# GREEK IDENTITY IN SECOND-GENERATION MONTREALERS

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## RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude qualitative exploratoire de l'identité grecque de la seconde génération des Grecs de Montréal est basée sur quatre entrevues; deux avec des hommes et deux avec des femmes. Les thèmes qui émergent, soit la famille, la religion, la Koinotita (Communauté hellénique), la politique, la langue, les traditions familiales et l'origine ethnique se révèlent primordiaux dans le développement de l'identité grecque. Les résultats de cette étude suggèrent que les thèmes qui donnent un sens positif à l'identité grecque peuvent aussi bien avoir un impact négatif. Les hommes et les femmes tendent vers des rôles plus égalitaires que leurs parents immigrants mais doivent faire face à des problèmes d'identité. Ainsi, malgré ses différences avec la première génération, la seconde génération se développe et affirme directement son identité grecque distincte à travers son expérience propre à Montréal. Enfin, un modèle du "soi" de la seconde génération est présenté et les implications qu'il engendre, ainsi que les conclusions de la présente recherche, utiles aux travailleurs sociaux, sont abordés.

## ABSTRACT

This qualitative exploratory social work study on Greek identity in second-generation Greek Montrealers is based on four interviews; two with men and two with women. The emerging themes of parenting, religion, Koinotita (Greek community) politics, language, family tradition and gender issues were identified as central to the development of Greek identity. The findings suggest that the themes that give positive meaning to Greek identity in the second generation may also have a negative impact. Both men and women tend toward more egalitarian gender roles than their immigrant parents and are struggling with feminine and masculine identity issues. Despite the differences between first and second generation, the second generation tends to develop and assert their distinct Greek identity directly through the distillation of their contextual experiences in Montreal. An interactional model of "self" in the second generation is presented and implications of this and the findings for social workers are explored.


### Introduction

I believe that good social work practice is ethno-sensitive. Therefore, social workers need to have knowledge and an awareness of their client's cultural background. An ethno-sensitive response to individual and family suffering implies an immersion into foreign symbols and thought-systems. My hope is that the research findings will assist the social worker in conceptualizing and assessing the difficulties of the second generation, and in planning appropriate interventions with them.

I am a thirty-six year old second-generation Greek male whose parents are from Cyprus. My parents arrived to Canada as immigrants in May, 1957 due to civil and political unrest and I was born in July, 1957.

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> The soul search for my Greek identity has been convoluted and schizoid in nature. I have been torn between the dominant culture and values, and the Greek culture, heritage, values, language and customs that I have learned at home. If I have arrived at any realization, it is my unequivocal belief that being Greek is first and foremost a personal and emotional identification with my roots and selected aspects of my culture: history, language, religion, the arts or mythology. The point that makes this realization most clear to me is the underlying premise that people cannot deny me my Greekness when I claim it - it is a truism..

**The Problem**

This research study is devoted to conceptualizing the patterns of behaviour and the notions of Greek identity in second-generation Greek Montrealers. My struggle is in trying to balance personal, social, religious and political views and examine how they have been modified to fit into Montreal society.

**Methodology**

This exploratory qualitative study is based on four semi-structured interviews (Burgess, 1982a, 1982b; Whyte, 1982). The second-generation Greek subjects are two women and two men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five. A pilot interview was also completed with my thirty-four year old sister. The purpose of the pilot interview was to obtain a woman's perspective of the interview questions and topic. The rationale for choosing this design and sample is based on my belief that since the study is exploratory, extensive interviewing is not necessary to access descriptive in-depth data. In this particular study, I sacrifice breadth for depth in order to gather a sense of the dominant themes (Lofland, 1971).

**An Interactional Model**

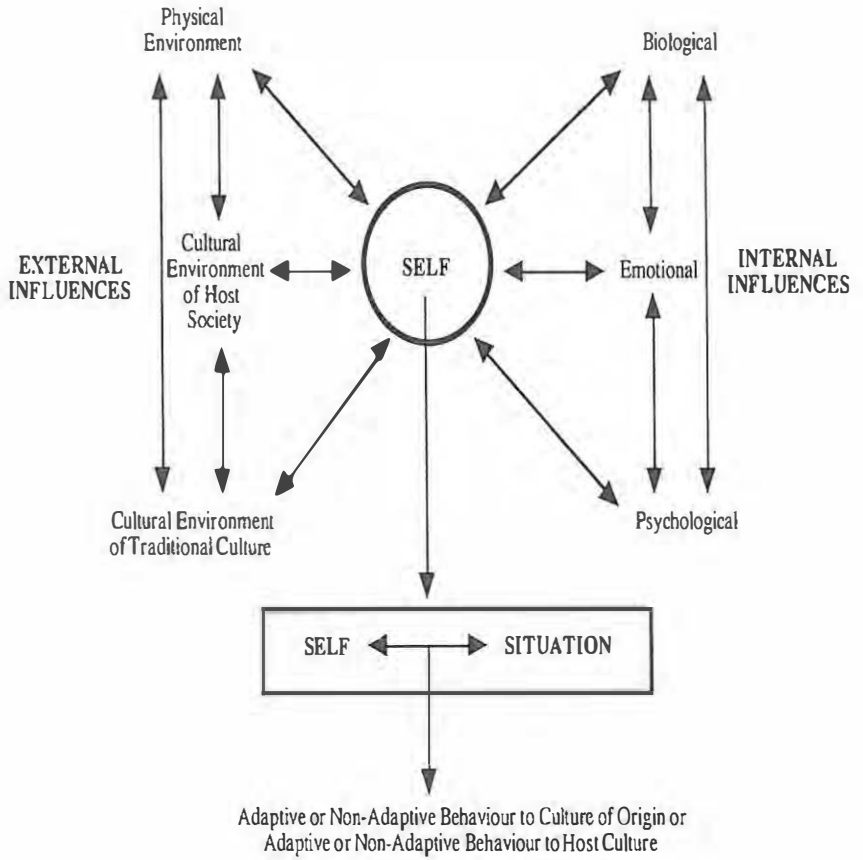
The interactional model illustrated in Figure 1 is partly adopted from Marsella et al. (1985) and was created following the completion of this manuscript. It has been modified to reflect the reality of the second-generation self in general. The purpose of the model is to provide the reader with an overview of the factors and dynamics that influence the identity of the second generation.

