Kat, twenty, shared a similar sentiment with me, saying that she felt Greekness had "always been a big part of me. The first thing people say to me, like even now in university they go, 'You're Greek.' And when I go to Greece, they ask me where I was born there. And I always feel like there I've…here I feel too… like, not Anglo enough and there sometimes I feel too Anglo and I don't know where to fit in. But being Greek to me is so part of my identity, I can't not separate it from myself. It's one of the pillars that made me me."[27] Kat revealed that she

[26] Theodora, in an interview with the author, September 2024.
[27] Kat, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

sometimes felt "too Anglo" when visiting Greece but that she still has a native level of Greek. She expressed a certain amount of discomfort in both settings, a common diaspora experience.

Eleni, however, told me that when she goes to see her family on Crete, they tell her that "immigrant Greeks are more Greek than them."[28] She explained to me that her Greek relatives refer to the frequency of Greek dancing and the ubiquity of Greek music at Greek diaspora events. For instance, she told me, often at weddings between Greek Canadians in Montreal, Greek music plays for most of the reception and the attendees will dance Greek dances, whereas in Greece, wedding receptions feature less Greek music and dance. Eleni reflected on her extended family's comments, saying, "We hold more Greek tradition than they do when they live in Greece, and I think since we come from immigrant descent, it was our grandparents instilling the Greek traditions in us so that we don't lose it because we're already three generations down. My siblings, half of us, don't Greek dance, and my brother doesn't really speak Greek that well."[29] The tradition to which Eleni refers here is tied to the performance of dance and to cultural practices that are attached to her grandparents' generation. With the loss of the language with passing generations of Greek Canadians, Greek immigrants reinforce other practices that they brought with them. When asked to define what it is to be traditionally Greek, she once again referred to her grandparents' generation. To be a traditionally Greek girl in particular is to be a devout Greek Orthodox practitioner, to marry another person of Greek origin, to be a homemaker while her husband works outside of the home, and to be a "nice Greek girl." The "nice Greek girl" of her grandparents' generation is not applicable to hers. "It's an era difference and a culture difference because I was born in Quebec, and it's very *libre* in Quebec."[30]

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[28] Eleni, in an interview with the author, October 2024.
[29] Eleni, in an interview with the author, October 2024.
[30] Eleni, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

Eleni's understanding of what is expected of a nice Greek girl is, of course, dated to her grandparents' generation. Even among members of that generation, many Greek women worked when they arrived in Montreal, and many in fact came to Montreal to work. Tastsoglou's and Dounia's works on Greek female migrants in Canada show that young Greek women immigrated to Canada as laborers who often worked in domestic and industrial settings, and my first-generation participants worked outside of the home as well.[31]

This "nice Greek girl" is perhaps an idealization of the "proper" role a woman should play in the eyes of certain Greek immigrants of the first generation, although this image was not shared with me by any other participant. Eleni used this nice Greek girl as a relic of another time and another place, crediting the absence of this attitude to *libre* Quebec, a province where people accept marrying late, marrying outside of one's ethnic group, or not marrying at all.

The generational differences between immigrants and their children and grandchildren as discussed by Vassiliou and Chimbos regarding attitudes towards exogamous marriages and gender roles are evidenced here. Both scholars suggested that most marriages of second-generation Montrealers were with other Greeks or Greek Canadians. Chimbos argued that low rates of exogamous marriage among second-generation Greek Canadians were a result of parents' concerns to maintain Greek language, religion, and culture and to keep their children within their community.[32] Vassiliou introduced children's perspectives into this conversation and argued that endogamous marriages were preferable to second-generation Greek Canadians

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[31]Evangelia Tastsoglou, "En/Gendering the Greek Diaspora(s): Theoretical and Historical Considerations," in *Women, Gender, and Diasporic Lives: Labor, Community, and Identity in Greek Migrations*, ed. Evangelia Tastsoglou (Lexington Books, 2009), 1–30;" Margarita Dounia, "Your Roots Will Be Here, Away from Your Home: Migration of Greek Women to Montreal 1950-1980" (MA Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 2004); Of my first-generation participants, only Calliope had worked in an industrial setting when she moved to Canada. However, Maria worked in a *depanneur* and a restaurant, and Elpida worked as a secretary.

