



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Services des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

**The Role Of The Greek Orthodox Church In
The Greek Community of Montreal**

Fotini Katma

**A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

September 1985



Fotini Katma, 1985

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-32254-3

ABSTRACT

A Proposal for the Study of the Greek Orthodox Community in Montreal

Fotini Katma

A study of the Greek Orthodox church as a core institution for the development of the Greek community in Montreal. The church's role in the past and present is examined, and it demonstrates the social and the institutional change of the Greek community. It presents major theories on religion of that of Marx, Durkheim and Weber and outlines the structures of general religious belief systems and their influence on society. It describes the complex and dynamic nature of religion, an important element for the Greek community in Montreal, responsible for its growth and evolution. Analysis of survey data based on opinions of 20 Greek individuals indicate that place of birth - Greece or Canada - is an important variable as to determine positive religious attitudes as well as positive attitudes towards the role and the importance of the Greek church within the respective community. Ethnic religious continuity is in favour of the Canadian-born. The future of the religious reality in the Greek community is seen as an interplay of the decisions and the interactions of the two generations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to pay tribute to all those who have given me inspiration, encouragement, and important assistance, as well as helpful criticism during the preparation of this work.

I am particularly indebted to Professor Anthony Synnott who initiated me in the Sociology of Religion and who is the source of inspiration of this manuscript. I offer him my deep appreciation for his enormous generous help, advice and constant moral support.

I wish to thank, in a special way, Professor Efie Gavaki for offering resources for individual research and for her invaluable suggestions and advice, as well as for her excellent assistance during the process and the final preparation of this manuscript.

I am grateful to Professor Kwok Chan for his excellent advice and criticism as well as for his contribution to the well-balanced presentation of this work.

I also want to thank my friend André Paquin for his kindness and positive orientation which helped me to overcome the many difficulties encountered with social research as well as with human contact.

Finally, a word of appreciation to the many individuals of the Greek community who so kindly allowed themselves to be interviewed.

To my mother

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Methodology	5
Chapter Three: Theoretical Perspectives	10
Chapter Four: The Hellenic Orthodox Community in Montreal	27
Chapter Five: The Church and the Community: Interviews	52
Chapter Six: Conclusions	81
Bibliography	86
Appendix 1	88
Appendix 2	91
Appendix 3	93

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The study of ethnic communities has been considered important in sociology as a way of tracing both the constitution of Canadian society, as well as understanding its social process and evolution.

The Greek community has been chosen for the present study as it is the fifth largest ethnic community (after English, French, Italian) and Jewish in Montreal, and one of the most institutionally complete communities. The focus of the present study lies on a single social institution: The Greek Orthodox Church as an important factor in the ethnic community's social development and its further evolution.

The study is divided into two principle parts: a) the historical development of the Greek community, which was largely done from interviews with priests and community leaders during the winter of 1981. It includes a discussion on demography, patterns of immigration, the building of the churches and parochial schools, the formation of organizations, the cooperation and the divisions in the community; and b) the recent developments of the community concerning the religion factor, and the position of the church in the community: its functions as well as its role and importance for the individual members and for the community as a whole.

The church as a social institution seems to be the "soul" of the ethnic community.

Available sociological literature shows that the formation of any ethnic organization is established in order to meet a need; this need might be educational, social, recreational, political, economic, professional, religious, cultural or some other common interest. By looking into the literature, the church has been demonstrated to administer to many of the above needs, and to fulfill many significant functions for its members; it has been described as the core institution, playing an important role in the community.

For Italians in Toronto, the church, "in addition to its manifest religious function, provides continuity between their former lives in Italy and their new lives in Toronto; it serves as a social gathering where one man meets fellowmen, use one's mother tongue, and have a link with the wider society through the bilingual priest who has a better knowledge of the expectations, norms, customs and culture of the host society" (Jansen, 1971).