The model suggests that the self is a repository of external and internal influences which interacts with any given situation and results in adaptive or non-adaptive behaviour. The manner in which the self interacts with these external and internal factors determines the level of integration into the host society or the level of membership into the culture of origin.

External influences are represented by various institutions (e.g. familial, educational, political, religious and economic) of both the host society and traditional culture, as well as the physical environment (e.g. geography, weather, vegetation and urbanization). These influences interact with each other and have

a combined "push" and "pull" impact on the self. Internal influences are represented by various values, beliefs, attitudes and world-views, as well as biological factors (e.g. race, colour, health and other physical attributes). These influences also interact with each other and have a "push" and "pull" accumulative effect on the self.

Figure 1 An interactional model for understanding the second-generation self



## I. Literature Review

### A. Immigrating Greeks From Greece: A Brief Historical and Contextual Background

The purpose of this section is to familiarize the reader with the conditions, attitudes, values, behaviour and traditions of the Greeks from Greece. Their social, political, religious and family comportment will form the back-drop against which I will begin to examine the reality of the second-generation Greek Montrealer.

Gavaki (1983) suggests that the conditions that stimulated immigration to Canada arose after the Greek War of Independence from the Turks in 1821. The 400 years of Ottoman rule and subjugation tempered the will of the Greeks and fostered a great love for and dependence on the family and Greek Orthodox Church; these became symbols of the survival of tradition and the integrity of the people.

Between 1900 and 1920, approximately 370,000 (mostly young Greek males) immigrated to the United States looking for a better economic life than the one they had in Greece. Most of these poor immigrants were unskilled and uneducated labourers from rural regions. Due to xenophobic and classist attitudes of American authorities, the entrance of Greek immigrants was curbed; those turned away found an outlet to Canada (Gavaki, 1983; Primpas-Welts, 1982).

It was after World War II and the Civil War in Greece of 1950-1967 that the majority of Greeks immigrated to Canada: 1957 marks the greatest number in the 1950's, totalling 5,631, of which 2,581 went to Quebec; 1967 marks the greatest number in the 1960's, totalling 10,650 of which 3,642 went to Quebec. According to the 1981 official census, the total number of Greeks living in Quebec stood at 49,420. Bombas (1985a) asserts that the total Greek immigrant population by 1981 in Quebec reached approximately 75,000-80,000.

The economic and political conditions in Greece in the 1950's and 1960's were characterized by poverty, destitution and socio-political unrest. The hope of many Greek immigrants was to travel to a host country and earn enough material wealth and money so that they could go back to Greece to live a respectable, proud and comfortable life. Some have managed to complete this objective, but for most this hope of making a fortune and returning to Greece has faded away. The immigrants who have decided to stay are either doing well economically or are struggling to provide for their families. In both cases there is a yearning to go back to the homeland and find spiritual peace and comfort. Greek immigrants of Canada arrived to their host country with a variety of traditions, values, attitudes and beliefs. Chimbos (1980), Primpas-Welts (1982), Gavaki (1983), Constantinides (1983) and Kolyvaki (1985) stress the

importance of the family and the family structure as an integral part of being Greek. The family, according to Chimbos, has been shaped by the Greek Orthodox traditions, the rural nature of Greece and the continuous political instability after 1821. The most important features of the Greek traditional family have been its patrilineal, patriarchal and authoritarian nature. The Greek family and kinship systems were social and political networks whose implicit obligations and responsibilities helped form family solidarity, pride and honour (Primpas-Welts, 1982; Chimbos, 1980; Pinderhughes, 1987).

For the traditional Greek the importance of marriage, baptism, holy communion, the Greek language and sense of community cannot be overstated. Holidays, such as Easter, the annual March 25th Greek Independence parade, and rural community wine festivals revolve around and are sanctioned by the Greek Orthodox Church.

With respect to Greek parents and children, native Greek parents demand and exercise familial control over their children. They perceive that the majority of Canadian children enjoy "unnecessary" freedom and do not have sufficient respect for their parents, elders and persons in authority (Chimbos, 1980). Greek children, although controlled and disciplined in an authoritarian manner, are generally the centre of attention and interest in the family. The child's early life often involves a high degree of interaction, affection and association with parents, grandparents, godparents, relatives and close friends (Chimbos, 1980).

Sex roles for traditional Greeks are highly stereotyped with the division of labour being clearly delineated. Men work to provide and women cater to men's desires, care for their children and are responsible for household chores. Virginity for women at marriage is the norm and is an extension of the father's degree of honour and pride. Young men, however, are generally free to explore their sexuality without accruing family shame or dishonour (Chimbos, 1980; Gavaki, 1983).

