

## A Study of the Changes in the Distribution and Mobility of Armenians in the Montreal Region, 1972-1979

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Article abstract

The Armenian community in Canada is a rather small one numbering to no more than about 30 000. Like other small ethnic minorities and for various reasons, its study has been neglected by scholars in this field. During the last eight years (1972-1979), the most characteristic pattern of the distribution of the Armenians in the Montréal region has been the persistence of a corridor shaped area of residential concentration, even though the actual location of this concentration has shifted in a northward direction. This change has been attracted by the relocation and new locations of Armenian religious institutions and socio-cultural institutions associated with them, as well as by the desire of a segment of the community to reside in quiet residential areas, characterized by single-family and duplex type of dwellings, and often at a relatively short distance from the Armenian institutions.

## **A STUDY OF THE CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION AND MOBILITY OF ARMENIANS IN THE MONTRÉAL REGION 1972-1979<sup>1</sup>**

*by*

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### **ABSTRACT**

The Armenian community in Canada is a rather small one numbering to no more than about 30 000. Like other small ethnic minorities and for various reasons, its study has been neglected by scholars in this field. During the last eight years (1972-1979), the most characteristic pattern of the distribution of the Armenians in the Montréal region has been the persistence of a corridor shaped area of residential concentration, even though the actual location of this concentration has shifted in a northward direction. This change has been attracted by the relocation and new locations of Armenian religious institutions and socio-cultural institutions associated with them, as well as by the desire of a segment of the community to reside in quiet residential areas, characterized by single-family and duplex type of dwellings, and often at a relatively short distance from the Armenian institutions.

**KEY WORDS:** Population geography, ethnic minorities, Armenians, population distribution and mobility, Montréal region.

### **RÉSUMÉ**

#### **Étude des changements de la répartition et de la mobilité spatiale des Arméniens de la région de Montréal, 1972-1979**

La communauté arménienne au Canada ne compte pas plus d'environ 30 000 membres. Pour plusieurs raisons et d'ailleurs comme toutes les autres petites minorités ethniques, cette communauté n'a pas été un objet de recherche pour les praticiens de la géographie de la population. Pendant huit ans (1972-1979), le schéma de distribution le plus caractéristique de la population arménienne dans la région de Montréal a été la persistance d'un couloir résidentiel dense. Néanmoins, on peut, à l'heure actuelle, constater un déplacement de ce couloir résidentiel vers le nord. Ceci est dû au fait que les nouvelles et les anciennes institutions religieuses et socio-culturelles de la communauté arménienne se déplacent vers le nord. En même temps, ce mouvement semble aussi exprimer le désir d'une partie de la communauté de s'établir dans des quartiers résidentiels paisibles offrant des habitations unifamiliales ou du genre duplex, et souvent proches des institutions arméniennes.

**MOTS-CLÉS :** Géographie de la population, minorités ethniques, Arméniens, répartition et mobilité de la population, région de Montréal.

Ethnic minorities occupy a distinct place in North American Society, and contribute substantially to the cultural diversity of urban agglomerations. Some of these minorities, however, appear to have been studied fairly frequently while others have been neglected. This discrepancy may be due to the size of the group, its role within some aspects of a given city's socio-economic structure, or to the difficulty of obtaining data about the minority. In Canada, the Armenian community is relatively small, numbering not more than about 30 000<sup>2</sup>. Approximately 95% of them reside within the boundaries of metropolitan Montréal and Toronto (considerably more in Montréal). The rest reside in the Hamilton-Niagara region, and within the metropolitan regions of Ottawa, and Vancouver.

The Armenians, together with several other small ethnic minority groups such as the Albanians, Austrians, and the peoples of the Baltic region, have not attracted the scholarly interest of researchers in the broad field of ethnic studies. This may be due to a combination of several factors amongst which the lack of Armenian expertise to research their own group, the lack of adequate funds both from Armenian and other sources, the rather small impact that the Armenian community has on the national (Canadian) and regional (provincial) scales, the relatively small size of the community, and the absence of Armenians from the data base of the census of Canada. The Armenians, for the first time, were identified at the data base of the mid-decade census of 1976 under the heading "mother tongue". According to Statistics Canada, the Armenian minority of Canada will be identified separately under "ethnic origin" and "mother tongue" at the data base of the census of 1981.

## PREVIOUS WORK

Eight years ago (1972), the author of this paper researched and subsequently published an introductory study outlining the Armenian immigration to Canada and their distribution in the Montréal region<sup>3</sup>. At that time the only work on the Armenian community in Canada was a very small and an unpublished survey conducted by Mr. K. Bedoukian, who sought to determine ethnicity and social contacts amongst the Armenian youth from Turkey<sup>4</sup>.

Until 1979 and to the best of the author's knowledge, there had not been any published research on the Armenians in Canada. In 1979, however, two significant steps were taken towards researching and providing further information about the Armenians in Québec and in Montréal. The first one is Dr. Baghdjian's report on the history of the Armenians in Québec<sup>5</sup>. The second one is a random sample survey of 30% of the Armenian community within the boundaries of the census metropolitan region of Montréal<sup>6</sup> conducted by A.M.A.Q. (Armenian Medical Association of Québec)<sup>7</sup>. Though the aim of the latter was to provide social, economic, demographic and cultural data mainly for designing a social service system for the elderly Armenians in the Montréal region, the association allowed a few questions with spatial connotations to be included in the questionnaire<sup>8</sup>. Several sections in this paper utilize the data derived from the responses to that survey.

The aim of the present writing is to discuss the changes in the distribution of the Armenians in the Montréal metropolitan region since 1972. Specifically, this paper will examine the changing pattern of the community's distribution within the boundaries of the census metropolitan region of Montréal, as well as some mobility characteristics within the ethnic mosaic and within Montréal as a geographic region. The reason for taking 1972 as the base year is due to the fact that the author's first paper on this topic dealt, at some length, with the distribution of the Armenians in the Montréal region

in 1972, the reasons for the distinct pattern of their spatial concentration, and made some predictions with reference to the expected changes in the pattern of the 1972 distribution. In the same paper, the history of the Armenian immigration to Canada and the formation of the first Armenian spatial core in the Montréal region were also discussed.

#### METHODOLOGY: THE ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLD LIST

The lack of knowledge about the location and size of an ethnic group is a basic problem that many researchers face. The A.M.A.Q. survey of the Armenian community in 1979 was confronted with the same problem. Until 1976 the Armenians were not considered separately at the data base of the census of Canada. The 1976 mid-decade census, however, included the Armenians on the basis of their mother tongue. Subsequent tabulations indicated that there were about 5 000 Armenians in metropolitan Montréal. Since this figure was considered incorrect<sup>9</sup>, A.M.A.Q. prepared an Armenian household list on the basis of the annual Armenian telephone directory<sup>10</sup> and church membership lists. This exercise revealed 3 182 Armenian households. The following sources may also be considered in the process of compiling ethnic household lists: Lovell's city directory of the Montréal region, electoral lists, municipal censuses and water tax lists. Confidentiality, time, cost, duplication, and legal problems were the main reason for not considering these sources<sup>11</sup>.

#### SOURCES AND TECHNIQUES

As already mentioned some of the data considered in this paper is based on a 30% random sample survey of the heads<sup>12</sup> of Armenian households in metropolitan Montréal. This survey was conducted on the basis of personal interviews and the data collected were coded, and processed by the computer utilizing appropriate sections of the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program<sup>13</sup>. Other sources of information include the relevant issues of the 1976 mid-decade census of Canada<sup>14</sup>, the A.M.A.Q. Armenian Household List, previous research, and the personal experience of the author as a participant-observer in the community for twenty years. The examination and analysis of the concepts in this paper are based upon historical, cartographic, and statistical techniques.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION IN 1979 AND CHANGES SINCE 1972

The survey of the Armenian community of metropolitan Montréal in 1972 revealed a total of 2 240 households. As expected, the majority of them were distributed on the island of Montréal. In 1979 the majority of the 3 182 Armenian households were also distributed on the island of Montréal. However, the regional shares had changed (table 1).

The increases in Laval (especially the Chomedey district) and in the South Shore (especially Brossard and Longueuil municipalities) may be attributed to the following three factors: relative proximity to the two major Armenian centres<sup>15</sup>, ownership of mainly single family houses with relatively lower costs than similar dwellings in several other municipalities on the island of Montréal, and a search of quieter residential areas. As figure 1, figure 2 and table 2 show, the first, as well as the second factor, apply to the Laval region. On the other hand and relatively speaking, the South Shore region is further away from the major Armenian centres. Judging from the responses of 113 respon-

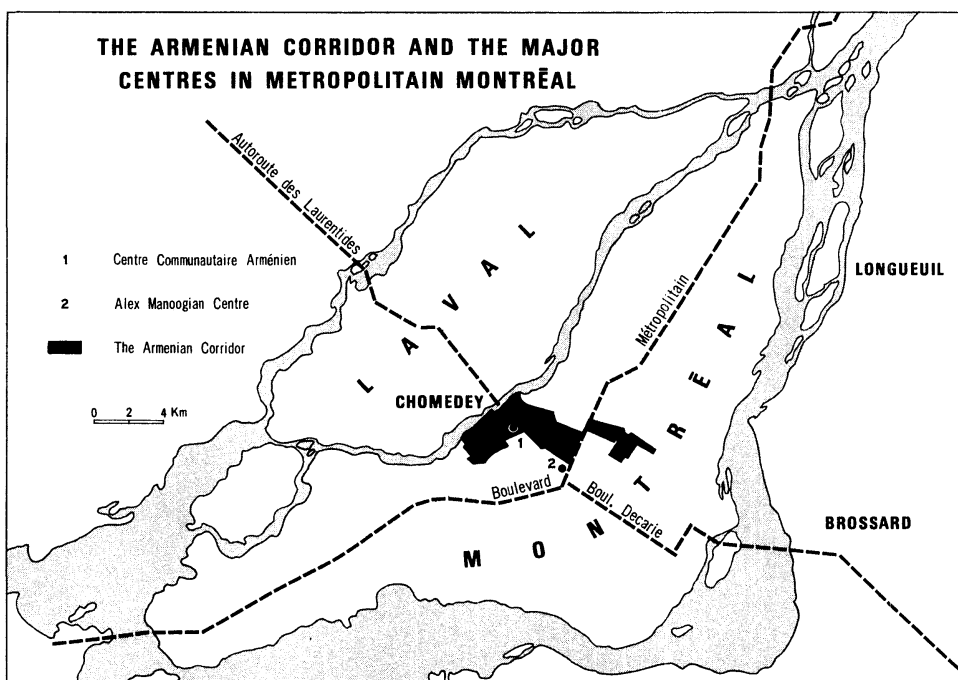
**Table 1**  
**Distribution of Armenian Households in Metropolitan Montréal**  
**1972 and 1979, by percent**

<i>Region</i>	1972 (N = 2240)	1979 (N = 3182)	<i>Actual change</i>	<i>Actual change as % of 1972</i>
Montreal Island .....	93,8	87,9	-5,9	- 6,3
South Shore .....	3,4	5,4	2,0	59,0
Laval .....	2,7	6,4	4,0	148,0
Other .....	0,1	0,0	-0,1	-100,0

dents from the Laval and South Shore regions, the desire to reside in quiet residential areas has been the main reason for choosing the location of their residences in these two regions (table 3).