[32] Peter D. Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey: The Canadian Experience in Canada* (McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985), 112.

because the primary manner through which Greek identity was transmitted was through the family.[33] However, while endogamous marriages were preferred, the second-generation couples did not maintain the same strict gender roles as their parents and took on more equal responsibilities within and outside of the home.[34] To mend the generational disjuncture between the Greeks of her grandparents' generation and the Greek Canadians of her generation, Eleni suggested that people in her generation turn to Greek dance. She and my other participants saw Greek dance as a way through which people can maintain an aspect of "traditional" Greek life while sacrificing the stricter gender roles and more limited options for partnership.

I asked the participants to describe to me not only the differences they perceived between their generation and their grandparents' generation in terms of community and beliefs, but also in terms of their attitudes towards dance. None of the participants claimed that their grandparents could not dance. One of them, Sophia, nineteen, was taught how to Greek dance by her grandfather at a young age as he was a dance teacher at one of Montreal's Greek regional associations, and all of the participants told me that at least one grandparent was fond of dancing.

Noting that these Greek Canadians all had exposure to Greek culture at least in part through their grandparents and that all of them maintained a certain connection to family members in Greece, their points of reference for their own Greek identity were informed by their exposure to their grandparents and to Greece itself. They identified notable differences between themselves and the preceding generations as well as what they perceived as robust continuities that stretch back to ancient Greece.

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[33] Vassos Vassiliou, "Greek Identity in Second-Generation Montrealers," *Hellenic Studies / Études Helléniques* 3, no. 2 (1995): 77.
[34] Vassiliou, "Greek Identity in Second-Generation Montrealers," 89.

The one counterpoint to the pride in the continuity of Greek culture felt by these young dancers was expressed to me by Anastasia, twenty-two. A dancer with a large dance group, Anastasia became interested in Greek dancing while quarantining during the covid pandemic and made the decision on her own to take up dancing, without having been put in Greek dance classes by her family when she was younger. She enjoys the togetherness of Greek dance and described to me a "flow state" that she enters when taking in-sync steps with her dance group. She shared that she chose to begin Greek dancing because of a "longing for Greece" that she tries to access through dance. She feels "Greek when I'm doing Greek things," such as speaking Greek, even if her language skills are imperfect. Where she differed from the other participants is that:

> I feel not good in the Greek-Canadian space. I have always had bad experiences at Greek school and then even at Greek dance, like there's a few people like I'm close to and a lot of people I feel were raised by their grandparents, which is not a bad thing. But sometimes, the mentality is of the 60s or 70s values and then, maybe this is where my Canadian identity comes in, I don't necessarily have those same values even though I appreciate the traditions and the art and the language and the food.[35]

She then contrasted her Greek-Canadian peers with Greek immigrants her age who live in Montreal. In her experience, Greek immigrants are less attached to the "traditional" values of the older Greek generations, such as adherence to Greek Orthodoxy and pursuing certain careers. Anastasia identified with a Canadian identity, which she claimed allowed for a freedom of choice as to how she identified herself, and she identified with a Greek one as well, with her maternal grandparents having migrated to Canada from Greece, her father being a Greek immigrant, and some of her childhood years having been spent living in Greece. Her prolonged exposure to more recent immigrants, and to family that has not left Greece, contributed to her

[35] Anastasia, in an interview with the author, October 2024.

perception of a more pronounced distinction between Greeks and Greek Canadians than other participants expressed to me. She claimed that cultural characteristics or practices identified by descendants of immigrants as authentic or traditional are specific to their parents' or grandparents' generations, whereas the practices or cultural attitudes of the homeland have since changed. Yet even Anastasia, uncomfortable in the Greek-Canadian space, chooses to spend time in it in order to engage in Greek dance.