**B. Historical and Contextual Background of Montreal Greeks**

The Greek community of Montreal was established in 1906 with the earliest recorded Greek immigrants arriving in 1843. Between 1843 and 1906 the Greek immigrants established themselves in the Old Port area of Montreal. They were mostly merchants and businessmen who sought a better economic life than they had in Greece (Chimbos, 1980; Constantinides, 1983). Four years after the establishment of the Greek community, Annunciation Church was constructed and inaugurated with the efforts of community labour and funds (Constantinides, 1983; Halkias, 1985).

The split between Monarchists and Democrats in the early 1920's in Greece politically divided the Greeks of Montreal. In likewise fashion, the Democrats of Montreal split from the original Greek community and founded the new Holy Trinity Church in 1925. Although both churches had schools and espoused

essentially the same religious beliefs, the political schism was irreconcilable for approximately six years (Constantinides, 1983; Halkias, 1985).

In 1931 the unity of the communities was re-established through Archbishop mediation; Holy Trinity Church was chosen as the new site due to its larger size and Annunciation Church was sold. By 1951 there were 3,388 Greeks in Quebec compared with 1981 figures of approximately 80,000 (Bombas, 1985a). Their original settlement area in Montreal, known as the Old Port and Chinatown, formed a network of social, residential and employment security. Gradually, they expanded to Saint-Louis-du-Parc in the 1950's and to Park Extension in 1967 (Ioannou, 1983; Constantinides, 1983).

The mass exodus from Greece in the 1950's and 1960's was a post WWII phenomenon. The majority of these immigrants had little, if any, formal education, or knowledge of English or French. The 1967 military Junta in Greece took political power by force. The ensuing political polarization of the entire Greek nation once more had its parallel effects on Montreal's Greek community. The church, backed by the Junta, was pitted against the secular Greek community. Political activism on the part of Montreal Greeks was focused against this alliance and called for a separation of church and community in politics (Bombas, 1985a).

The reconciliation of the church power and community in 1974 marked the beginning period of growth and consolidation. Presently, there are approximately nine Hellenic parish communities with over one hundred associations catering to various needs: motherland regional community organizations, parents and guardians, Greek labourers, Greek writers, Greek women and children, youth and seniors. Greeks of the community have also established an elaborate network of mass media agencies - radio, television, newspapers and magazines (Constantinides, 1983, 1985). Today, the Greek community in Montreal is undergoing a demographic change due to movement by a minority back to Greece, and inter-provincial migration, as well as expansion from Park Avenue and Park Extension to Laval, the South Shore and the West Island (Constantinides, 1983).

The uniqueness of Montreal Greeks lies in two domains. The first is the fact that the city of Montreal is primarily bilingual - French and English. In order to survive and be successful, immigrant and later generations of Greek heritage have had to become proficient in three languages - English, French and Greek, although not necessarily in that order. The influence of the French and English dominant cultures has had both positive and negative impacts on the Greek community. While learning French and English has helped them gain access to the French and English economic markets, their inability to secure power positions in commerce, and their substandard conditions in the service and clothing industries (e.g. sweat shops) reflected racist and discriminatory attitudes of the

prevailing majority.

The importance of learning three languages was quickly integrated into private elementary Greek schools. In order to maintain Quebec government educational accreditation, grants and subsidies, French was taught as a primary language with Greek and English as secondary languages (Bombas, 1985b).

With respect to the public educational system, Komatsoulis (1985) argues that most Greek immigrant parents have little knowledge of how the school system works or how to advise their children about their present or future educational goals. This, combined with the parents' lack of knowledge of English and French, and insufficient outreach by the schools to the parents, has resulted in an increasing rate of high school drop-outs. Consequently, the communication gap between the first-generation parents and the second-generation youth has gone from bad to worse, and troubled second-generation youth have become estranged from the Greek culture and language.

In the early 1960's, when parents wanted their children to be educated in a French Catholic School and did not mind that the children would be taught in French, the French Catholic School Commission turned them away because they were not Catholic, and asked them to enrol their children in English Protestant schools. It is unfortunate that the Greeks were not allowed to pursue French language education for their children, and now must suffer the consequences of legislated French language education and thus forced adaptation. This has angered many Greeks and is echoed by Manolakos (1989).

The second unique aspect of the Greek community of Montreal is that the socio-political climate reflects the change of socio-political events in Greece. Nowhere else in the Greek diaspora - the settling of scattered colonies of Greeks outside Greece, e.g. Canada, England, U.S.A. and Australia - is there a record that parallels the intense reaction of a Greek community to political events in Greece. The intensity of the schism between the Greek Orthodox Church and the secular Hellenic community of Montreal is also, to my knowledge, unprecedented anywhere else in Canada.

Although the majority of the immigrant Greek population is rural and unskilled, their loyalty and love for their motherland makes them a highly politicized group, which may account for the over 100 regional and political associations that decorate Montreal urban streets.

The main struggles identified by Greek immigrants concern integration in and adaptation to the host society. A counsellor from Hellenic Social Services (HSS) of Montreal uses the "culture shock" paradigm to describe the process. This involves:

1. The initial excitement of immigration to a different country. This includes high expectations of the host country, fantasizing about what it might be like,

and believing that their hopes and desires will be realized.

2. Hostility and anger due to disappointments and feelings of betrayal and injustice. Often these feelings are overwhelming, and translate into illness, psychosomatic pains, and a sense of emotional powerlessness and depression. More often than not, the client blames the system and perceives him/herself as powerless, victimized and isolated.