Among the Dutch Canadians in Holland Marsh, the church is seeking to exercise a power over the family and the school, especially through the pastor, who acts as a mediator between the individual and God. "The pastor is responsible for seeing that the school conforms to the moral and spiritual ideals of the community, and he also offers individual and family counselling" (Ishwaran, 1977:79).

Among Greeks in the United States, the central institution is the Greek Orthodox Church. "For the immigrant in America, the church community became the arena in which one worshipped, attained social recognition and

made friends - and some times enemies." (Moskos, 1980:67).

An important element that is apparent in the study of Greek communities, in Montreal and elsewhere, is the influence of politics in ecclesiastical matters. The division of the church into two political groups, Royalists and Venizelists, has been discussed by Xenides (1922), and which was also apparent in Montreal.

Although there is some literature available on the historical development of the Greek Church, in the United States generally (Saloutos, 1973) and in Detroit (Stephanides, 1971) and in Montreal (Gavaki, 1983), there has been little research on what religion and church mean to Greek individuals themselves as well as to their community.

The individual's views or attitudes towards the church and the Greek Orthodox religion might offer a more complete picture of the role of the church in a community's life. It can explain why or when the church becomes important. Also, the way people feel towards religion and the church can determine the social process of the respective institution. Their views can be used as a guide to predict future developments or changes, and finally, their views can be used as references for a comparative study with an ethnic community, Greek or other.

The theoretical part of the present study deals with the principle theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Their unique and different approaches to the study of religion is considered important in developing an understanding of the complex and diverse opinions of Greek individuals regarding

the role of the church and religion in their community.

These theories clarify both the meaning of Greek religious reality as well as the generational differences. Finally, these theoretical approaches were considered useful in order to draw some sort of synthesis in terms of religion and Church from the different opinions of the individuals and in the view of the different social stages of the Greek religious reality in the community.

The overall study - although it does not represent a large reality of the Greek population in Montreal - proved to be interesting and quite useful in gaining some understanding of what the Greek religion as well as the Parish, have meant to people in the past and continue to mean in the present.

Chapter II

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of the Greek Church in the Hellenic community, and the attitudes of Greeks towards Greek Orthodox religion and the church.

Information on the historical process and the active role of the church in the community was obtained during 1980-82 from field work as a research assistant for the FCAC project at Concordia University on Ethnic communities in Montreal. In order to gain adequate information about the history of the Greek community, archival research was conducted by reviewing existing publications and pamphlets available in the Greek community's library, and by reviewing the various yearbooks of different Greek associations (such as the Cretan Association, the Labour Association etc.). Archival research information was limited, so in-depth interviews with past and present leaders of the community, as well as with priests of the four Greek churches, gave a more adequate and chronologically accurate portrait of the historical development of the Greek community.

Contact arrangements with the community's leaders and priests were not easy. The Greek community's leaders wanted to be assured that their efforts and time would contribute, in a concrete way, to the enriching of the community's archives about the history and the development of the Greek community in Montreal. Some leaders refused to

be interviewed; so in certain cases some leaders already interviewed and as well as personal friends were called upon to help arrange interviews.

During the winter of 1982-83, an additional twenty five (25) individuals of Greek origin were interviewed. They were chosen from places that had already been visited during previous interviews, such as associations, restaurants and Concordia University. The sample was not a random one because of constraints of time and money, but it represents a cross-section of the population. It includes roughly equal numbers of males and females, Greek born and Canadian born of Greek parentage. Individuals were aged from about 20 to about 70, and they were unskilled, and skilled workers, students, community leaders, entrepreneurs, housewives and professionals.

For an individual to be eligible for interviewing, the respondent had to have been born in Greece or in Montreal. The first contact was made unannounced; once the first contact with an individual was made, additional names such as wives, friends, relatives or co-workers were solicited from the interviewee. This was done by selecting names, addresses or phone numbers, in order for an appointment to be made in advance.

Five people out of 30 who were to be interviewed initially refused to be interviewed at all; another five were rejected because their responses were too brief and uninformative ('I don't know' or 'I guess so', being a common response). Interviews that were not used were not counted

in the final analysis, hence the total of 20 individuals.