The "financial suitability" aspect of the location of residence has been also considered (second rank for Laval and third rank for the South Shore), while "proximity to the Armenian centres and quarters" has played the least role in deciding upon the location of their residences. The presence of a well developed and accessible public, as well as the availability of private, transport vis-à-vis relatively short distances may explain for the ranking of the "ethnic" reasons. Noteworthy, that though the "quiet area" reason in the case of Laval and South Shore is consistent with the overall ranking

**Figure 1**



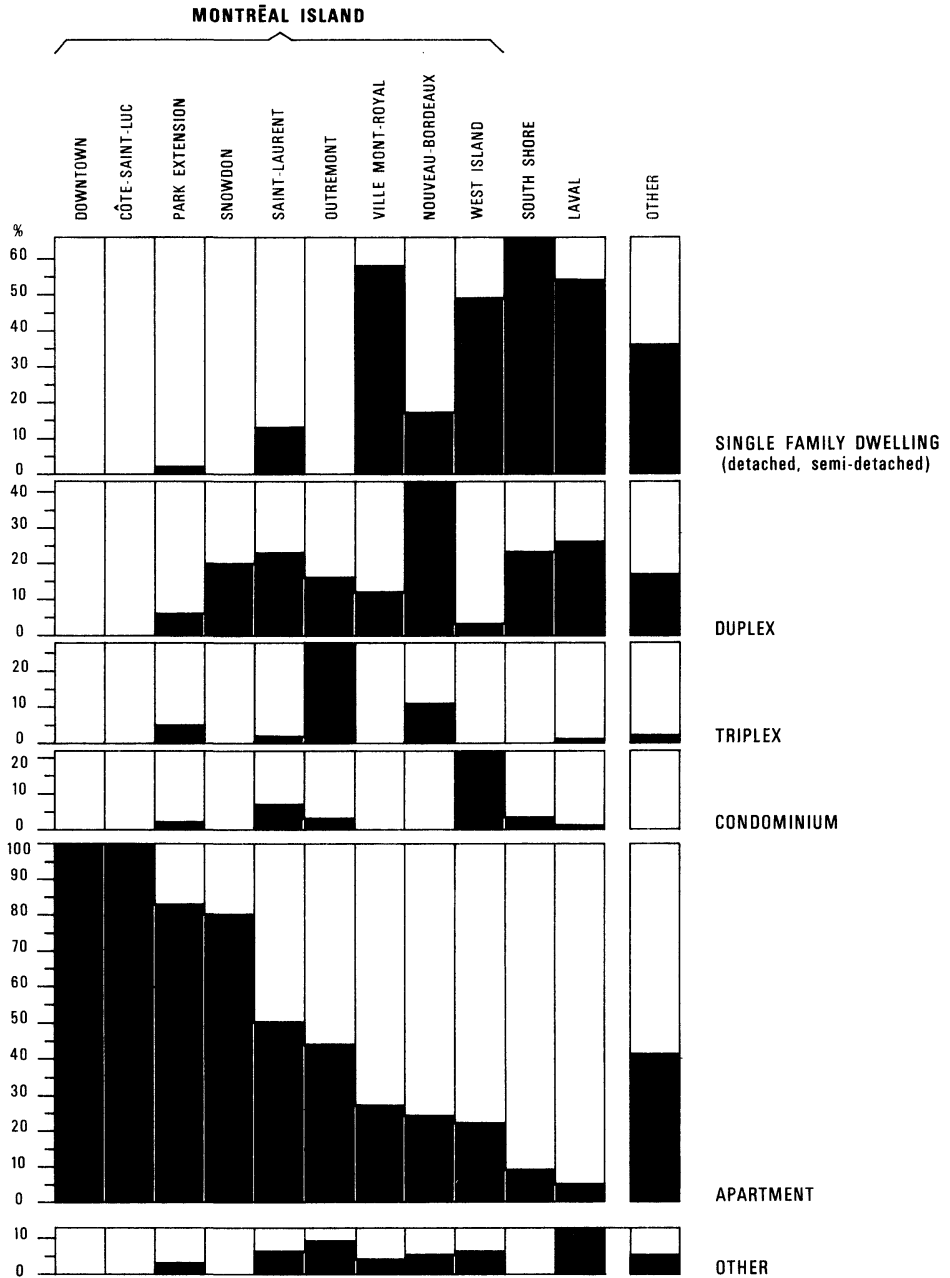
**Table 2**  
**Ownership and type of housing, by percent**

<i>District</i>	<i>Own</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Single family dwelling*</i>	<i>Duplex</i>	<i>Triplex</i>	<i>Apartment</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Condominium</i>
Laval .....	92,6	7,4	53,7	25,6	1,2	4,9	13,4	1,2
South Shore .....	88,6	11,4	65,7	22,9	0,0	8,6	0,0	2,9
West Island .....	75,0	25,0	48,6	2,7	0,0	21,6	5,4	21,6
Town of Mount-Royal .....	69,2	30,8	57,7	11,5	0,0	26,9	3,8	0,0
Nouveau Bordeaux .....	41,8	58,2	16,8	43,4	10,9	24,4	4,5	0,0
Outremont .....	40,6	59,4	0,0	15,6	28,1	43,8	9,4	3,1
Saint-Laurent .....	37,9	62,1	12,5	22,5	2,4	49,7	6,5	6,5
Snowdon .....	12,5	77,5	0,0	20,0	0,0	80,0	0,0	0,0
Park Extension .....	7,5	92,5	1,5	6,4	4,9	83,0		1,9
Downtown .....	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0
Côte Saint-Luc .....	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0
Other .....	50,0	50,0	35,7	16,7	2,4	40,5	4,8	0,0

\* Detached, semi-detached; N = 981 valid cases, 944 (after A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979).

Figure 2

**OWNERSHIP AND TYPE OF HOUSING**



**Table 3**  
**Main reason for the location of residence**  
*(Laval and South Shore Respondents)*

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Laval (N = 79)</i>	<i>South Shore (N = 34)</i>
Quiet area .....	51,9%	44,1%
Near work .....	11,4	23,5
Financial suitability .....	16,5	14,7
Armenian quarters .....	5,1	5,7
Near family .....	15,2	11,8

of this reason for the entire sample, as we will see later on, the degree of its magnitude compared to the other reasons is not as great as the case of Laval and South Shore regions indicates.

The cartographic exercise of mapping the distribution of the Armenian community in the Montréal region in 1979 confirmed the continuation of the presence of the Armenian corridor. The degree of concentration, however, had decreased from 70 percent to 60 percent of the total Armenian households. Between 1972 and 1979 there have been some noticeable changes in the percentages of the Armenians within the census tracts comprising the Armenian corridor (see figures 3 and 4). In general, the northern sections (Nouveau Bordeaux and Saint-Laurent) have increased while the southern sections decreased.

In the concluding remarks of the previous article, the author had pointed out that expansion into the above two sections (Nouveau Bordeaux and Saint-Laurent) had started in the second half of the 1960's, and the process was slowly continuing in the early 1970's. This trend was attributed to the combination of the following two factors: a) movement into suburban types of neighborhoods characterized by multi-unit apartment buildings and "duplexes"; b) proximity to the new location of Sourp Hagop Church and center, near to and west of the intersection of rues James Morrice and Dudemaine.

With few changes, both of the above are still valid. In the case of the first factor there seems to be a tendency towards ownership of "duplex" and single housing units than renting in multi-unit apartment buildings. The role of the second factor has been reinforced by the following developments: first, in 1978 the Alex Manoogian center was established at a location near the intersection of Boulevard Sainte-Croix and Boulevard Métropolitain in Saint-Laurent. Secondly, in 1979 the Centre Communautaire Arménien was enlarged to include schooling and gymnasium facilities.

Although such developments have and will undoubtedly affect the distribution of the Armenian community in the metropolitan Montréal region, their role within this distributional process has been somewhat different. As the centre communautaire Arménien has been at its present location since the late 1960's, it has affected the distribution by attracting Armenian households within its nearby surroundings. On the other hand, the establishment of the Alex Manoogian complex in Saint-Laurent may be viewed as the service being attracted by the changing distribution.