3. Adaptation and information. This is the stage where immigrants finally realize that they must make some changes in their perception of the new environment they live in. This means taking on more responsibility for the situation they are in, actively making decisions and initiating actions which will accommodate and essentially change the relationship they have with their community. This can include enrolling in English and French courses, joining the YMCA, etc.

4. Integration and commitment. This refers to the full participation of the individual in the social, political, economic and recreational aspects of life in "their" host country.Messaris (1985), the HSS counsellor and a social worker from the Centre Local de Services Communautaires (CLSC) Park Extension, believe that many of the socio-personal difficulties and adjustment problems of Greek immigrants stem from their low level of education, rural backgrounds and lack of proficiency in the English and French languages. In essence, the socio-psychological adjustment of the immigrant to his/her host country means several physical and emotional adjustments. Kourvetaris identifies several of these adjustments: "...food, weather, climate, people, habits, attitudes, feelings of well-being, happiness, feelings of alienation and uprootedness, mental and physical health and the like" (Kourvetaris, 1983, p. 29). Kourvetaris states that many immigrants never manage to adjust; younger immigrants adjust more easily than the old, and those from cities are better equipped to make the necessary adjustments than those from rural towns and villages. Those who do not make the adjustment either break down mentally, refuse to adapt, or return to Greece. Generally, it is the warmth, strength and solidarity of the Greek immigrant family that keeps the members vitalized and together. The introduction of the second and subsequent generations transforms this (the second generation being Canadian-born children of Greek immigrant parents), as integration and family conflicts often begin to surface at this point. HSS and CLSC workers interviewed on this problem note a rising divorce rate, as well as an increase in intermarriage, mental illness, delinquency, gambling, violence of husbands against their wives, drug addiction and high school dropping-out. Kourvetaris (1990) supports these findings as well.

The lives of immigrant Greek women, according to Kolyvaki (1985, p. 151) have improved considerably since the 1950's. Traditionally, they were oppressed and subservient to the men. The division of labour was determined

by sex roles; women were responsible for household duties, child-rearing and serving the needs of their husbands; men were responsible for earning a living and providing their families with material wealth. Greek women's experiences and ideologies have since grown to incorporate the feminist ideas and experiences of women of colour/minorities. As a result of these changes, the "Greek Women's Association" was established by politicizing the Greek woman's experience in the general community (Kolyvaki, 1985). Recently, the "Shield of Athena" (a group of Greek women) has been sensitizing the Greek community to violence against women. Changes in Greek women's attitude is seen in urbanized second-generation women, who are questioning and challenging the traditional, patriarchal, and male-dominated culture. I also believe that educated second-generation Greek men are changing to reflect some of the progressive dominant culture views, such as supporting a balanced division of labour and equal pay for equal work.

**C. The Second-Generation Greeks in Montreal**

The Greeks of Montreal have not yet been assimilated into either of the dominant English and French cultures. "By assimilation we mean the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture" (Berry, 1958, p. 210). The sense of Greek identity is generally strong among second-generation Greeks. Chimbos (1980) explains that it is within the family that the distinctiveness of the ethnic group is or is not transmitted from one generation to the next. The author suggests that Greeks in Canada are predominantly endogamous (marry within the Greek community) in the ethnic and religious sense; ethnic endogamy is preferred over religious endogamy. The main reason for endogamy is to maintain Greek culture and religion, and the belief that these marriages will be happier than mixed marriages. Chimbos pragmatically reminds the reader that the Greek family is in transition and that the roles, size and relationships in families are beginning to mirror those of English and French Canadian family systems.

Anderson and Frideres (1981) define ethnic identity as largely determined by four essential characteristics: ethnic origin; mother tongue, as spoken by members of a particular ethnic group; ethnic-oriented religion and participation or membership therein; and folkways — the practice of traditions, customs and rituals unique to the group. Conversely, ethnic identity change, as in the case of the second-generation Greek, refers to the following: a de-emphasis on ethnic origin; partial or total loss of mother tongue; deviation from, partial or total loss of interest in ethnic-oriented religion; and failure to practice traditional or folkway customs. Anderson and Frideres assert that "The maintenance or disintegration of an ethnic group is a result of both internal pressures (within the group) and external pressures (from outside the group)" (Anderson and Frideres, 1981, p. 41).

The endurance or maintenance of ethnic identity described by Anderson and Frideres (1981) is highly dependent on the internal and external, or "push" and "pull" factors within and from outside the ethnic community. The push factors include the desire to build or maintain positive intergroup relations, particularly with the dominant culture (Berry, 1986). The benefits to be had are within the social, political and financial realms. The pull factor phenomenon for the Greek-Montreal family, is described by Gavaki (1983) in terms of the Greek community's institutional completeness. That is, the ethnically separate and self-sufficient character of the Greek community in terms of its varied network of organizations, from banks and professionals, to Greek Orthodox Churches, Greek schools, media and regional associations. Gavaki informs us that the Greek community's over one hundred organizations serve the cultural, educational, religious, communications, occupational, economic and social needs of the group. The goals of these organizations are to maintain and transmit the Hellenic culture: Greek Orthodox religion, Greek language, traditions and values; while the Greek family functions as a hub and as a catalyst for the promotion of Hellenism - all that is associated with being Greek. Gavaki (1983) points out that second-generation Greek Montrealers, particularly women, show dramatic changes in their behaviour and attitudes due to the times, education, dominant cultures (English and French) and urban environment. They question the traditional, rural structure of the family and challenge male authority and dominance. In addition, they are more educated, have more skills and linguistic abilities and also tend to mediate between parents and the host society. The second-generation Greek Montrealer also seems to be characterized by more egalitarian sex relations than those of rural Greece, while maintaining other various cultural and religious traditional practices.