It should be noted that those individuals who had read about religion and thus felt comfortable with the issue, were enthusiastic about having an interview. They made an effort to give clear and complete responses.

The Interview

For a number of reasons, the interview method was considered the best one for collecting the information needed for this study: First, qualitative data seemed more likely to probe the attitudes of Greeks towards religion and Church; second, past research experience has shown that the educational level of Greek immigrants is very low, and they feel more comfortable with face-to-face encounters than with filling out unfamiliar questionnaires. Finally, because the Greek language is the only one used among recent Greeks, it was believed that personal interviews in Greek would remove obstacles of communication, assure more reliable responses, and increase the response rate.

Qualitative research is extremely time consuming, and in the present study, a great deal of time was spent on translation from Greek to English. Although the translation itself is as close to the English language as possible, yet certain Greek terms were not easily translated. For example, the word 'agathos' which was often used as one of God's qualities was translated as 'good', whereas in the Greek language the word agathos goes beyond the word good. Also, the difficulty of resolving the contradictions between the

views of the clergy, leaders and individuals about facts and opinions concerning the role of the Greek church, was another time consuming problem.

All the interviews were recorded on tape. Almost all the respondents felt uncomfortable with the presence of a tape-recorder during the first few minutes; but after that, it did not create any difficulties at all. Taping was both easier and more accurate than taking notes. The average time spent on each interview was about one hour to one hour and a half.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is presented in Appendix I; but a few words should be said here about the various questions asked.

Prior to interviewing the sample of 25 individuals, a set of questions was developed. The questions were designed in such a way as to collect information on four major topics: Church practice, attitudes to the Clergy, views on the functions of the Church in the community and attitudes on the importance of the Church and Religion.

The questions were also selected to facilitate comparisons of Marxist, Durkheimian and Weberian theories of religion, and they proved extremely useful in this regard. Some of the questions were open-ended to maximize qualitative responses; some were close-ended to facilitate quantitative analysis.

It is hoped that all questions developed for this study

were reliable in providing valid answers reflecting the experiences and attitudes of the respondents.

Chapter III

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The role of religion and of churches has been discussed by many sociologists, but perhaps the most important theories are the ones put forward by Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Their ideas will be presented in this chapter, and their application and relevance to the Greek community will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

Suffice it to say here that their contrasting approaches will throw considerable light on the role of religion in the Greek community, and on the meaning of religion to the Greek people. Which theory appears to be more valid for the Greek community? Can the social process of the community be understood or explained by one of these theories? Are these theories mutually incompatible? Is there a synthesis? These are some of the questions that this thesis will consider.

Karl Marx

In his most famous work, The Communist Manifesto, published in 1848, Marx referred to religion as a veil - a veil that conceals from the proletariat the bourgeois exploitation of the proletariat. He observed that "for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it (the bourgeoisie) has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation" (1964:62).

Over the years, this analysis was developed further. In On Religion, Marx and Engels wrote perhaps their most famous description of religion: "Religion is the sign of

the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people" (ibid, 1957:42).

Engels went on to say that "all religion, however, is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces." (ibid, 1957:146).

The social forces of nature and of society are perceived by men as something alien, mysterious and superior, and this is the result of man's failure to see reality, to realize that he is creator of the society, the State and all social values that stem from such a complex social organization. This 'fantastic reflection' that men hold towards nature and towards the social forces that dominate their daily life, is what Marx called the "false consciousness" of the proletariat.

'The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class', Marx pointed out in the Manifesto; (1967:40) and adherence by the proletariat to these religious and political ideas represents their failure to see through the 'veil', and represents their false consciousness.

In their commentary on the role of religion in ancient Greece and Rome, Marx and Engels observed the close association between religion and state - the 'true religion' was the cult of their 'nationality'. This confirmed Marx's view that the role of religion was to support the state,

i.e., the bourgeoisie. Thus, religion is merely another instrument of class rule - together with the army, the political system, and the legal system. Thus, once the society collapsed, so did the religion.