Anastasia's willingness to continue to participate in a dance program despite her lack of belonging within the group suggests that her attachment to Greek dance and how it makes her feel override the feelings of estrangement from most Greek Montrealers. Rather than participating in Greek dance as a manner of connecting to the community, Anastasia – who spent some of her childhood in Greece, speaks Greek, and identifies herself more with recent Greek immigrants than with Montreal's longstanding diasporic community – participates in the diasporic practice of Greek dance classes and performances. This is similar to the phenomenon described by Avgoulas and Fanany in Australia, where they note that recent Greek immigrants to Australia adopted the practices of third and fourth-generation Greek Australians.[36]

The Future of Greek Dance in Montreal

A long-time second-generation Greek dance teacher commented that he had hope for continued transmission of Greek cultural practices to today's young adults and subsequent generations of Montreal's Greek community because of the recent renewed interest in reviving associations' dance groups. Cautioning that a problem with this resurgence is that there are few teachers of his generation who are still working and able to offer guidance to the young teachers, he nevertheless expressed that a revival of the associations was a promising development.

[36] Maria Avgoulas and Rebecca Fanany, "The Symbolic Meaning of Greek Dancing in Diaspora," *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 2 (2019): 108.

Involvement in association dance groups, which are smaller than the large panhellenic troupes that dominate Montreal's Greek dance scene, allows for a return to regional sub-communities of the Greek community of Montreal of which many of these young adults' grandparents were members. He did specify, however:

> Whatever we give will undergo a change. They used to dance with reeds and harps. Now, we've got clarinets. We've got synthesizers, but it still plays the same beat, right? So, as long as the beat and the rhythm is the same, it doesn't matter what instruments are in there, or even if the lyrics change sometimes, because there's an evolution. So, I just hope that my generation is able to understand that now they're passing the torch to the rest of them.[37]

The younger generation tended to express that Greek dance represents continuity of Greek culture, a constant in the Greek community that not only reaches back to the homeland, but to the lives of their grandparents, whose "traditional" Greekness has faded through subsequent generations, even as Greek Canadians leave their ethnic enclaves, marry outside of their ethnicity, become less religiously devout, and speak less Greek. This dance instructor added nuance to this idea, highlighting that, even dance, a seemingly stable aspect of Greek culture, is not static.

All of the participants expressed the intention of continuing with Greek dance. It is a habitual practice that allows them to spend time with other Greek Canadians, dancing steps that they associate with the homeland. The value placed on Greek dance by my participants mirrors that given by the interlocutors of scholars who have worked on this topic with other second, third, and fourth-generation Greeks in Australia and the United States.[38] Dance is often seen as

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[37] Thanasis, in an interview with the author, January 2025.

[38] Avgoulas and Fanany, "The Symbolic Meaning of Greek Dancing in Diaspora;" Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou, "The Role of Greek Dance in the Formation of Ethnic Identity among Diaspora Greeks. A Case Study from Australia," Greek Dance Archives, 2008, https://www.dancearchive.gr/article.php?id=45#:~:text=Traditional%20Greek%20dances%20in%20Australia%20function%20as%20summarising%20and%2F%20or,those%20participating%20in%20the%20ritual.;" Philia Issari, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience and the 'Embodied Language' of Dance: Implications for Counseling," *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 33, no. 4 (2011): 252–65.

continuity of past practices by those who participate in it, but just as the nature of culture and the nature of diaspora, it is ever-changing.

Greek identity is attached in part to this practice in diaspora that allows for passing the torch of these steps. Many of my interviewees expressed a connection to the homeland which their parents or grandparents left behind and to Ancient Greece, with whose theater and legacy they still identify. The extent to which these continuities are manufactured or traditions are invented are not considered by the participants, and Greek dance and its "traditional" qualities are attached to this ancient place. The use of music and dance keeps Montreal's third-generation Greek Canadians attached to the home country. It also facilitates continued cohesion within the Greek community despite dispersion throughout Montreal and its suburbs and the disappearance of once important secular centers of gathering in the city. Sociologist Rolf Lidskog claims that music in diaspora is boundary-making, and in the case of Montreal's young Greek Canadians, music and dance maintain the ethnic boundaries put in place by preceding generations, despite the disappearance of many physical boundaries.[39]