The endurance of the Greek culture and its adaptation to the host country is often measured by investigating the attitudes of subsequent generations. Callan and Gallois (1985) compares second-generation Greek Australians with Anglo-Australians with respect to sex-role orientations and stereotypes. They found that the Greek subjects advocated less egalitarian decision-making patterns in marriage and placed greater importance on the practical and familial aspects of marriage than did the Anglos. These researchers suggested that traditional values and attitudes appear to have a major influence on the lives of second-generation Greek Australians. This is not surprising since second-generation children are often caught between two worlds: the values of the host country and the values of the country of origin.

In spite of the seemingly strong influence of the Greek culture on subsequent generations, Kourvetaris (1990) finds conflict and identity crises among second-generation Greek Americans and Greeks of the diaspora. The author suggests that the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek community and bilingualism are strong sources of ethnic identity, but may interact and conflict with each other.

Kourvetaris finds that ethnic identity is weakened from first to second generation, but often strengthens again in third and subsequent generations. This last point is further substantiated by Anderson and Frideres when they warn the reader to be wary of jumping to the conclusion that ethnic group members of second and subsequent generations do not feel very ethnic, "...because a new ethnicity among the third generation may assume the form of a keen interest in one's genealogical and ethnic history, regardless of one's ability to speak the mother tongue or one's religious inclinations" (Anderson and Frideres, 1981, p. 57).

Demos (1989) summarizes the findings concerning Greek ethnic issues when he examines the maintenance and loss of Greek traditional gender boundaries in Baltimore and Minneapolis. The author finds the following: (a) traditional features of Greek ethnicity and gender differences are attenuated over time, (b) Greek women are more likely than Greek men to marry within the Greek ethnic community, (c) second-generation Greek Americans show gender differences in ethnicity and endogamy, and (d) post high school education tends to erode gender differences in that women are more likely to be exogamous. Demos' findings substantiates Chimbos' (1980) speculations concerning the transitional loss of traditional behaviours and attitudes between the generations.

Transitional loss of traditional behaviour is also true of other cultures. Wakil, Parvez, Siddique and Wakil (1981) study the socialization of children of Indian and Pakistani immigrants. These children are investigated with respect to the values and ideals emphasized by their parents. The children's reactions suggest that immigrant families accept changes to the more pragmatic aspects of their lives, but strongly resist alterations to their core values — respect for elders, observance of religious holidays, participation in traditional and religious events, respect for traditional laws, and obedience to parents. As a result, the generation gap and social differences between first- and second-generation populations has given rise to value conflicts, and has challenged important core values.

Vasta (1980) finds similar trends in the second-generation Italian adolescent living in Australia. The results suggest that second-generation teenagers are not as assimilated as they would like to be. Most prefer to speak English at home, although their parents force them to speak Italian. Many youth resent the authoritarian Italian family structure, which has resulted in about 1/3 of the teenagers feeling estranged from their parents. These teenagers often look to their Australian peers and teachers as role models.

Devore and Schlesinger hone in on trying to understand the ethnic reality - that is the intersection of class (occupation and education) and ethnicity (race, religion and national origin) which they term "ethclass". Their assertion is that, "...social class generates identifiable dispositions and behaviours and beliefs"

(Devore & Schlesinger, 1991, p. 20). This has important implications for conceptualizing the socio-economic and political realities of ethnic groups, such as the Greeks of Montreal.

The relationship between ethclass and generational affiliation is examined by Reed and Florian (1990) in an interesting study of subjective well-being and psychological distress of three generations in the Kibbutz. They state that second-generation subjects report higher social well-being than first- and third-generation subjects. Significant positive correlations are found between social position and social well-being, as well as a significant negative correlation with psychological distress among second- and third-generation subjects: it appears that generational rank may be less important than an individual's position in the social milieu. This is also revealed in Model's (1986) study on constructing ethnic identity when the author examines ethnic aspirations and employment patterns in depth. The author finds that the major route to community prestige and identity of both first- and second-generation East Europeans is through economic achievement, rather than education, length of residency, political connections, or moral character.

A fundamental question by most researchers has not been fully addressed. How do second-generation Greek Montrealers perceive or identify with their culture, and what are the themes that emerge in the construction of their ethnic identity? It is my contention that once this has been explored sufficiently, the new needs and demands described by the second generation will compete with that of the immigrants' because of their different contextual experiences. In addition to the articulated differences between the first and second generations, my hope is that the voice of the second generation will fall upon receptive ears in the Greek community at large. It would be a shame to lose what the immigrants built with pride, honour, hard work and the love of the Greek culture. The second-generation needs to contribute to the wealth of the community by presenting ideas for the future and offering skills in the present, but we need room for debate as well as an arena for celebration. We need to be included in a partnership which will extend beyond our present lives and which will have an impact on many generations after our own. To this end, the communication gap between the generations must be diminished.

### II. A Community at Crossroads

The Greek community of Montreal is at a crossroad. The first immigrants and community leaders are not responding to the needs and future of the Greek community. Who will take over once these immigrant leaders step down and what will they be governing?

In an attempt to go beyond the literature and forward my knowledge of the Greek community, I felt it important to seek an updated and informed view of

the socio-political issues that were unclear to me. In particular, I was interested in clarifying and debating the future and role of second and subsequent Greek generations in the socio-political realm of the Montreal Greek community.