With this reference to antiquity, Marx demonstrated that religion develops in correspondence to the conditions of the time, and is the expression of the society's being. This argument is the basis for explaining the rise of modern religion such as Christianity. In this way Christianity is regarded by Marx as a suitable religion for people, simply because its preaching reflected and corresponded to the conditions and situations of the time in which it arose.

The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people: it first appeared as the religion of slaves and emancipated slaves, of poor people deprived of all rights, or peoples subjugated to or dispersed by Rome (Engels and Marx, 1957:41).

Marx argued that society is determined by economic relations, production and exchange. Men, on the other hand, are dominated by the economic conditions they have created, and by the means of production they have produced. "man is the world of men, the State and society" (in Bottomore, 1969:41).

He argued further that men are the result of a low level of development of the productive power of labour, and they have limited relations in the sphere of material life.

In this respect, religion stands apart from material life. Religion, for Marx, is understood from the tendency of men to project those external forces that control their lives onto hypothetical and supernatural forces; and religion is nothing else but the productive and material limitations reflected in the ideal sphere of man's life.

Thus, religion stands apart from the true nature of society. "Society" creates for itself an organ for safeguarding its common interests against internal and external attacks. This organ is the state power. Hardly has it come into being when this organ makes itself independent of the society; and indeed, the more it becomes the organ of a definite class, the more it directly enforces the supremacy of that class. But once the state has become an independent power vis-à-vis the society, it produces forthwith a further ideology. Ideologies are still further removed from the material and economic infrastructure, and they take the forms of philosophy and religion (Marx and Engels, 1957:259-260).

Therefore, Marx maintained that religion is produced by the State, by the society, which was, in turn, produced by man, who possesses no true understanding of the reality of the dynamic social forces within the material sphere. Religion, God and higher beings are idealistic spiritual expressions that reflect the idea of the individual isolated and alienated from himself and from society. Marx argued that the consciousness of men is determined by their social being. "The totality of these relations of production

constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond" (Bottomore, 1969:67).

In a capitalist system, however, religion is understood as a social class phenomenon where there is a relationship between religion and private property. Marx maintained that the ruling class uses religion as an instrument to keep the working class oppressed and dependent on the means of production and within their bounds, which interrelationship determines man's consciousness.

That human beings, although they are the creators of society, state and religion, project their own powers and their own values upon hypothetical, superhuman and supernatural beings, demonstrates that they possess no true consciousness of the nature of the society in which they live. Religion for Marx is the human fantasy that reflects the idea of the individual alienated from his work and from the means of production, as well as from himself. Man's own nature, own powers and capacities are projected outside himself to other higher beings whom he personifies, and who he believes control his life and will compensate him for his suffering, after death.

God, according to this philosophy, is the reflection of the abstract man; "religion can continue to exist as the immediate that is, the sentimental form of men's relation to the alien natural and social forces which dominate them, so long as men remain under the control of these forces"

(ibid:147). Marx and Engels drew a parallel between Christianity and Socialism preaching the very same matter; the difference, however, between these two is essential. "Christianity places this salvation in a life beyond, after death, in heaven; socialism places it in this world, in a transformation of society" (ibid:313).

Socialism, along with the "positive abolition" of private property, will transform the life of human beings, from human self-alienation to real human nature. "The positive abolition of private property, as the appropriation of human life, is thus the positive abolition of all alienation, and thus the return of man from religion, the family, the State, etc., to his human, e.g., social life" (Marx, in Bottomore, 1961:250).

Therefore, man is the victim of his limited relations to the productive social forces, whereas religion is the possible outcome of his false perception of the real and practical nature of society.

This Marxist approach, as will be shown later, was the one adopted by many individuals who claim to have contributed to altering the constitution of the Greek community in Montreal, and who tried, ultimately successfully, to secularize the community centre, and to weaken the cultural power of the church.