The increases in the northern half of the ethnic (Armenian) corridor have come mainly at the expense of the Outremont and Park Extension sections. Both of these areas comprised the core region in the distribution of the Armenians from the mid-1950's to the late 1960's. These two sections have recorded a loss in their share



Figure 3

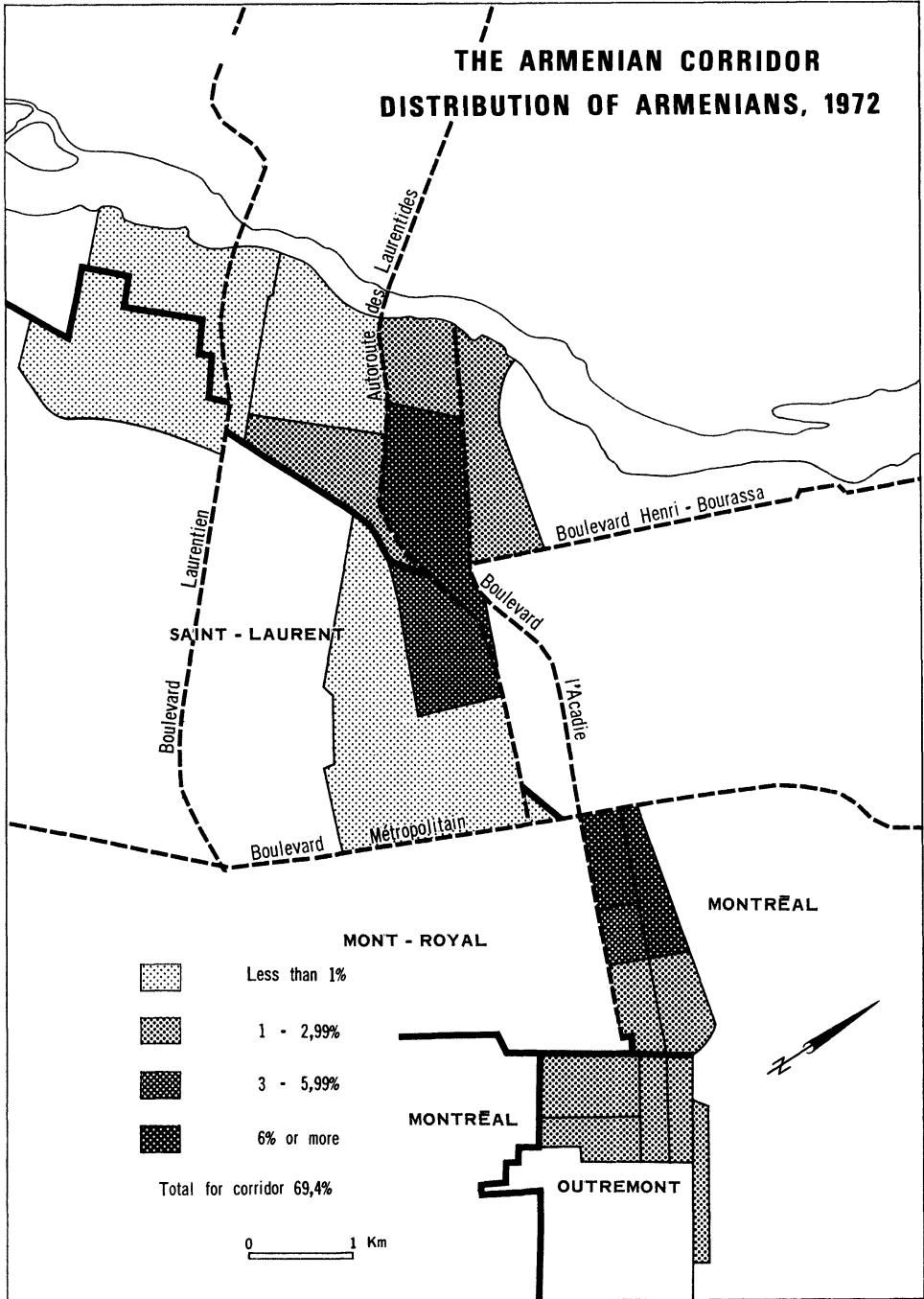
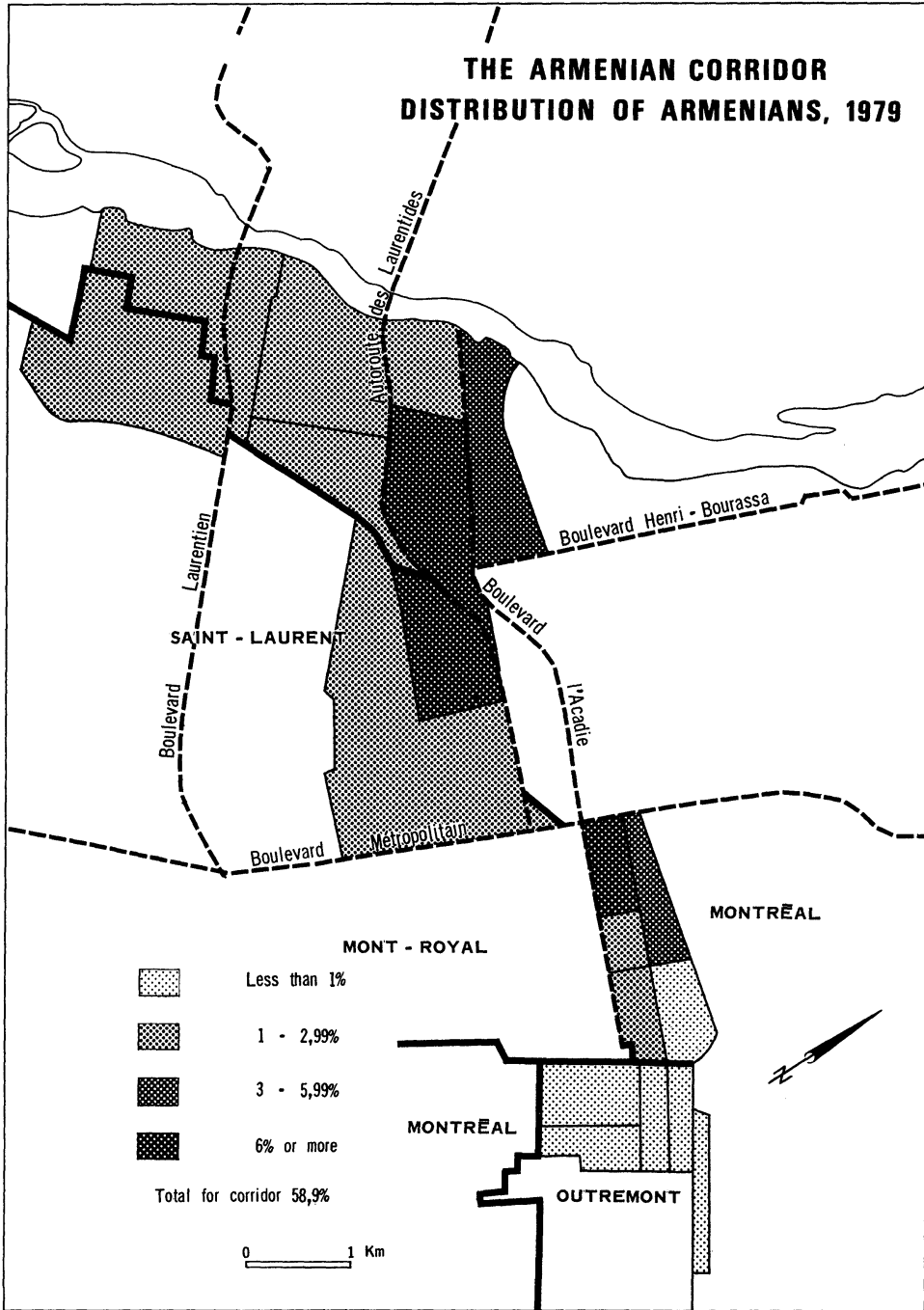


Figure 4



of the Armenians in metropolitan Montréal. The degree of the loss ranges from 20% to as high as 85%. On the other hand, the degree of gain within the northern half of the Armenian corridor ranges from 12% to as high as 500% (see figure 5).

In an attempt to examine the pattern of these changes, the household heads in the sample were asked to indicate the location of their residence five years ago (in 1974). The cross-tabulation of the past and present (1974 and 1979) residential locations revealed that more than 40% of the households in the Outremont, Downtown, Park Extension, and Snowdon—Côte-des-Neiges districts have been relocated (figure 6 and table 4). An examination of figure 6 shows that the overall pattern in this redistribution is characterized by a movement towards the northern sections of the Armenian ethnic corridor. This is mainly due to the role of the two major Armenian centres within the distribution of the Armenian households in metropolitan Montréal, vis-à-vis the importance the Armenians attach on being located within or adjacent to an Armenian residential, social and cultural milieu. In 1972 "Proximity to other Armenians" was the most important factor in the choice of the location of the residence both at the time of the immigrant's arrival, as well as at the time of the last change of residence. As we will see later on, this same ethnic factor continues to play a prominent role in the choice of the location of residence.

The low degree of relocation in the district of Laval (Chomedey) is attributed to the fact that here Armenian households are characterized by a high degree of residential ownership (92,6%), as well as proximity to the upcoming Armenian residential core defined by the districts of Nouveau Bordeaux and Saint-Laurent (also very low degree of relocation). In the case of the South Shore, the low degree of residential change is attributed mainly to a high degree of residential property ownership (88,6%). The latter also applies in the case of the West Island region (75,0%) and to the town of Mont-Royal (69,2%) which has also the advantage of being near the Armenian centres. The low degree of relocation in the Saint-Laurent and Nouveau Bordeaux districts is due to the fact that these two areas comprise the current residential and institutional core within the distribution of the Armenians in the metropolitan region of Montréal (33% of the Armenian households and the two major Armenian centres with most of their associated institutions).

Although the distribution of the Armenians between 1972 and 1979 has been affected by intra-Montréal residential relocations, as well as by immigration, the overall distribution in relation to the rest of the population has changed little. In 1979, the proportion of the Armenians was higher than the proportion of the metropolitan population residing in the following municipalities: Montréal, Outremont, Saint-Laurent, Dollard-des-Ormeaux, and Brossard. In all the other municipalities and towns within the census metropolitan region of Montréal the opposite was true. The calculation of the 1979 LQ score<sup>16</sup> (see figure 7) for each municipality, or town, confirmed the general pattern which was present in 1972. The only exception was the municipality of Ville de Mont-Royal which unlike in 1972 showed a higher concentration of Armenians. This is attributed to a small Armenian influx which, besides looking for ownership of single family dwellings in a mostly higher income residential area, may have been also affected by a popular conception that the Ville Mont-Royal area is one of the prestigious sections of metropolitan Montréal. The fact that Ville de Mont-Royal is fairly near to the present Armenian core may be considered consequential.