Nick told me that his father, having grown up in Park Extension when it was a Greek ethnic enclave, "lived" his Greekness much in the same way as Nick's immigrant grandparents lived their Greekness both pre and post-immigration - that is, surrounded by other Greeks at all hours of the day and experiencing a life that my participants would describe as rooted in tradition. Dance is also in this sense an act of social engagement by members of Montreal's young Greek Canadians that creates identity in much the same way as Hall's conception of the word, "as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted

[39] Rolf Lidskog, "The Role of Ethnic Identity Formation in Diaspora: A Research Review," *International Social Science Journal* 66, no. 219–220 (2017): 25.

within, not outside representation."[40] Hall's emphasis on representation is particularly applicable here, as the old days of association dinners and dances and nearly Greek-only restaurants and nightclubs have all but faded away.

These Greek Canadians fashion themselves as Greek in relation to the non-Greeks who surround them in Montreal and to their families and relatives in Greece to whom they demonstrate their identities through dance. In fact, Theodora explained that she feels most Greek when she speaks about or demonstrates Greek culture to a curious outsider. It is in representation that these identities are constructed and evolve. Most of today's Greek-Canadian youth in Montreal will perform dances in front of audiences, Greek and non-Greek, as displays of Greek culture, instead of dancing in social settings among other members of the community. This change in the way Greek dance is practiced marks a change in Greek identity that is constituted within representation to the "Other."

Every young-adult participant expressed pride in his or her ability to dance, often in comparison to friends and family who do not Greek dance or to Greek relatives with whom they can dance with ease when visiting, and each participant expressed a desire to continue dancing, with no foreseeable end. Practicing Greek dance is a stable embodiment of Greek culture to them and a constant that attaches them to their Greekness and the rest of the diasporic community in Montreal. It is an activity that brings them closer to their fellow Greek Canadians and to their ancestors while they learn about and practice things "that our ancestors used to do, our ancestors used to wear."[41]

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[40] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. John Rutherford (Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222.
[41] Theodora, in an interview with the author, September 2024.

Conclusion

> *One reason for the inseparability of dance and culture, except for analytical purposes, is the inseparability of dance from its creator and instrument of expression. The creators and instruments live in a cultural context that shapes them and their dance. Dance does not exist apart from dancers. We must, therefore, not only look at the form of dance but consider as well the meaning it has for people who create it, do it, and watch it.*[1]

Dance is constantly created and recreated by those who perform it. No matter how much it is tied to tradition and ideas of continuity, its forms change as do the meanings it holds for those who perform it. As its "creators and instruments live in a cultural context that shapes them and their dance," the study of dance must necessarily include the study of its dancers.[2]

This project has primarily been a study of the dancers, of those who keep Greek dance alive in Montreal and contribute to its evolution and therefore the evolution of Greek-Canadian culture in the city. However, this project has only scratched the surface of the research that one could conduct on Greek dance in Montreal. Quebec is home to approximately 70,000 people of Greek descent, and most of these Greek Canadians will have distinct personal relationships to Greekness and to Greek dance.[3] One could conduct hundreds of interviews to investigate the question further; the histories and cultures of individual dance groups are waiting to be studied, as is the in-depth history of leisure activities in Montreal's Greek community.

Nonetheless, the small sample of community members with whom I spoke served as valuable case studies to help answer the question of how Greek dance forms identity in

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[1] Anya Peterson Royce, *The Anthropology of Dance* (Dance Books Ltd, 2002), 215.
[2] Royce, *The Anthropology of Dance,* 215; This quotation is reminiscent of E.P. Thompson's famous idea from his seminal work *The Making of the English Working Class* that a study of love is a study of lovers and a study of the working class is necessarily a study of workers.
[3] Statistics Canada Government of Canada, "Profile Table, Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population - Montréal [Census Metropolitan Area], Quebec," February 9, 2022, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

Montreal's Greek diaspora. One can extract common arguments and themes, although there are diverse opinions across and within each generation.