Stephanos Constantinides (1983), author of *Les Grecs du Québec* and political science professor at l'Université du Québec à Montréal, was interviewed and the following points emerged from our discussion:

1. The distinction between the respective roles of the Hellenic Community of Montreal or Koinotita, the Greek community, and the Greek Orthodox Community of Laval and other communities.

According to Constantinides, the Koinotita is the oldest and most important Greek organization in Montreal. It has the most assets: four churches, land, elementary, Saturday and afternoon schools. Apparently, it was unable to respond to all the needs of the general Greek community, therefore, many subsequent organizations and Greek regional associations formed.Unfortunately, the Koinotita has incurred a $10 million debt in its effort to promote its visibility in the Montreal community at large. Constantinides questions the Koinotita's management of funds and recent expansion projects. His contention is that the Koinotita made purchases beyond its means during the present difficult economic lag in Quebec and rather than expand as rapidly as it did, it should have done so more cautiously. Unfortunately, the $10 million debt may be one of the many inheritances handed down to the second and subsequent generation Koinotita leaders. In addition to this economic problem, the Koinotita has been taken to court by the Diocese of Toronto because they refused to pay the priests. The Koinotita's argument for not sanctioning the priests was that the priests did not accept the orders and recommendations for change as outlined by the Koinotita - who politically represent the Greek community at large. Constantinides believes that the political battle between the Koinotita and the Greek Orthodox Church is a long-standing one and is a struggle for power and control over the Greek community masses and institutions that are owned by the Koinotita.

When we refer to the general Greek community of Montreal, Constantinides cautions that we should be careful not to confuse it with the formal paid membership into the civil organization of the Hellenic Community of Montreal or Koinotita. The Montreal Koinotita politically represents the general Greek community of Montreal. It has an elected executive whose goals are to respond to the varied social, educational and economic needs of the community, such as schools, organizing bazaars, parades, dances, benefits and programs for seniors; usually, it performs these events in conjunction with the church. The Greek community of Montreal refers to all Greeks living in the Greater Montreal area, as well as various pockets of Greek settlements on and off the Island, such as the South Shore Greek community, Laval Greek community and West Island

Greek community. No political, social or religious association is required, nor is there a paid formal membership. All Greeks are implicitly members of the general Greek community. The same is true of all Greek communities nationally and internationally.

The Greek Orthodox Community of Laval (GOCL), although smaller in wealth, power and prestige, is a sister organization of the Koinotita, but functions indcpendently of it. The difference betwecn the two is that the membership from the Laval community is recognized by the Montreal Koinotita, but not vice-versa unless one lives in Laval. The same is true of other Hellenic communities. The Laval community, according to Constantinides, presently houses the largest community of Grecks on and off the Island and the relations between the GOCL and the church is a balanced one. The goals of the GOCL are essentially the same as that of the Koinotita: to promote Hellenism. They too have a Greek elementary school operating out of the church in Laval. The teaching is in French, with Greek and English taught as second languages. The teaching of French as a primary language of education is true of all provincially accredited educational ethnic institutions since 1970.

2. The implications of the present state of the Greek community and Koinotita for the second and subsequent Greek generations, and planning for the future.

Constantinides points out that Greek immigration to Montreal has substantially diminished over the years, and there is now no pressing need to accommodate newcomers. The gencral Greek community and the Koinotita are, howevcr, concerned about the future of their organizations and associations. Apparently, there is diminishing interest among the second generation in the socio-political life of the community. There is a nced to attract and encourage new membership as well as to change the structure and orientation of the Montreal Koinotita. Presently, the Greek community is undergoing a period of transition, both economically and socio-politically. Today's Greek Montrealers are more prosperous and educated than the first immigrants. The needs of the second and subsequent generations are, therefore, qualitatively different and require specific attention.

It is only a question of time before the immigrant strong-hold on socio-political power in the community is passed on to second and subsequent generations. The hope is that the Koinotita will have the foresight to plan and facilitate this transition in the most painless way possible. A concomitant responsibility also rests with future Greek generations: they need to exercise their political rights to effect change.

It is my belief that second-generation Greek Montrealers have a vested interest in the well-being and prosperity of the Koinotita and Greek community. The gains, however, can only be realized by forging a dialogue based on mutual trust and interest.

I feel that in order to be recognized as serious heirs to the Montreal Koinotita, the second generation, along with subsequent generations, must form a complementary association sanctioned and financed by the Koinotita to research, study and critique the socio-political ideas of the community. In order to establish a strong membership among the second generation we need to examine how our identities have been constructed and how we feel about our "selves". These are crucial questions that must be investigated if our goal is to facilitate in institutional change. With an eye on the future, and armed with the new needs of the present, the recruitment of new members and institutional change is inevitable.

### III. Interview Findings: Overview

The categories of Greek identity that emerged from the interviews are varied. The factors that influence Greek identity (see Figure 1) are dependent upon the specific circumstances immigrants were faced with in the immigration process, arrival and settlement experience in the host country. In addition, the socio-economic status, education and traditional values and attitudes of the immigrants have also impacted and shaped the second-generation's world-view. These factors, combined with the influence of the host society's culture and environment, provide a dynamic view of the way elements interact on the identity construction of the second generation.

Greek identity, for the subjects interviewed, has several meanings and shares, to varying degrees, the following themes: Greek history, Greek Orthodox religion, family, community, language, traditional ways and gender roles. Interestingly, these themes cannot easily be separated from each other, but are fused to varying degrees. I venture to say that Greek identity, like any other ethnic identity, takes various forms which are dependent upon the quality and degree of the individual's socialization to the culture in which they were born. Chimbos (1980), Gavaki (1983) and Kourvetaris (1990) echo similar views concerning aspects of Greek culture that influence ethnic identity and pride. An excerpt from the interviews reflects this common view about Greek identity.