Speaking specifically of the Armenian corridor, in 1972 almost every census tract comprising the corridor had an LQ score of more than 1. In 1979 every census tract within the corridor had a score of more than 1. As expected, between 1972 and 1979

Figure 5

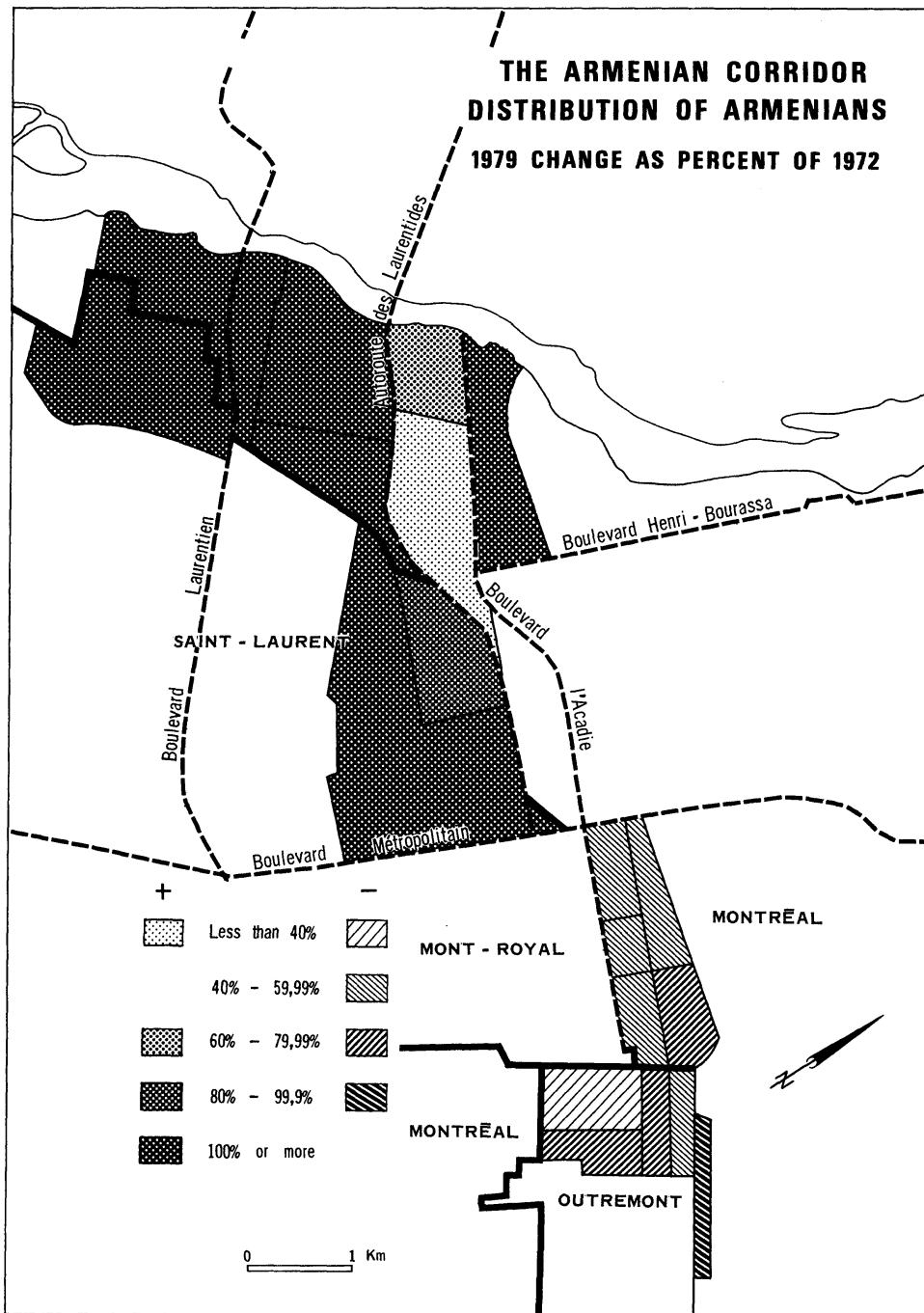
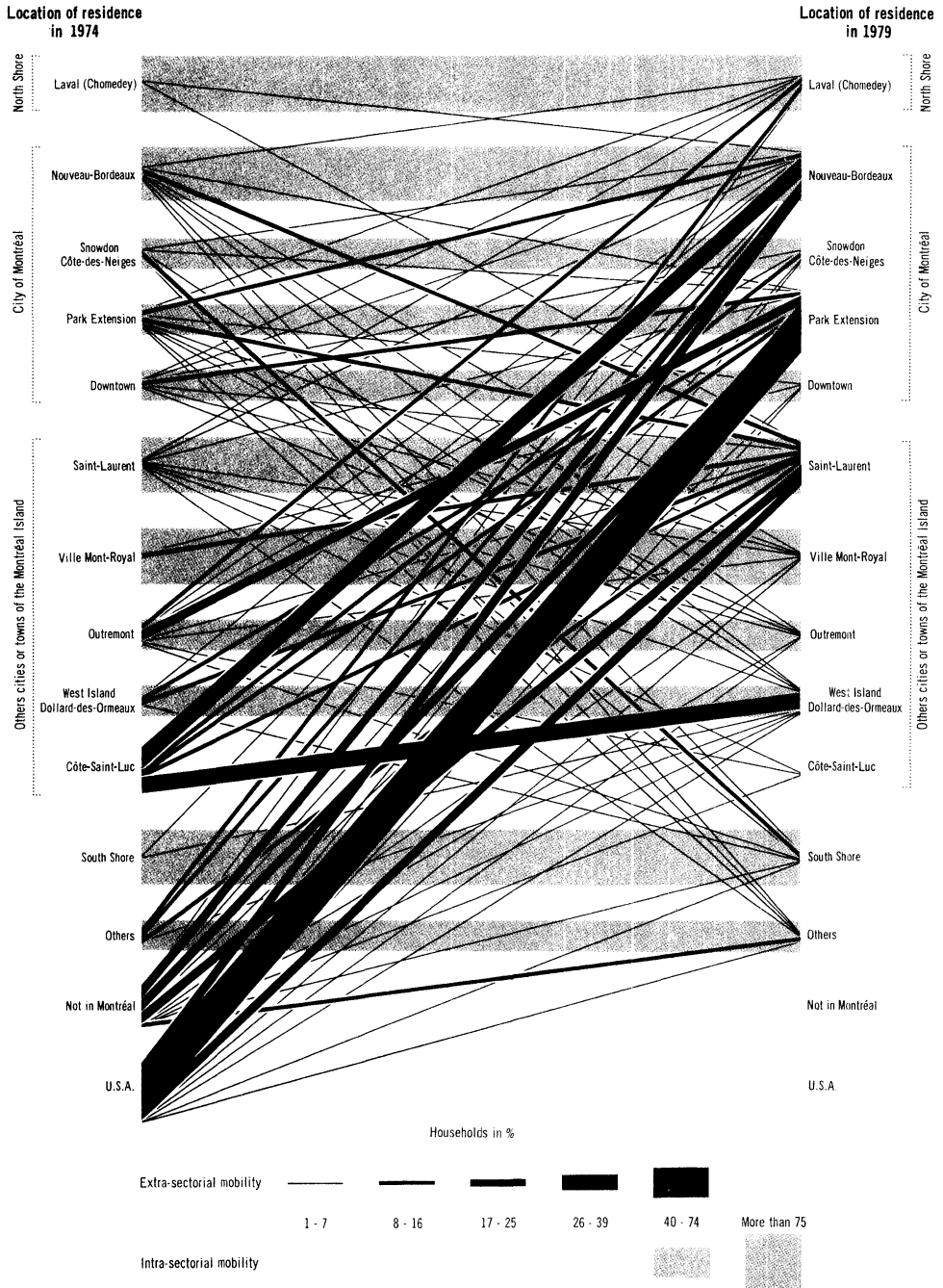


Figure 6

MOBILITY AND REGIONAL PREFERENCE OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDS IN METROPOLITAN MONTRÉAL, 1974-1979



**Table 4**  
**Mobility and regional preference of Armenians**  
**Households in Metropolitan Montréal, 1974-1979**  
**by percent**

*Location of residence now (1979)*

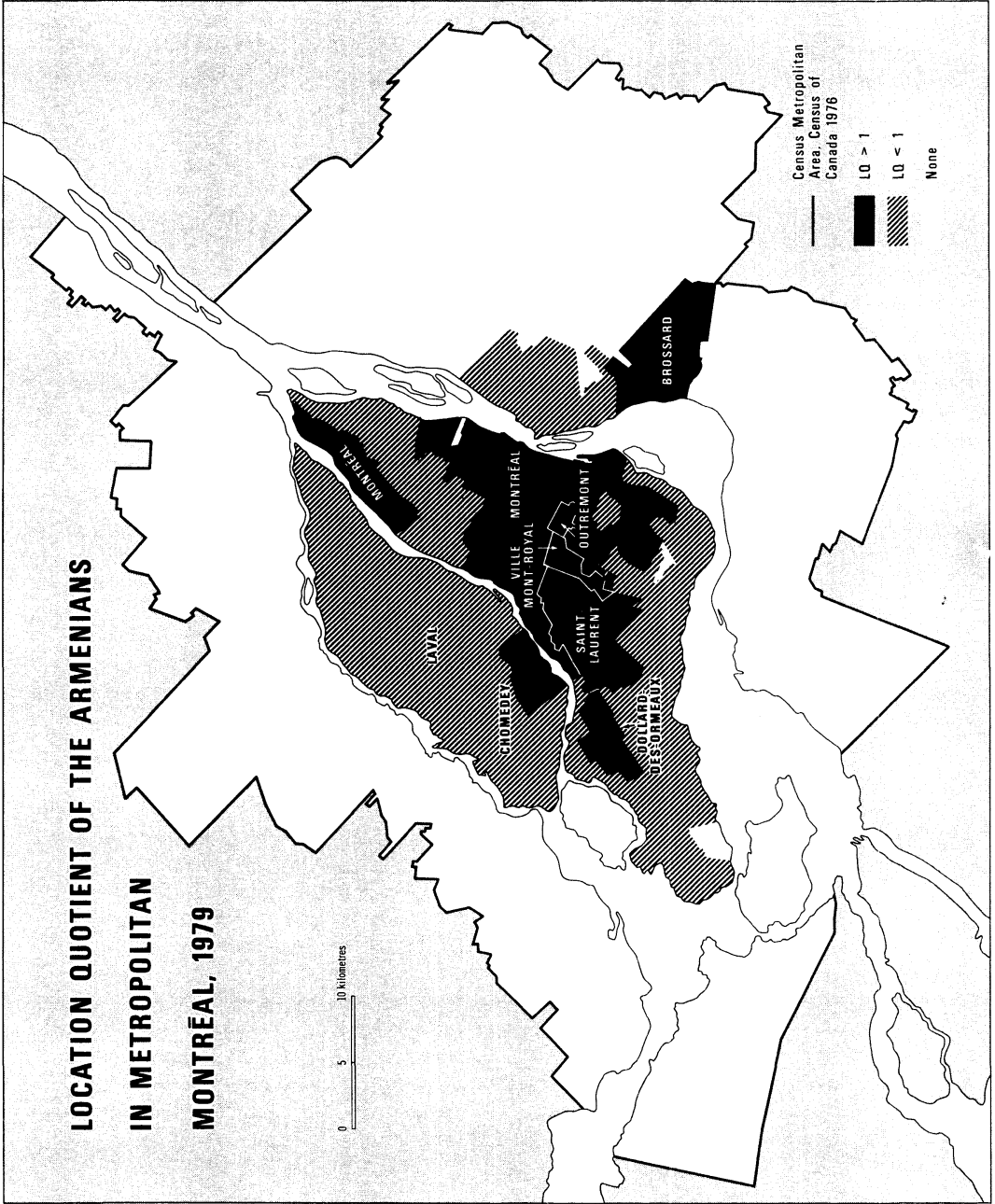
	CSL	DT	L(CH)	N.B	P.EX	OUTR	S.SH	S.CDN	ST-L	TMR	WI/DDO	OTH	NIM	USA
CSL .....	0	0	0	28,6	14,3	0	0	14,3	14,3	0	28,6	0	NA	NA
DT .....	0	55,6	5,6	5,6	11,1	5,6	0	5,6	5,6	5,6	0	0	NA	NA
L(CH) .....	0	0	94,4	2,8	0	0	0	0	2,8	0	0	0	NA	NA
N.B .....	0	0	3,7	77,3	1,2	0,6	1,2	0	9,8	2,5	1,2	2,5	NA	NA
P.EX .....	0	0,3	6,9	13,8	59,5	0,7	3,6	0,3	11,8	0,3	1,0	1,6	NA	NA
OUTR .....	2,3	0	11,6	2,3	18,6	46,5	7,0	4,6	2,3	4,6	0	0	NA	NA
S.SH .....	0	0	0	6,7	0	0	86,7	0	0	0	6,7	0	NA	NA
S.CDN .....	0	0	0	6,7	6,7	0	13,3	60	0	0	6,7	6,7	NA	NA
ST-L .....	1,3	0	4,0	4,0	2,7	2,7	0	0	80	1,3	1,3	2,7	NA	NA
TMR .....	0	6,7	0	0	0	0	0	0	13,3	80	0	0	NA	NA
WI/DDO .....	0	0	0	6,9	10,3	0	6,9	0	10,3	0	65,5	0	NA	NA
OTH .....	0	0	15,8	13,2	2,6	0	0	0	15,8	0	2,6	50,0	NA	NA
NIM .....	1,4	4,1	6,8	17,6	21,6	1,4	1,4	1,4	23,0	5,4	4,1	12,2	NA	NA
USA .....	0	4,1	0	20,44	44,9	4,1	1,0	1,1	19,4	1,1	3,1	1,0	NA	NA