The first-generation Greek-Canadian participants asserted overall that Greek culture in Montreal has been kept intact since the wave of immigration in which they arrived in Canada. While one of the participants expressed concern for perceived changes in Canada-wide cultural attitudes of her grandchildren's generation, none of them complained about a loss of Greek culture in the city. To the contrary, I was surprised at the insistence from some of the participants and the implications of others that the Greek community of Montreal has not changed, despite decades having passed since their generation came to Canada, the Greek population of the city spreading out, and multiple generation of Greek-Canadians being born and raised far from Greece.

The third-generation participants did not share the views recounted above. Overall, they expressed an acute awareness of the differences in their condition as Greek Canadians who were raised in more integrated environments. Most of them were not worried about the loss of Greek culture in Canada, nor did they express insecurities about the legitimacy of their Greekness. However, they did understand that they cannot "live" their Greekness as the migrants of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s did or, as in many cases, the migrants' children did. While the participants did not explicitly make this claim, their dedication to Greek dance strengthens their ties to the Greek community in Montreal and to their extended family members still living in Greece. It allows them to claim Greekness while living lives which are more integrated into greater Canadian society than those of their parents and grandparents. However, most of them claimed knowledge of Greek and an understanding of the importance of the Greek Orthodox Church despite less general attachment to religion.

There were, of course, some commonalities between the generations. To all of the participants, dance and moments in which one performs Greek dance are points of pride. The theme of showing one's Greekness to others appeared within both generations, notably with Maria from the older generation who highlighted the pride she feels when dancing for non-Greeks and with some young Greek-Canadian participants who explained that it is through displays of their Greekness, whether in dance and theater performances or in dances at village *panigyria* while visiting family in Greece, that they feel notably Greek.

Many studies of Greeks in diaspora reach similar conclusions. Boura's subject in her study of Greek immigrant music "serves as a mediator between the host country (Germany) and the homeland (Greece)."[4] In the same vein, Issari, discussing Greek-American dancers, calls dance "a language of communication, embodied speech and embodied memories."[5] Chryssanthropoulou argues that Greek-Australian children learn dances to acquire a Greek habitus, a "bodily Greekness" that legitimates their ethnicity.[6] Avgoulas and Fanany, based on their Greek-Australian participants, argue that Greek Australians "placed great importance on their Greek heritage and were anxious, not just to maintain it, but to demonstrate it. In other words, they wished to be acknowledged as members of the Greek community and part of the diaspora in Australia."[7]

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[4] Smaragdi Boura, "Imagining Homeland: Identity and Repertoires of a Greek Labour-Immigrant Musician in Germany," *Forum Qualitative Research* 7, no. 3 (2006).
[5] Philia Issari, "Greek American Ethnic Identity, Cultural Experience and the 'Embodied Language' of Dance: Implications for Counseling," *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 33, no. 4 (2011): 254.
[6] Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou, "The Role of Greek Dance in the Formation of Ethnic Identity among Diaspora Greeks. A Case Study from Australia," Greek Dance Archives, 2008, https://www.dancearchive.gr/article.php?id=45#:~:text=Traditional%20Greek%20dances%20in%20Australia%20function%20as%20summarising%20and%2F%20or,those%20participating%20in%20the%20ritual.
[7] Maria Avgoulas and Rebecca Fanany, "The Symbolic Meaning of Greek Dancing in Diaspora," *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 2 (2019): 105.

My participants did not express much anxiety towards the maintenance of their Greek identities, but they did suggest that the demonstration, or display, of dance is a performance of Greekness. Greek Canadians have created a musical community that creates connections between people of Greek descent in Greater Montreal.[8] It is one that is both intertwined with that of the city's Greek community and allows for the dancers to maintain connections to the homeland. They learn and perform dances that are often invented traditions to create an identity that is constructed within representation, and the boundaries are created by both the performers and the onlookers.[9]

In a speech given in 1937 to the Augustana Historical Society of Illinois, historian of immigration Marcus Lee Hansen handed the responsibility of the study of immigration history to third-generation Americans, who tended to take an interest in their heritage after their grandparents and parents had to attempt to assimilate into American culture.[10] Without drawing too many parallels between young third-generation Americans in the 1930s and third-generation Greek Canadians nearly one hundred years later, I mention Hansen because he tasks third-generation Americans with recovering and preserving the lives, thoughts, and cultures of their immigrant ancestors. Quebec and Canada's multiculturalism policies have allowed Greek Canadians in Montreal to maintain their Greek identities in a way that is specific to the location of the community. The participants from the third generation of Montreal's Greek community may not all be historians of immigration or of diaspora, but their insistence in learning and performing these dances reveal a sustained interest in the culture of their immigrant ancestors.