> The most important thing, of course, for me is religion because with that you have the second most important thing - and that is family unity. Something I didn't have when I was a kid. With religion and being as a family, I think you can overcome many things. Third most important is communication.

> Your blood is Greek, whether you're born in Canada, China, Hong Kong - you're still Greek. Some people tell me I'm Canadian - I was born here and so I am Canadian - but in actuality my blood is Greek. Everything I will learn has to do with the Greek culture.

The theme of family is consistent throughout the interviews. It is generally cited as the most important component in the development of Greek identity in the second generation. This also reflects the findings of Chimbos (1980),

Primpas-Welts (1982), Gavaki (1983), Kourvetaris (1990) and others. Syril, on the other hand, struggles with another common position.

> I see myself as being Canadian because I was born here. I am Canadian but I was brought up in a Greek atmosphere - my parents are Greek 100%. I would say my country comes first - which is Canada and the culture that I followed which was shown to me by my parents is Greek. So I am a Canadian, a Greek Canadian.

The influence of the historical background of immigrants on their ability to adapt to the host country and society cannot be underestimated. Often, their traditional views, folkways, and attitudes are maintained. The second generation, on the other hand, is impacted by traditional values and attitudes and by the culture of the host society. Callan and Gallois (1985) and Kourvetaris (1990) suggest that the struggle of the second generation is characterized as being in conflict with the first generation and as being in an identity crisis. The dynamic of accepting and rejecting aspects of the Greek culture which are imparted to them by their immigrant parents and Greek institutions, such as attitudes toward women, is described by Syril in the following process.

> I find the Greeks, including my brother, sister and all my family, to be traditional. The men don't do the dishes - the men don't mop. The men will ask for a cup of coffee and the women will bring it. I hate to say this but the women are treated like slaves whereas this attitude is unacceptable in my house. My woman, my wife, is treated like a person, like my other half. I try to help her out as she does the same for me. We are a couple. We help each other. This is a Greek way that I strayed away from - that the men and women are so different. By deviating from this, I was called negative names by my brother, my father, and my other relatives.

Callan and Gallois (1985), Gavaki (1983) and Chimbos (1980) support Syril's sentiments that sex-role attitudes and behaviour are one of the major areas which differentiates the second generation from the first generation. The tension between the first- and second-generations concerning sex-role attitudes are primarily influenced by the host society's cultural environment (see Figure 1). The resultant behaviour of the second generation when confronted with traditional sex-role attitudes of their parents, therefore, is a factor that pushes them toward dominant culture norms and values. Chimbos reminds us that the values, attitudes and traditions of the first generation are beginning to transform in the second generation and that the values and norms are increasingly reflecting those of the host society.

The identity of the second-generation Greek Montrealer is also intensely influenced by the growth and development of his or her own psyche. The kinds of existential questions this group is faced with are similar to what the dominant culture experiences, but are qualitatively different in that they experience life in context of living in two worlds: the Greek world, which is institutionally complete and has its own customs, rituals and beliefs; and the dominant culture,

which reflects the values and traditions of Quebecois and English institutions (see Figure 1). The questions of who am I?, and where do I belong? have special significance for the second generation in that the underlying questions they are ultimately faced with are, do I belong to the Greek or dominant culture? What is it about this group that is significant for me? Do I want to identify with this group? The search for identity, then, is being forged in the hope of constructing a new Greek reality, yet one of the obstacles is immigrant parental rejection of dominant culture norms, which is often perceived by the second generation as a rejection of themselves. Consider Dora's dilemma, which is representative of the views held by the interviewees.

> We all go through hell at times with our parents, with growing up and trying to find our sense of identity - where we belong. We can't take it. And then there's the rejection. The rejection causes more anger that it has happened. It didn't have to happen this way. That is, the rejection - that rejection! Totally cut off. One minute you belong somewhere and the next you don't really belong anywhere - really. No matter how much you try to compensate with something else, it's not the same.

**IV. Summary and Reflections**

My intention is to sensitize the reader to the areas and themes that have emerged as issues for the interviewees, as well as for myself. These themes and issues have merit and are useful in providing the reader with a glimpse into the reality of the second-generation Greek in Montreal.

The content analysis overview reveals that enduring themes, such as parenting, religion, koinotita politics, language, family, tradition and gender attitudes play significant roles in the growth and development of Greek identity in the second generation. For all, these themes are confronted, struggled with, modified and given new meaning by the second generation. This arduous process inevitably reshapes the perception of Greek identity for the second generation, which at times is at odds with first-generation views. This is most emphatically demonstrated in the arenas of parenting, gender roles, religion and koinotita politics. Curiously, French language issues and education did not appear to significantly influence second generation identity for the interviewees.

Despite differences between the generations in their views, attitudes and values, second-generation Greeks tend to maintain and assert their identity by integrating their contextual experiences in Montreal. They acknowledge their world-view as unique and having its due place in society. The struggles for the second generation can be distilled into dialectic questions such as, where do I belong - in the Greek or English/French culture?. With whose eyes am I observing the world - the Greek culture or the dominant English/French culture? As Kourvetaris (1990) suggests, the failure or struggle to reconcile these differ-

ences will lead to conflict and identity crisis. His point is pertinent for therapists and social workers.

An interesting finding in this research study shows a tendency of the second-generation toward egalitarian gender role and gender relations. Men are vocal about struggling with their masculine ethnic identity and are very concerned about modelling a 'good' father and husband image they feel they never had. The absent father was, more often than not, working long hours.