(After A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979) — N = 981; valid cases 931.

CSL	Côte Saint-Luc	S.CDN	Snowdon/Côte-des-Neiges
DT	Downtown	ST-L	Saint-Laurent
L(CH)	Laval (Chomedey)	TMR	Town of Mount-Royal
N.B	Nouveau Bordeaux	WI/DDO	West Island/Dollard des Ormeaux
P.EX	Park Extension	OTH	Others
OUTR	Outremont	NIM	Not in Montréal
S.SH	South Shore		

Location of residence 5 years ago (1974)

Figure 7



there have been some noticeable changes in the scores of each census tract (see figure 8). Such changes are directly the result of the previously discussed movements towards the northern section of the corridor.

In the process of choosing their residential location, Armenians do not seem to have shown any bias either towards the French or the English<sup>17</sup>. The residential segregation index<sup>18</sup> for the Armenians with reference to the English was 45. This meant that 45% of the Armenians had to be redistributed to achieve a proportionally equal distribution with the English. In the case of the French the index was 43,4, while with reference to the "Others" the index was 27,6. The latter is due to the fact that areas of high Armenian concentrations correspond to areas of high concentrations of the "Other" groups. As already mentioned, the Armenian corridor in 1972 was located north of the "immigrant corridor" as identified by Greer-Wooten<sup>19</sup>. In 1979 the Armenian corridor was located within a larger "immigrant corridor" which had expanded in a northward direction from its 1950-60 core near the downtown district of the city. According to the data in the 1971 census and the 1976 mid-decade census, the "Others" group, like the Armenian group, was overrepresented in almost all the census tracts comprising the Armenian corridor (table 5). There is, however, a noticeable difference between the Armenians and the "Others" with regard to the changing pattern of spatial concentration. An examination of table 6 reveals that, on the whole, the relative representation of the "Others" within the southern section of the Armenian corridor has decreased. The average decrease for the "Others" is 21,7% while for the Armenians 28,3%. Even more striking is the degree of change in the northern section, which has experienced an overall increase. The average for the "Others" is a mere 3,4% while the average increase for the Armenians is 312,4%. These significant differences may be attributed to the possibility of having an ethnic group being more mobile than the entire "Others" group, while this mobility may have been confined to a section of the total space of the entire "immigrant corridor".

## FACTORS AFFECTING THE MOBILITY OF THE ARMENIANS IN CANADA AND THE CHOICE OF THEIR RESIDENTIAL LOCATION IN MONTREAL

### In Canada

An immigrant's choice of his/her initial location in the new country will depend upon several factors amongst which a) proximity to the sponsor, b) an already existing core of the same ethnic group, c) linguistic cognity, and d) availability of jobs. These, as well as other factors, have been examined by several researchers. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enlist and present a critique of these studies. For a selected sample of immigrant settlements and distributions, both early and recent, the reader is referred to the "references" section of this paper<sup>20</sup>.

In the case of the Armenians in metropolitan Montréal, almost every individual in the sample indicated that regardless of his/her length of residence in Canada, the initial centre of residence, in this case metropolitan Montréal, remained the same. Figure 9 and the value of (r) indicate the degree of the association of these temporal and locational variables. One could argue, however, in favour of a bias sample since it can not account for those who have already left Montréal for another urban centre in Canada. Though we do not have the quantitative data to prove or disprove this argu-



Figure 8

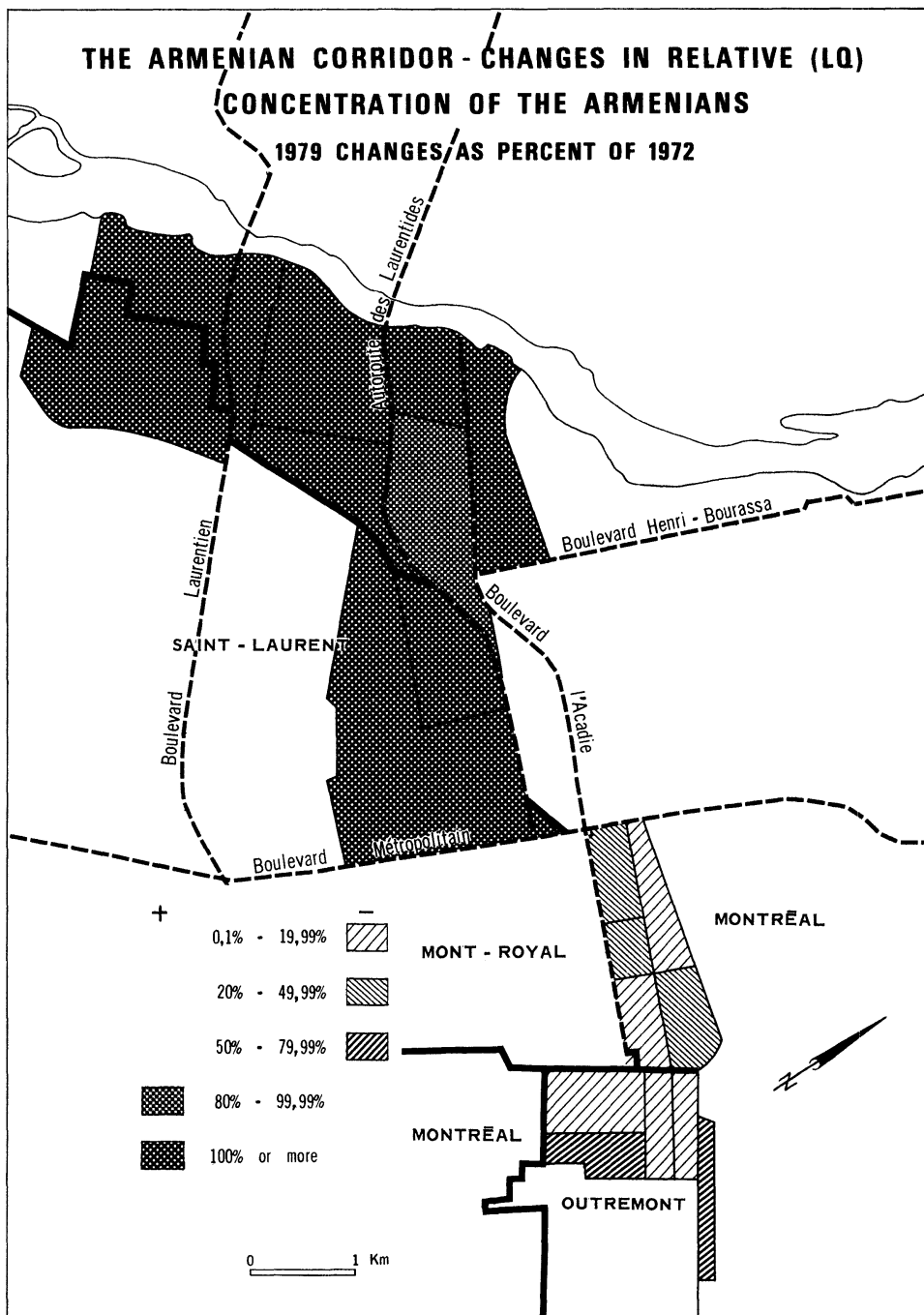


Table 5

**Changes in the relative concentration of "others" within the  
census tracts comprising the Armenian Corridor**

<i>Census Tract</i>	<i>Location quotient for 1971*</i>	<i>Location quotient for 1976*</i>	<i>% change</i>
165	4,6	3,1	-32,6
364	4,5	3,3	-26,7
365	2,3	2,1	- 8,7
366	1,3	0,8	-38,5
367	2,3	1,6	-30,4
220	4,8	4,3	-10,4
221	5,4	4,3	-20,4
222	5,7	4,9	-14,0
223	6,2	4,8	-22,6
224	5,7	5,0	-12,3
410	1,3	1,2	- 7,7
416	1,0	1,4	40,0
421	1,5	1,3	-13,3
282	1,3	1,2	- 7,7
283	2,4	2,2	- 8,3
284	1,1	1,2	0,9
285	0,7	0,7	0,0
286	1,1	1,2	0,9
287	0,5	0,6	20,0

\* Calculated on the basis of the data provided in the 1971 Census of Canada, and in the mid-decade census of 1976.

ment, the prevailing consensus within the community and its institutions is that Armenian outmigration from Montréal is rather insignificant<sup>21</sup>.