Emile Durkheim

Durkheim's views on religion are quite different from those of Marx. In Durkheim's view, religion is neither an

opium nor a veil - it is a strengthening power for the individual and thus, for society.

Durkheim described religion as a system of given facts that exist and that constitute "reality". He explained that when a man lives a religious life, he believes he is participating in a force that dominates him, but which at the same time upholds him and raises him above the miseries of the world as well as above himself. "The believer who has communicated with his God, is not merely a man who sees truths of which the unbeliever is ignorant; he is a man who is stronger" (Durkheim, 1947:416).

In his classic work, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Durkheim viewed religion as arising from society from its unique nature, being independent and sacred from that of the individual. He described society as having in itself something sacred that gives rise to religion and society is thus perceived as God who men believe and worship. "Society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the divine in minds, merely by the power that it has over them; for to its members it is what God is to his worshippers" (ibid: 206).

For Durkheim, religion is real and ideal, profane and sacred. He made no distinction between religion and society, as he thought they were one and the same thing. "Everything social is religious; the two words are synonymous" (Durkheim, 1933:46).

Durkheim's observations of primitive religions around the world led him to conclude that "the universal and

eternal objective cause of these sensations out of which religious experience is made, is society" (Durkheim, 1947:418).

Although Durkheim did not deny the material necessities of man, he emphasized the psychic necessities as well, and he argued that both are of equal importance, the latter being manifested and facilitated through religion. "The ideal society is not outside of the real society: it is part of it. Far from being divided between them as between two poles which mutually repel each other, we cannot hold the one without holding the other" (ibid:423).

What Durkheim is referring to is the interdependence of the ideal and the real society. That is to say, even when religion seems to be in the individual consciousness, so as to fulfill man's psychic necessities, religion is still in the society where it finds its birth and is further nourished. In other words, whatever is happening in man's consciousness is not an illusion or hallucination of the perceived ideal society, but rather the expression of man's awareness of the social system in which he lives and on which he depends.

Therefore, society is divine and it is above the individual, whereas religion is the expression of the society. Unlike Marx's concept of religion as being the "fantastic reflection of the abstract man", for Durkheim it was the reflection of social reality in which men live and on which they depend, so that they worship their own society, or their own collective reality. The society or the

external social forces are viewed as real and divine as well as being greater than the individual, rather than as mere supernatural or superhuman expressions.

The divine and the sacred parts of society have been described by Aron as follows:

"God is first a being whom man imagines in certain respects as superior to himself, and on whom he believes he depends....the believer feels that he is obliged to accept certain forms of behavior imposed on him by the nature of the sacred principle with which he feels he is in communication. But society also maintains in us the sensation of a perpetual dependence, because it has a nature peculiar to itself, different from our individual nature, and pushes ends which are likewise peculiar to itself; but since it can attain them only through us, it imperviously demands our cooperation. It requires that we forget our personal interests and become its servants; it subjects us to all kinds of inconveniences, hardships, and sacrifices without which social life would be impossible.... Society awakens in us the feeling of the divine. It is at the same time commandment which imposes itself and a reality qualitatively superior to individuals which calls forth respect, devotion, adoration" (Aron, 1967:51).

Religion, for Durkheim, is far from being a vague innate power of the individual. Rather it is the outcome of the collective life that the individual has learned to idealize and to distinguish from that of the profane life. For Durkheim, this division of society is not a choice, but a condition for the existence of both the individual and society. The social function of religion is extremely important for Durkheim, simply because religion is something essentially social. "It is not a sort of luxury which man could get without, but a condition of his very existence.

He could not be a social being, that is to say, he could not be a man, if he had not acquired it" (Durkheim, 1947:423).

Instead of human self-alienation as introduced by Marx, religion is for Durkheim a condition for the social and moral cohesion of people within society; it is social control, a necessary condition in order to keep people within the bounds of the social order. Religion is not only a mental conceptualization of the individual, but also a human social action. "Society cannot make its influence felt except in action, and it is not in action unless the individuals who compose it are assembled together and act in common... It is before all else an active cooperation... Therefore it is action which dominates the religious life because of the mere fact that it is society which is its source" (ibid:419).