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[8] Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 365.
[9] Stuart Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (Sage, 1997), 1–17; Anya Peterson Royce, *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity* (Indiana University Press, 1982).
[10] Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant* (Augustana Historical Society, 1938), 19.

To return to Florakas-Petsalis's story from the early twentieth century of the Greek migrant dancers in Philips Square who were scolded for their performance, I believe that my participants also dance to alleviate a certain type of nostalgia. It is the pain involved in the process of attempting an imagined or real return trip home.

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Appendix A
Call for Participants

I am a McGill Master's student looking to conduct interviews for my thesis research about Greek and Greek-Canadian relationships to Greek dance in Montreal. I would like to know about your relationship to Greece, to Greek institutions in Montreal, and to Greek cultural practices, especially Greek dancing. Interviews will take approximately one hour on McGill campus or in a location we mutually agree on. I am looking for participants of two age groups: Greek Canadian young adults (between the ages of 18 and 25) who have a parents or grandparents who migrated to North America from Greece, and Greeks who migrated and settled in Montreal during the 1960s and 1970s.

Participation in this study is voluntary, will not cause you harm, and anyone who expresses an initial wish to participate can withdraw at any time, including during the interview, without reason. Participants may also refuse to answer questions.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact Grace Farran, MA student at McGill University at grace.farran@mail.mcgill.ca .

This research project is supervised by Professor Tassos Anastassiadis of McGill's Department of History and Classical Studies. Should you wish to contact him, his email is tassos.anastassiadis@mcgill.ca and his phone number 514-399-9648.

Appendix B
Consent Form

McGill | Department of History and Classical Studies Faculty of Arts | Département d'histoire et d'études classiques Faculté des arts

Participant Consent Form

Researcher:
Grace Farran
Master's Student at McGill University's Department of History and Classical Studies
grace.farran@mail.mcgill.ca
438-439-2910

Supervisor:
Professor Tassos Anastassiadis
Associate Professor of History & Phrixos B. Papachristidis Chair in Modern Greek Studies
McGill Department of History and Classical Studies
tassos.anastassiadis@mcgill.ca
514-399-9648

Title of Project: The Making and Maintenance of Greek Identity through Dance in Montreal

Purpose of the Study:
This is an invitation to participate in a research study. This research seeks to investigate how Greek identity is maintained and practiced among Greek and Greek-Canadian members of the diaspora in Montreal. I am taking a multi-generational approach to this study to understand how Greek and Greek-Canadian relationships to dance differs between immigrants of older generations and young adults who are the children or grandchildren of Greek immigrants.

Study Procedures: This study asks you to be interviewed. The interview will be approximately one hour long and will take place in person on McGill Campus. If you are more comfortable being interviewed elsewhere, the interview will take place at a location of your choosing. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed. The audio-recording is necessary for me to record all that is said and to allow for a more complete reading and analysis of the interview for my research purposes. Your interviews may be analyzed for my thesis and excerpts may be published.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to answer any question and may withdraw from this study at any time, for any reason by contacting me, Grace Farran (contact information above). If you do withdraw, all documents and identifiable information as well as the audio of your interview and its transcript will be destroyed. Once the thesis is complete, by 04/2025, however, you will no longer be able to withdraw your consent as all of your identifying information will be stripped from the stored data, and I will no longer be able identify which material is associated with you.

Potential Risks: This study should not pose any risk to you. If you at any time feel uncomfortable during the interview, you can refuse to answer a question, and you can withdraw your consent at any time.

Potential Benefits: Participating in this study will have no direct benefit for you. However, through participating in this research, you will contribute to a project that seeks to understand a cultural particularity of the Greek diaspora and a source of pride of many in the Greek community. You will therefore contribute to the knowledge of the Greek community in Montreal.

Compensation: You will not receive any compensation from this study.