The above high degree of correlation may be explained, in part, by the importance the Armenians attach to the ethnic factor. Armenians tend to be in-group oriented which is evident in their social attitudes and behaviour. For example, exogamy<sup>22</sup> is disliked and discouraged by the majority of the Armenians and particularly by the older generation; social contacts occur most frequently within an Armenian milieu; they organize and subscribe to Armenian social, cultural, and political organizations; and, whenever possible, the primary education of their children to be completed in an Armenian school. There are two Armenian schools in Montréal today. The Armen-Québec School and the Sourp Hagop Armenian School. The former is composed of a nursery which started in 1970 and, in the 1979-80 season, had a population of 150 students. The elementary section of the Armen-Québec school started in 1974 and, in the 1979-80 season, had a population of 75 students. The Sourp Hagop Armenian School has also a nursery which started in 1973 and it is now attended by about 160 children. The elementary section of the same school started in 1974 and, in the 1979-80 season, had a student population of 200. Both elementary schools consist of all the grades. The students are taught in Armenian, French, and English. There are also two Armenian Saturday schools. The one under the auspices of the Sourp Hagop Armenian Apostolic Church has its beginning in 1956 and it now has 250 students. The other, under the auspices of the St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Apostolic Church, started in 1958 and it now hosts 150 students. In both of the Saturday schools students are taught the Armenian language and history. In both elementary schools 70% of the teaching time is in French. In the Sourp Hagop Armenian Elementary School 20% of teaching time is

Table 6

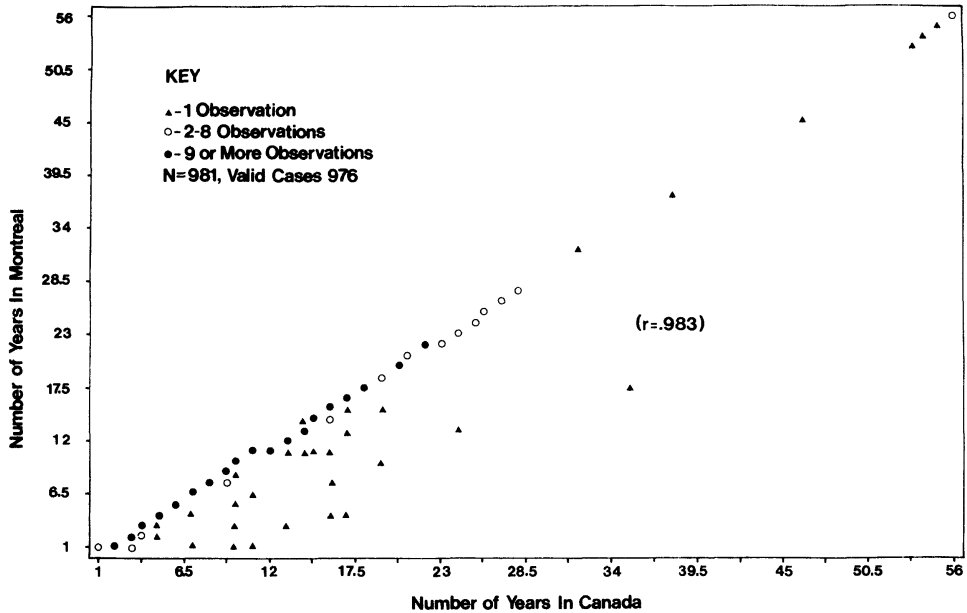
Changes in the relative concentration of Armenians (1972-1979)\* and "others" (1971-1976) within the census tracts comprising the Armenian Corridor

Census tract	Armenians	Others	Census tract	Armenians	Others
<i>Southern Section</i>			<i>Northern Section</i>		
	%	%		%	%
165 .....	-63,9	-32,6	410 .....	159,1	- 7,7
364 .....	-14,3	-26,7	416 .....	1 066,7	40,0
365 .....	-18,4	- 8,7	421 .....	274,2	-13,3
366 .....	-57,1	-38,5	282 .....	219,1	- 7,7
367 .....	-14,9	-30,4	283 .....	87,4	- 8,3
220 .....	-34,0	-10,4	284 .....	246,9	0,9
221 .....	-13,8	-20,4	285 .....	213,3	0,0
222 .....	-34,4	-14,0	286 .....	182,1	0,9
223 .....	-23,7	-22,6	287 .....	362,5	20,0
224 .....	- 8,2	-12,3			

\* Figures for the Armenians in 1972 and 1979 based on the Armenian Household List multiplied by the average number of persons per household. Figures for the rest of the population based on the 1971 and 1976 census.

Figure 9

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN MONTRÉAL AND IN CANADA



in Armenian and 10% in English. The corresponding figures for the Armen-Québec Elementary School are 15% and 15% respectively. In both nurseries and Saturday schools the language of instruction is mostly Armenian.

In sociological terms, the belief in "ethnic preservation" is deeply rooted amongst the Armenians. Since the initial stages of its development, the social and cultural organization of the Armenian community of Metropolitan Montréal has provided the basic necessities for the preservation of this group. Besides the Armenian Saturday schools and the nurseries and elementary schools, there are also several religious, social, cultural and political institutions and organizations. Many of them date back to the latter half of the 1950's when approximately 1500 Armenian immigrants, mainly from Greece, formed the basis of today's Armenian community of metropolitan Montréal (for a complete and up-to-date list of these institutions and organizations see appendix 1). In addition, the Armenians, by utilizing the "chain sponsorship" method of immigration, have succeeded in transplanting families and relatives, mainly from the countries of the Middle East, to Canada. Thus, the community has increased by both natural increase and continuous intake of the same stock. Undoubtedly, such a low degree of mobility should be also attributed to successful adjustments and establishments within other aspects of Montréal's socio-economic milieu.

### **In Montréal**

At this scale Armenians appear to have been fairly mobile due to social improvement and progress in their economic conditions. Although it is reasonable to expect that such social and economic improvements may directly or indirectly pressure an individual to change residences, the socio-economic and cultural background, as well as the attitudes of the same individual towards cultural and economic aspects of life may work contrary to the expected. Since Armenians place a high priority and seriously attempt to own their homes, it is not unusual to find many of them staying at the same residence until the time to make that "ownership of property" move. According to the 1979 survey by A.M.A.Q., on the average this move took place at the end of ten years of residence in Montréal and on the third change of residence. Today approximately 40% of the Armenians own their homes. Thus, in the case of the Armenians one should be rather conservative in expecting a high correlation between length of residence and number of residential changes. In an attempt to provide a quantitative measure, these two variables were cross tabulated and the Kendall's Tau coefficient of correlation calculated. Table 7 shows that such a conservative expectation is rather realistic<sup>23</sup>.

As already mentioned, a random sample survey conducted by the author, during the preparation of the first paper on this subject, revealed that the ethnic factor (proximity to other Armenians) was the most important element in the choice of the location of their residence. In the 1979 survey by the Armenian Medical Association of Québec, the Armenian household head was asked to indicate the most important reason for his/her choice of the present location of the residence. Since in 1979 the community, on the whole, was eight years older from the time when the first survey was conducted, it was expected that many of its members had adjusted within the provincial and national socio-economic milieu. Consequently, it would be reasonable to expect that, in general, the importance of the ethnic factor had diminished. Table 8 shows that proximity to Armenians has a second overall ranking. However, if one was to interpret the "Near to Family" variable as implicitly ethnic, then the ethnic factor would obviously rank first at the magnitude of 43,4%. "Near the Family" in this case

**Table 7**  
**Length of residence and number of residential changes**

No. of years	No. of changes by percent									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1-3 .....	29,5	26,5	30,9	8,7	0,7	1,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,0
4-6 .....	19,6	20,6	32,7	20,6	2,8	2,8	0,9	0,0	0,0	0,0
7-9 .....	12,6	17,2	31,0	24,1	10,3	1,1	2,3	1,1	0,0	0,0
10-12 .....	8,1	13,9	25,4	25,8	17,7	4,3	1,9	0,5	0,5	0,0
13-15 .....	7,1	11,6	24,2	28,3	11,6	9,1	3,5	3,5	1,0	0,0
16-18 .....	1,4	6,1	28,6	32,7	17,0	5,4	6,1	2,0	0,0	0,0
19-21 .....	0,0	5,7	25,7	40,0	20,9	11,1	8,6	0,0	5,7	0,0
22-24 .....	5,6	11,1	11,1	5,6	11,1	11,1	22,2	0,0	11,1	0,2
25 and more ...	10,0	0,0	50,0	20,0	10,0	0,0	5,0	0,0	5,0	0,0

Kendall's Tau C = 0,28 (after A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979) N = 981, valid cases 970.

**Table 8**  
**Main reason for choosing the location of the present residence**

Quiet area .....	26,3%
Armenian quarters .....	23,5%
Near work .....	20,1%
Near family .....	20,0%
Financial suitability .....	10,1%
TOTAL .....	100,0%

(After A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979) N = 981, valid cases 910.

means Armenian grandparents who often take care (baby-sit) their grandchildren. This, in turn, facilitates the learning and the use of the Armenian language, and its acceptance as the "mother tongue". The latter coupled with subsequent contacts within the Armenian milieu enhances the development of the feeling of ethnic identification.

As expected the distribution of this overall ranking of reasons for choosing the location of a residence varied in space as well as in magnitude. In Côte-Saint-Luc, Outremont, Snowdon/Côte-des-Neiges, and Downtown districts the most important factor was to be near to work. These districts are characterized by declining number of Armenian households, being outside the region of concentration of Armenians (Outremont may still be considered an exception), and having a well-developed commercial and business sector. In the districts of Park Extension and Nouveau Bordeaux the main factor was to be located within an Armenian milieu. Both of these districts have a high degree of concentration of Armenian residences, contain several Armenian institutions, and constitute an important section of the Armenian corridor. In the districts of Ville de Mont-Royal, Saint-Laurent, Laval (Chomedey), West Island, and South Shore "quiet area" was the main reason for the choice of the location of their residences. With the exception of the Saint-Laurent district, the rest are mainly residential areas, void of city congestions, and outside the Armenian corridor which is characterized by a heavy concentration of Armenian households and institutions.