The functions of religion, according to Durkheim, are those of religious ritual, rites or acts. He defined rites as follows: "Rites are the rules of conduct which prescribe how a man should comport himself in the presence of these sacred objects" (ibid:41). Durkheim distinguished two principal functions of these rites: although their apparent function is to strengthen the bonds attaching the believer to his god, they at the same time strengthen the bonds attaching the individual to the society of which he is a member, since the god is only a figurative expression of the society (ibid:226).

The ritual acts are religious functions that are performed for the society as well as for the individual and

thus, society. "It is because they serve to remake individuals and groups morally that they are believed to have a power over things" (ibid:370).

Durkheim discussed the church as an institution having moral powers for its believers. "A church is not a fraternity of priests; it is a moral community formed by all believers in a single faith, laymen as well as priests" (ibid:45).

Religion is thus the path for the maintenance of social order and social solidarity, as well as for the maintenance for secular morality, which is expressed in human social actions facilitated by religious rituals.

Religious rituals are also viewed as maintaining psychic euphoria in the individual believer. However, the bonds that unite the individual to society are many and various: moral, psychological, social and institutional. Durkheim attempted to show how religion strengthened these specific bonds. Although it is not clear that Durkheim practised any religious faith, he was most emphatic about the psychological benefits of such practice: "Whoever has really practiced a religion knows very well that is the cult which gives rise to expressions of joy, of interior peace, of serenity, of enthusiasm, which are to the believer an experimental proof of his beliefs" (ibid:417).

Religious rituals re-establish the well-being of the individual and at the same time bring him together with the other members of society, with whom he feels he shares and participates in moral world, which is necessary for the

"smooth and efficient operation of any civilization".

Finally, he suggested that religion has been a major factor in institutional development and the centre from which many other cultural institutions were born: "It may be said that nearly all the great social institutions have been born in religion" (ibid:419).

This last point has been particularly relevant for the development of the Greek community in Montreal, as will be seen below. It may be argued that the development of the Greek community followed Durkheim's model in explaining religion. From the beginning, religion and church have been extremely important for the Greek people; and by constructing their Church they were in fact reconstructing their society, the Old World. According to Durkheim, a condition for keeping a community alive is to make it divine. As was demonstrated earlier, the major social functions and activities of the Greek community passed through religion and took place in the Church, so that religion was the soul of the community as well as the expression of its social reality.

Max Weber

Durkheim and Weber were deeply interested in religion, and the relation between religion and social life. Weber was particularly interested in showing that different types of societies (agricultural, warrior, trading, etc.) developed different religious ideas; but he was also interested in demonstrating the effects of religious ideas

on social structure. His book On Religion (1922) dealt with the first topic, and in The Protestant Ethic (1930) he considered the second.

Weber refused to see in ideas simply the reflections of material interests, as Marx had argued, but he attempted to study religion as a source of social change. Religious study was a fundamental for viewing the evolutionary development of human society, as well as in examining what it could or did provide to the various social strata. Weber was not critical of religion as such (as Marx had been); he was simply interested in the social consequences of different religious beliefs. He thus treated religion as a variable in order to study the historical development of human society, as well as to examine the resultant complexity of human behavior in terms of cultural, socio-economic and political spheres.

Unlike Marx, who saw religion as an effect of other factors, Weber saw it as a cause of other factors. He concluded that developments in the intellectual, psychic, scientific, political and religious spheres have relative autonomy, even though they all mutually influence one another.

Weber defined religion as follows: "On one hand, the idea of 'soul', and on the other of ideas of 'gods', 'demons', and 'supernatural' powers, the ordering of whose relations to men constitutes the realm of religious behavior" (Weber, 1963:5). He demonstrated that concepts of a supernatural order were found in all societies, and were

believed to govern all ordinary 'natural' events and the lives of people. These concepts of a supernatural order involve religious beliefs, stories or practices, which people share as a group and without which they cannot function.