Confidentiality: Your participation in this study confidential. Quotations from the interviews may be used in my project, but I will not publish your true name and instead will use a pseudonym. Your name will be removed from the data at the completion of the project. In case of a need for follow-up, your email address and correspondence will be kept until the completion of the project, when it will be deleted. Signed consent forms will be destroyed at the completion of the project as well. Other identifying information, your age, gender and origin, will be retained in the data and may be published in the thesis. At the completion of the study, the recording and transcript of your interview will be stored on a password-protected hard drive and locked in a drawer under the keeping of my supervisor. It will be kept for a minimum of seven years before it is destroyed. The recording and transcript will be kept on a password-protected OneDrive file as well. Due to being stored on OneDrive, the study materials, including de-identified data, may be communicated outside of Quebec. You have the right to consult your study file in order to verify the personal information gathered, and to have it corrected if necessary, by contacting Grace Farran.

Dissemination of Results: The results of this study will appear in my Master's thesis and will be available through the McGill University Library upon completion of my degree. With your permission, my supervisor will retain access to the recordings and transcripts of your interview after I graduate, and the anonymized transcripts or recordings may be used by him and future graduate students or research assistants as part of the continuing Immigrec Project, which studies Greek immigration to Canada, pending additional ethics board approval.

Questions*:* If you have any questions about the project, you may contact my supervisor, Professor Anastassiadis. His contact information can be found on Page 1 of this form.

If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the Research Ethics Board Office, Daniel.tesolin@mcgill.ca or 514-398-5410, citing REB file number 23-12-020.

Please sign below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study. Agreeing to participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the researchers from their responsibilities. To ensure the study is being conducted properly, authorized individuals, such as a member of the Research Ethics Board, may have access to your information. A copy of this consent form will be given to you, and the researcher will keep a copy.

The participant consents to his/her anonymized interview transcripts being used for future research related to Immigrec:

Yes / No

The participant consents to his/her anonymized interview audio being used for future research related to Immigrec:

Yes / No

Participant's Name (please print): _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C
Questionnaire: Greek Immigrants to Canada

1. What is your name?

2. When were you born?

3. Where were you born?

4. When did you immigrate to Canada?

5. Why did you immigrate?

6. Where did you first settle in Canada?

7. When did you come to Montreal?

8. What was your relationship like with the Greek community when you settled in Montreal?

    a. How has your relationship to the Greek community changed since you settled in Montreal?

9. What Greek cultural practices do you believe you have maintained since immigrating?

10. Are you involved with cultural, regional, or religious Greek organizations?

11. Do you know Greek dances?

12. Which dances do you know?

13. How often do you dance and in what environments?

14. In your opinion, how important is dancing to Greek identity and to the Greek community in Montreal?
    a. What other cultural practices do you believe are important to Greek identity in Montreal?

15. Do you have children?
    a. Did you involve them in Greek activities such as Greek school, church groups, or dance lessons?

16. Do you notice a difference between your cultural practices and young generations of Greek Canadians, whether to do with religion, language, food, or music?

17. How has the Greek community itself changed since you settled in Montreal?

Appendix D
Questionnaire: Second and Third-Generation Young Adults

1. What is your name?

2. When were you born?

3. Where were you born?

4. Where did you grow up?

5. Who in your family immigrated from Greece?
    a. From where in Greece are these family members?

6. Do you keep in touch with family members, cousins for example, who still live in Greece?

7. Have you visited Greece?
    a. How many times have you visited?

8. Growing up, did your family send you to Greek school? What other Greek activities did your family involve you in?
    a. Do you speak Greek?

9. How important is being Greek to you?

10. What are activities or practices that you are involved with that you think are culturally Greek? Are you involved with any Greek religious, regional, or cultural organizations?

11. Do you know any Greek dances?

12. Which dances do you know? How did you learn them?

13. How often do you perform these dances? At what kinds of events or gatherings?

14. How important is knowing and practicing these dances to you Greek identity?

15. In which moments or situations do you feel most Greek?

16. How do you think your relationship to your Greek identity is different from that of your parents or grandparents?

    a. Do they know how to dance?