The 1979 survey also showed that the ethnic (Armenian) factor was more important with the recent immigrants than with the earlier ones. This is consistent with the results

**Table 9**  
**Length of residence and main reason**  
**for the location of the present residence**

Years in Montréal	Main reason									
	Near work		Financially suitable		Near family		Near Armenian quarters		Quiet area	
	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
1-3 .....	22,6	2	8,0	5	25,5	3	32,8	1	10,9	4
4-6 .....	17,1	4	9,5	5	21,9	3	27,6	1	23,8	2
7-9 .....	20,5	4	4,8	5	26,5	1	25,3	2	22,9	3
10-12 .....	21,6	3	12,4	5	12,9	4	24,2	2	28,9	1
13-15 .....	23,1	2	9,9	5	21,4	3	15,9	4	29,7	1
16-18 .....	16,2	4	9,6	5	20,6	2,5	20,6	2,5	33,1	1
19-21 .....	15,2	4,5	18,2	3	15,2	4,5	24,2	2	27,3	1
22-24 .....	11,8	4	17,6	3	5,9	5	23,5	2	41,2	1
25 and more ...	16,7	2,5	11,1	4,5	16,7	2,5	11,1	4,5	44,4	1

N = 981, valid cases = 905 (after A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979).

of the previous survey. An examination of table 9 and figure 10 reveals that the "Armenian Quarters" and "Near Family" factors were the first and second most important, respectively, in the choice of the location of a residence with Armenian immigrants residing in metropolitan Montréal for ten years or more. The economic factor of "Financial Suitability" was the least important regardless of length or residency. This was also revealed by the results of the first survey in 1972.

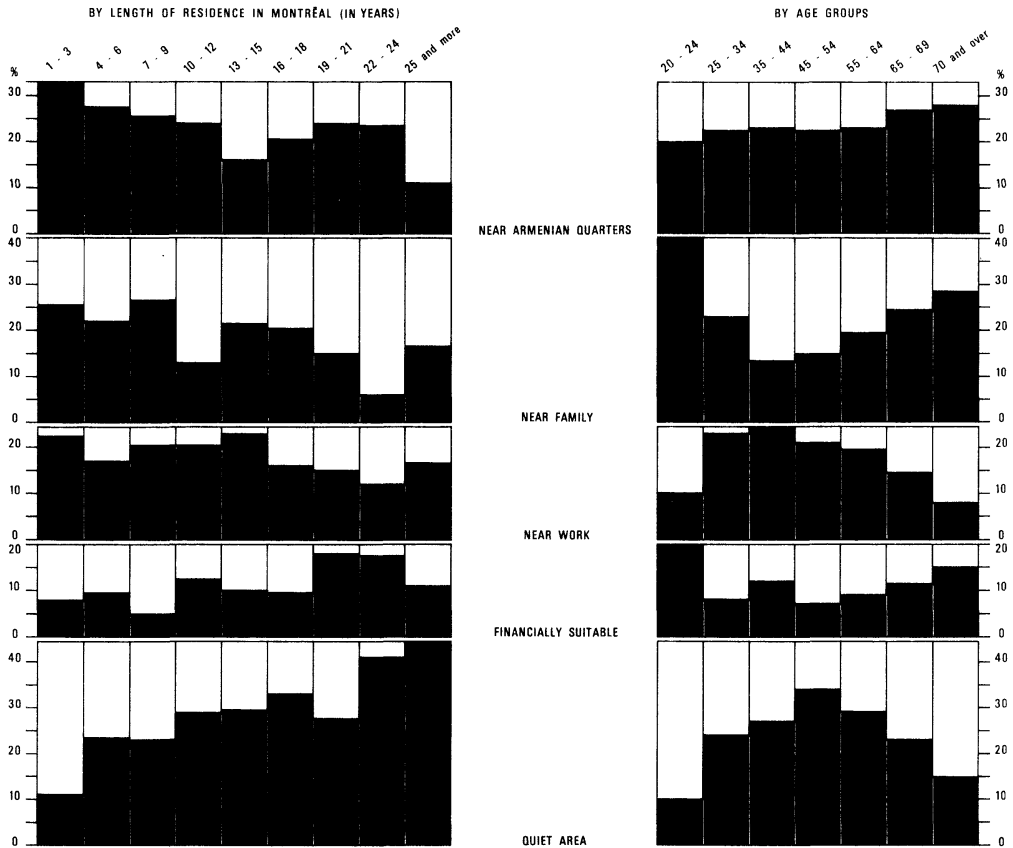
The 1979 survey revealed that the importance of the ethnic factor (Armenian Quarters and Near Family) was also related to two additional variables: the age of the respondent and the country from where he/she emigrated. An examination of table 10 and figure 10 shows that though the ethnic factor (Armenian Quarters and Near Family) has been very important in the choice of the location of residence with all age groups, the "Near Family" component of the ethnic factor is noticeably significant with the younger group (20-34) and with the older group (65 and over). A likely explanation, always within the Armenian context, may be found in the concept of "mutual needs". For example, the younger groups consisting of families with young children need the caring help of the grandparents. On the other hand, certain social and economic needs of the elderly may be fulfilled by the younger group.

The ethnic factor was also ranked very high by those respondents who had emigrated from countries with large Armenian communities (excluding the Armenian S.S.R.), many of them residing in ethnically homogeneous sectors. Of all the countries of Armenian emigration Lebanon by far is the outstanding example. It hosts (some changes have occurred due to the recent political events) the largest Armenian community (150 000 to 175 000) living in the Diaspora, with distinct Armenian residential quarters in the capital city of Beirut and environs. Other countries in this group, though to a considerably lesser degree than Lebanon, include Egypt, Syria and several other countries of the Middle East.

An examination of table 11 verifies the case of Lebanon and provides a basis for further comparisons and questions. For example, we notice that in only 8 of the 19 countries/regions is the ranking for the ethnic factor higher than the rankings for the other factors. In another group of 8 the ranking of the ethnic factor is equally high as the ranking for another factor, while in the case of 4 countries/regions a factor other

Figure 10

MAIN REASON FOR THE LOCATION OF THE PRESENT RESIDENCE



than the ethnic enjoys the highest ranking. We also notice that with the exception of Greece and Cyprus the remaining 6 countries, where the ethnic factor ranks the highest, have a population with a distinctly different religion (Moslem) from that of the Armenians (Christians). Can religion and associated social and cultural systems and values account for ethnic residential segregation? This and several other questions will, hopefully, be answered in the future, when a more systematic and critical analysis of the Armenian community throughout Canada will be conducted.

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the distribution of the Armenian community in metropolitan Montréal has confirmed several points which were tentatively made in the earlier study, as well as it revealed some new ones. Noteworthy are the following: first, the continuation of the existence of the "Armenian Corridor"; second, the expected movement to the northern sections of the corridor affected by the establishment and expansion of the Armenian socio-cultural centres. It should be mentioned, however, that such move-

**Table 10**  
**Main reason of the location of the present residence**

*By age groups and by percent*

Age groups	Main reason	Armenian quarters (a)	Near family (b)	Ethnic factor (a + b)	Near work	Financial suitability	Quiet area
20-24 .....		20	40	60	10	20	10
25-34 .....		22,3	22,9	45,3	22,9	7,8	24,1
35-44 .....		23,2	13,3	36,5	24,6	11,8	27,0
45-54 .....		22,7	15,2	37,9	21,2	7,1	33,8
55-64 .....		22,9	19,7	42,6	19,7	8,9	28,7
65-69 .....		27,1	24,3	51,4	14,3	11,4	22,9
70 and over .....		27,9	33,7	61,6	8,1	15,1	15,1

(After A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979. N = 981, valid cases 908).

ments are not unique to the Armenians. For example, a large section of the Greek community has followed a northerly direction in the process of residential changes in the Montréal region. Similar movements, though not in the same direction, have been also noticed with the Jewish and Italian communities; third, the high degree of inter-urban immobility; and fourth, the importance of the "Armenian milieu" in the choice of the location of their residences. The role of the "Armenian milieu" is closely associated with the past, and more important the recent socio-political history of the Armenian nation (defined in the broad sociological sense). With the exception of the Armenian S.S.R., Armenians have been always a minority in every country which hosted the Armenian Diaspora, the tragic consequence of the Armenian massacres of 1915 administered by the government of Turkey. The absence of an independent political-territorial unit (a state) to foster, protect, and nourish the Armenian culture and aspirations, the Armenian centres with their various social, cultural, and political institutions (the Armenian church being the most important) have performed the above functions that otherwise an independent Armenian state would. Being a minority within large and distinctly different socio-cultural majorities, and at times being subject to discrimination have reinforced the feeling of being an Armenian. Hence, the preservation of the Armenian ethnic identity. The latter coupled with the role of the various Armenian institutions has resulted into sometimes conscientious and sometimes unconscientious desire to reside within, near, or adjacent to a spatially defined Armenian milieu.

As for the risky business of predicting the future of the distribution of the Armenians in metropolitan Montréal, it is expected that the northward movement within the corridor will continue with expansions taking place to the west and northwest of the northern half of the present corridor, due to the chain migration process and the presence of a well-organized Armenian community, interurban immobility will continue to be high; ownership of "duplex" and single family housing units will increase; and, the "Armenian milieu" will continue to play an important role in the choice of the location of the residence.

In the last eight years and to the best of the author's knowledge, research on the Armenian community of metropolitan Montréal has increased considerably. It seems that



Table 11

## Main reason for the location of the present residence

By country of last permanent residence and by percent

Country	Main reason	Ethnic factor "Armenian quarters" "near family"	Quiet area	Near work	Financial suitability	n
Argentina .....		33,3	33,3	0,0	33,3	3
Cyprus .....		40,0	20,0	20,0	20,0	5
Egypt .....		40,0	29,4	20,5	20,5	-347
France .....		23,1	53,8	15,4	7,7	13
Greece .....		36,1	19,1	19,1	25,5	47
Iran .....		37,5	12,5	37,5	12,5	8
Iraq .....		20,0	0,0	80,0	0,0	5
Israel .....		41,1	17,6	29,4	11,8	17
Italy .....		50,0	50,0	0,0	0,0	2
Jordan .....		0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	1
Lebanon .....		57,1	19,8	17,9	5,2	212
Syria .....		45,8	23,6	15,3	15,3	72
Turkey .....		42,1	34,1	17,0	6,8	88
U.K. ....		0,0	0,0	66,7	33,3	3
U.S.A. ....		40,0	0,0	40,0	20,0	5
Armenian S.S.R. ....		38,7	32,3	19,4	9,7	31
Rest of Europe .....		12,5	12,5	50,0	25,0	8
Rest of Latin America ....		36,4	36,4	18,2	9,1	11
All Others .....		36,7	30,0	23,3	10,0	30

(After A.M.A.Q. Survey, 1979. N = 981, valid cases 908).

the time is ripe for an interurban comparative study of the Armenian community in Canada. A study based on factor analytic techniques to establish on an objective basis all the principal factors at work in the diffusion of an ethnic group across a city, a province and a country spanning "from coast to coast". Such a study will undoubtedly contribute not only to the understanding of the distribution of the Armenian community in Canada, but it will also add to the bank of ethnic studies in this country and greatly enhance our comprehension of the "ethnic mosaic" which characterizes the Canadian society.