Therefore, Weber argued that the basic religious beliefs and assumptions that human beings create become a condition for social life. This being the same argument as that of Durkheim, Weber demonstrated further that these religious beliefs have an influence in their socio-economic and political behavior, and he drew relationships between attitudes of various social classes and religious beliefs. He noted that social classes and status groups differ in their religious preferences. Thus, for Weber, religion was both an independent as well as a dependent variable.

Weber focused on the economic organization, using religious orientation as an independent variable. He was concerned with the question of whether conceptions of religious ideals and interests could influence or shape the economic activity of a given group life. "When we move away from the classes characterized by a high degree of social and economic privilege, we encounter an apparent increase in the diversity of religious attitudes" (Weber, 1963:95). He maintained that religion was always born within the upper social strata rather than in the lower ones. "The classes of the greatest economic disability, such as slaves and free day-laborers, have hitherto never been the bearers of a distinctive type of religion" (ibid:99).

His central interest in studying the great historical religions of the world, was generated by his perception of the importance of Protestantism in the development of capitalism in the West. In his most famous work, The Protestant Ethic, he advanced the idea that Protestantism had "caused" capitalism rather than "been caused by" capitalism, as Marx had argued.

He examined the Catholic and Protestant ethics and concluded that the vast differences in the economic behaviour and occupational careers of the adherents had much to do with their religious beliefs. "The Catholics show a stronger propensity to remain in their crafts, that is, they more often become master craftsmen, whereas the Protestants are attached to a larger extent into the factories in order to fill the upper ranks of skilled labor and administrative positions" (Weber, 1968:38-39)

The Catholics had different beliefs from the Protestants about lending money at interest. The Protestants were in favor of investing their capital with interest, and thus Weber noted that large numbers of business leaders were Protestant. Also, the religious views about wealth were quite different among Catholics and Protestants; for Protestants wealth was viewed as a "calling" from God. The Protestant ethos places human rewards in this life so that social achievement and success in one's professional activity are interpreted as a proof of election by God. The bourgeois businessman "with his consciousness of standing in the fullness of God's grace and being visibly blessed by

Him", feels good about his economic success since his religion is ordering him to feel that he is fulfilling a duty in doing so" (ibid:175).

Weber explained the nature of the Protestant religion as follows:

"If God shows you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward, and to accept His gifts and use them for Him when He requireth it: you may labor to be rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin" (ibid:162).

Therefore, capitalism for Weber is not just a socio-economic system but rather, it inherits a spirit embodied into it, which is facilitated by the Protestant ethic, which is the source of this rationalization of life. He stated, that this devotion to the calling of making money is well suited to the capitalist system. Today, capitalism no longer needs the support of religious beliefs since it is regulated and supported by the State.

Weber concluded that social classes differ in their religious preferences, that is different social systems have different religious systems. In other words, one's own position in the social structure determines one's religious beliefs, since religious beliefs are viewed to be used in order to justify individuals' own life patterns and their situation in the world.

Weber's insights enable one to explain the different beliefs and attitudes towards the Church, and to trace the

different functions of religion to people from different social strata. As will be shown later on, the major differences in attitudes towards the religion or the church were found to lie between Greek-born and Greek-Canadian individuals. Weber's approach can be useful in explaining these differences in terms of the experiences and position of these groups.

Summary

To summarize then, Marx argued that religion exploits the proletariat, is a veil over the exploitative nature of capitalist society and is, like other dominant ideologies, the expression of the vested interests of the bourgeoisie. Durkheim, on the other hand, regarded religion as a force which strengthened both the individual and society and be referred to the power of the church in creating social institutions. Weber's perspective was different again; he was impressed that just as different types of societies have different beliefs, so also the different spheres in society attach different meanings to the church and to religion.

These three perspectives guide the present research, in an attempt to see which one throws more light on the perceived role of the church in the Greek community: Is it an opiate? Or a glue? Is the church perceived as exploitative or supportive? Do different people see religion differently? Why?