### V. Epistemological Concerns and Implications For Social Work

The theoretical implications upon which I would like to focus concern the way we observe and understand the experience of those culturally different from ourselves, particularly as they arise in therapy contacts. Geertz (1977) provides us with the hermeneutic approach and with the concepts of experience-near and experience-distant. These ideas are not only extremely valuable in a theoretical sense, but also in a practical sense. The view that one can approach an understanding of the way the other thinks by identifying a collection of symbols and comparing them with another collection of symbols draws the observer or therapist closer to the reality of the other; while at the same time, errors in perception allow a therapist to navigate through a foreign complex mind-set with the ultimate aim of correcting misperceptions and sharing in a communion of understanding.

In summary, the implications for social work are the following:

1. Respect the hierarchy of the family.

2. Take a one-down position in gathering data about the culture.

3. Help the family to identify both positive and negative factors that influence their lives in the host society (see Figure 1).

4. Help the family to identify the meaning and nature of their culture clash.

5. Always allow an opportunity for the parents to save face.

6. Be aware of psychosomatic complaints and explore their meaning with the client.

7. Allow individual sessions to deal with emotions that may insult or embarrass the parents.

8. Network with the ethnic community and become familiar with prevalent attitudes and values.

### VI. Implications For Further Research

There is a need to explore immigrant Greek identity and, more specifically, Greek identity in immigrants who arrived at a young age, e.g. 6 years old and as

students. I believe that the backdrop to launching a more detailed study on second-generation identity would have to include the views and attitudes of these younger arrivees in order to better contrast and compare them with the second generation's views.

Another study on identity issues could explore second-generation couples and families and their attitudes and feelings about their Greek identity. I wonder whether they would perceive themselves as traditional or contemporary, and what kinds of issues and themes would emerge.

Finally, there is the need to research and chronicle the development of the Greek koinotitas, as their values and ideological orientation are currently shifting from a first-generation to a second- and subsequent-generation bias. An understanding of the political, economic and religious implications of this transformation would not only be of historical value, but would help design a prototype for other Greek and ethnic communities experiencing similar transformations. Finally, the role of French language education, its politics and impact on the development of Greek identity in the second generation needs to be explored further.

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# DOCUMENT

**Extraits de la lettre adressée le 7 septembre 1994 par le Président de la République de Chypre M. Glafkos Clerides au Secrétaire Général de l'ONU M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.**

**Un Etat doté d'une souveraineté,d'une personnalité internationale et d'une citoyenneté uniques.**

Je souhaite affirmer dès le début et de façon claire et catégorique que la solution pour laquelle je travaille est identique à celle définie dans le paragraphe 2 de la résolution 939 du Conseil de sécurité qui réaffirme que la solution du problème de Chypre doit être basée sur "...un Etat de Chypre doté d'une souveraineté, d'une personnalité internationale et d'une citoyenneté uniques, son indépendance et son intégrité territoriale étant garanties, et composé de deux communautés politiquememnt égales, telles qu'elles sont décrites dans les résolutions pertinentes du Conseil de Sécurité, au sein d'une fédération bicommunautaire et bizonale, et selon laquelle un tel réglement doit exclure l'union, en totalité ou en partie, avec un autre pays, ou tout autre forme de partition ou de sécession..."

**Proposition de démilitarisation**

1) Que les leaders des deux communautés, pendant la durée des pourparlers intercommunautaires fassent une déclaration solennelle auprès du Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U. au nom de leur communauté respective, par laquelle ils s'engagent à ne pas recourir à la force, l'une contre l'autre et, à prendre les mesures nécessaires afin d'empêcher les agressions entre membres des deux communautés.

2) Que le Gouvernement de la République prenne les mesures suivantes :

- abolir la loi sur la Garde Nationale, dissoudre la Garde Nationale et remettre l'armement de celle-ci à la Force de Maintien de la Paix des Nations-Unies;

- s'engager à maintenir la force de police à son niveau actuel dotée d'un armement léger, uniquement;

- prendre en charge les dépenses globales afférentes au maintien d'une force de maintien de la paix renforcée des Nations-Unies;

- la Force de Maintien de la Paix des Nations-Unies aura le droit d'inspection pour vérifier si tout ce qui est prévu ci-dessus est bien respecté;

- convenir que les véhicules blindés, les véhicules blindés de transport de troupes et les chars de la Garde Nationale qui seront remis à la Force de Maintien de la Paix des Nations-Unies pourront être utilisés par celle-ci pour les besoins de patrouille dans la zone tampon et pour empêcher toute intrusion dans cette zone;

- déposer sur un compte au nom des Nations-Unies tout l'argent qui sera économisé par l'arrêt d'achat d'armement après soustraction du coût d'entretien de la Force de Maintien de la Paix des Nations-Unies, afin que ces sommes soient utilisées, après lasolution du problème de Chypre, au bénéfice des deux communautés.

3) Parallèlement, le Gouvernement turc doit s'engager à retirer ses forces d'occupation de Chypre ainsi que les colons illégaux dont, la présence à Chypre, contrevient non seulement aux résolutions de l'O.N.U. qui invitent les deux parties à respecter la structure démographique de Chypre mais constitue aussi une menace militaire. A cet effet, il est essentiel de procéder à un recensement fiable de la population."Les Chypriotes turcs qui sont armés doivent dissoudre leurs structures miliaires, confier leur armement à la Force de Maintien de la Paix de l'O.N.U. et accepter l'inspection des Nations-Unies."