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<sup>1</sup> The financial support of the Government of Canada, Secretary of State, Office of Multiculturalism is appreciated. The author wishes to thank Dr. G. Armen, University of Ottawa, Dr. J. Cermakian, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, and Dr. M. Mennasemay, Dawson College—Montréal, for reading and commenting on the manuscript. My appreciation also to

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<sup>2</sup> As of today, it has been impossible to verify the number of Armenians in Canada. This problem has become a more difficult one to solve since the abolition of the classification of immigrants by ethnicity by the Department of Immigration and Manpower in 1966. In addition, the Censuses of Canada for 1931, 41, 51, 61, and 71 do not classify the Armenians as a separate group. This is not the case in the 1981 census.

<sup>3</sup> CHICHEKIAN, G. (1977) *Armenian Immigrants in Canada and Their Distribution in Montréal Cahiers de Géographie du Québec*, 21 (52):65-81.

<sup>4</sup> The late Mr. K. Bedoukian was a Montréal based businessman. He had been deeply involved, both at the personal and collective levels, in facilitating the immigration of about 2 000 Armenians to Canada. He is the author of *The Urchin: An Armenian's Escape* London, John Murray, 1978.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. K. Baghdjian has immigrated to Canada from Lebanon. He is a professor in Legal Sociology and the recipient of the "Order of Canada" medal. Currently he holds the position of President of the Federation of Ethnic Groups of Québec Incorporated, and President of Ethnic Press Association of Québec Incorporated. Recently he has been commissioned by the office of the Secretary of State to write the history of the Armenians of Québec (Les Arméniens du Québec).

<sup>6</sup> As defined by the 1976 mid-decade census of Canada. In this paper references to census metropolitan region of Montréal, Metropolitan (metro) Montréal, and Montréal region are used interchangeably.

<sup>7</sup> The Armenian Medical Association of Québec was formed in 1977. Its aim has been to provide medical assistance mainly to needy and elderly Armenians. At the present time the association has approximately 60 members all of who are doctors in the medical profession.

<sup>8</sup> The author wishes to express his deep appreciation to the Armenian Medical Association of Québec for the opportunity to participate in their 1979 survey of the Armenian community of Montréal. Also a note of gratitude for the permission to include several questions of geographic nature in the Association's questionnaire and the subsequent use of the tabulations of the responses. A special note of gratitude to Mrs. Rita Karakas, coordinator—Visiting Homemaker Dept., Jewish Family Services, Social Service Centre of Montréal and member of the Social and Medical Committee of A.M.A.Q. for her help in all aspects of the survey.

<sup>9</sup> The 1972 Armenian telephone directory alone consisted of 2 240 household listings. Since the average Armenian household consisted of four persons (1972 and 1979 surveys), it is obvious that the figure of 5 000 is incorrect.

<sup>10</sup> Each year the Armenian community of Montréal compiles a list of Armenian households. This list is based on information provided by the telephone directory for metropolitan Montréal. Armenian names due to their distinct endings (ian) can be easily distinguished. A small deviation from this rule does exist but not large enough to create overall distortions. The problem is further reduced if the person(s) who is (are) involved in the compilation (is (are) Armenian(s)). In the case of compiling the household names for the Armenian telephone directory all persons working on this project have been Armenians.

<sup>11</sup> According to the editor of Lovell's City Directory, this source is compiled mainly from the telephone directory for metropolitan Montréal and partly by a door-to-door survey. In addition, it is not up-to-date due to time and money constraints. Electoral lists are problematic because the enlisted must be Canadian citizens. Since there is a three year residency requirement, prior to the application for citizenship, many Armenians may not be included. This problem becomes particularly acute in the case of large influxes due to political disorders at the point of origin. Large numbers of Armenians from Lebanon and even larger numbers of southeast Asians arriving in Canada during the last two to three years exemplify the problem inherent in electoral lists. Municipal censuses are often kept confidential. The author contacted a few municipalities and he was told that this was their policy. The use of water tax lists, arranged by household units, was suggested by officials of the Montréal Urban Community. However, there are two serious problems. First, since there is no computer service a great deal of time (maybe one year) is required to identify and compile an Armenian household list. Second, often the water tax bill of the tenant is included in his/her rent and thus paid by the proprietor of the building.

<sup>12</sup> The husband or wife. In this survey over two thirds of the respondents were the husbands. Most of the time they were being interviewed in the presence of their wives. The opposite was also true in the case of the wives.

<sup>13</sup> The author wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. G.Y. Levesque, biometrician, at the Centre de Recherche sur la Croissance Humaine, in the Université de Montréal, for his invaluable help and impeccable work in the various facets of the computer processing of the responses to the 1979 survey by A.M.A.Q.

<sup>14</sup> Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (1976), Spatial Systems Section, *Street Index—Montreal* (updated to December 31, 1975), Ottawa. Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (1976), Catalogue 92-821 (bulletin 2.2), *Population: Demographic Characteristics*, Ottawa. Statistics Canada (1976), Catalogue 95-811 (bulletin 6.12), *Census Tracts: Population and Housing Characteristics*, Ottawa.

<sup>15</sup> There are two major Armenian centres. The Centre Communautaire Arménien and the Alex Manoogian centres. With the exception of the Armenian Evangelical Churches, the Armenian Catholic Church, and A.M.A.Q., all the other listings in Appendix 1 are associated—in varying degrees—with one of the above two centres. Some of them are located and function within the premises of the centre which they are associated with. The Centre Communautaire Arménien was built in 1975 and it is located near and east of the intersection of rues O'Brien and Dudenaine (3401 rue Olivier Asselin). The Alex Manoogian Centre was built in 1978 and it is located near and northeast of the intersection of Boulevard Sainte-Croix and Boulevard Métropolitain (805, rue Manoogian).

<sup>16</sup>  $LQ = \frac{x_i}{y_i}$  where LQ is the location quotient,  $x_i$  the percentage of the (x) population in the  $i$ 'th

areal sub-unit, and  $y_i$  the percentage of the (y) population in the  $i$ 'th areal sub-unit. A score of 1 indicated equal representation; less than 1, underrepresentation; and more than 1, overrepresentation. The LQ score is often used as a measure of relative concentration of the distribution of one group in relation to another. After TIMMS, D. (1967) "Quantitative Techniques in Urban Social Geography", in R.J. CHORLEY and P. HAGGETT (eds.), *Frontiers in Geographical Teaching*, London, Methuen, 1967, pp. 242-43.

<sup>17</sup> Ninety-five percent of the respondents (N = 972, missing values 9) and 88% of their spouses (N = 762, missing values 219) indicated that Armenian was their mother tongue, approximately 50% of the respondents and their spouses indicated that they were bilingual in the Canadian context. Only 6% of the sample indicated that they knew neither English nor French.

<sup>18</sup> The index for residential segregation was calculated on the basis of the following formula of the

Index of Dissimilarity:  $ID = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^k (x_i - y_i)$  where ID represents the index of dissimilarity score;  $x_i$  the

percentage of the (x) population in the  $i$ 'th areal sub-unit;  $y_i$  the percentage of the (y) population in the  $i$ 'th areal sub-unit; and, the summation ( $\Sigma$ ) being over all the (k) sub-units making up the given universe of territory, such as a city. The index of dissimilarity may be interpreted as a measure of net displacement, showing the percentage of the one population who would have to move into other areas in order to produce the percentage distribution of the other population. After TIMMS, D. (1967), "Quantitative Techniques in Urban Social Geography", in R.J. CHORLEY and P. HAGGETT (eds.), *Frontiers in Geographical Teaching*, London, Methuen, 1967, pp. 240-41.

<sup>19</sup> GREER-WOOTTEN, Bryn. "Changing Social Areas and the Intra-Urban Migration Process", York University, Dept. of Geography and Faculty of Environmental Studies", n.d., p. 34.

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<sup>21</sup> Based on several discussions with responsible members from a number of social and cultural institutions of the Armenian community of Montréal.

<sup>22</sup> According to the two major Armenian churches in Metro-Montréal (Sourp Hagop and St. Gregory the Illuminator), for the last ten years (1970-1979) exogamy—the marrying outside the tribe, blood group, or ethnic group—averaged 15-20% of the marriages performed by these two religious institutions.

<sup>23</sup> If there was a significantly high correlation, then the percentages for each successive length of residency class would have shown a consistently increasing trend towards the right hand side of the graph (more changes with increasing residency time).

## APPENDIX

### ARMENIAN CHURCHES IN METROPOLITAN MONTRÉAL

1. Sourp Hagop Armenian Apostolic Church (1959)\*
2. St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Apostolic Church (1958)\*\*
3. Armenian Evangelical Church (1964)
4. Notre Dame de Nareg Armenian Catholic Church (1966)
5. First Armenian Evangelical Church (1979)

### ARMENIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Armenian Revolutionary Federation (1958)
2. Armenian Youth Federation (1958)
3. Armenian Democratic League (1962)
4. Armenian National Committee (1964)

### ARMENIAN SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS

1. Armenian Relief Society (1957)
2. Armenian General Benevolent Union (1958)
3. "H.M.E.M.-GAMK" Armenian General Sports Association (1958)
4. "Hamazkain" Armenian Cultural Association (1963)
5. "Tekeyan" Armenian Cultural Association (1964)
6. Société Arménienne d'Istanbul (1967)
7. "M.E.G."—Organe Central de Culture (1968)
8. "A.M.A.Q." Armenian Medical Association of Québec (1977)

\* Dates in brackets denote the year of inauguration in metropolitan Montréal.

\*\* From 1958 to 1969, services were held in a non-Armenian religious institution under the name Armenian Holy Apostolic Church. Since 1970, it functions in its own premises. The Armenian Catholic and First Armenian Evangelical Churches still hold services in rented non-Armenian premises.

## CARTOGRAPHIE

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