Chapter IV

THE HELLENIC ORTHODOX COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL

The Greek Community has expanded from a handful of individuals in the early 1880s to a population of 49,420 in Montreal according to the 1981 census. This makes it the fifth largest ethnic community in Montreal, after the French, British, Italian and Jewish communities. This chapter will consider the origins and growth of the community, patterns of geographic, dispersal migration patterns and, in particular, the wide and changing roles of the church in the community in the last 100 years.

The information for this section was collected partly from interviews with community leaders during 1980-82, and partly from library and archival research.

1880 - 1906 The Beginnings

The first Greeks came to Canada early in the nineteenth century, and to Montreal in the early 1880's. Ten men, mostly seamen who had sailed up the St. Lawrence River, deserted their ships, married local women and settled in the province of Quebec.

Several years later, around 1885-1890, about fifty-five or more Greeks came to Montreal; they worked in restaurants, factories or small stores. Some established their own business such as groceries, bakeries and restaurants, as well as theatres and movie houses.

These later arrivals included the family of Gerasimo

(1880); his restaurant was located on St. Catherine street east of St. Denis, on the campus of the Université de Laval (the former Université de Montréal). The family of Demetrian (Mytilineos: from the island of Mytiline) was the first to establish a grocery business on Ontario street east. The families of Charalambos Koutsoyannopoulos and Karchalis were the first to establish the theatre business.

In 1905, the number of Greek immigrants was about 700 to 1000. (Appendix 3) They did not have a common place to congregate, and functioned as family groups. At that time, a priest would be sent to them from Boston by the Bishop in New York to conduct liturgical services such as weddings, baptisms and burials, (Fieldwork, winter 1980-81).

1906-1920 Establishment

During this period, the Greek community was relatively disorganized: there are people today who were born in 1902-03 or 1904 who have no birth or baptism certificates, and as a result they have difficulties today getting their pensions because there are no records or proof that they were ever born in Montreal.

It was perhaps during this period that these few Greeks felt the need to organize their life in the new land, in order to speak their language and pray in their faith. Being in a society with different languages from theirs, as well as with different religions, the need to construct an ethnic community organization to provide them with the

essential necessities or services, might be regarded as a structural ultimate need, rather than as a matter of preference left to the individuals. The construction of a church would not only serve as a religious institution, but also as an educational and social one. Unable to participate in Canada's social, economic, political or cultural system, they were forced to unite in order to create a familiar social experience.

The ethnic parish has been viewed both as an instrument of power for the immigrant group and as a subsystem in the stratification of the larger society (Tomasi and Engel, 1970:185).

Hence, the first immigrants struggled to form themselves into some form of organized community in 1906; it finally took shape in 1909 when the Church Evangelismos Tis Theotokou (Annunciation), was built with Mr. Koutsoyannopoulos as the first president. The Church, as it has been perhaps for many ethnic communities, was the first social institution to be constructed.

As in the United States, the Greek Orthodox Church was designed to minister primarily to the spiritual needs of Greeks and to emphasize the preservation of the Greek national identity (Saloutos, 1973:395).

The Greek people contributed around 10 or 15 cents each, and in 1906 they bought a property at 735 St. Laurence street between Prince Arthur and Milton streets. In Montreal, the efforts and sacrifices for the construction of this church were among their most remarkable achievements.

They spent a tremendous amount of time in carrying bricks or mixing cement, whereas those who were more skilled technicians laid the bricks. The construction of this church was realized by the physical as well as the financial contributions of the Greek people, since there were no outside financial sources.

From 1906 to 1910, not having yet built on their newly purchased property, Greeks used a hall located at the corner of St. Catherine and St. Alexander streets for their services and spiritual gatherings. In the meantime, Father Papageorgopoulos toured various cities in Canada, soliciting donations for the church that was to be built in Montreal, and together with a church committee made plans for the building of a church (Hellenic Canadian Community of Montreal, 1975:29)

From the very beginning, the Greeks of Montreal saw the need to educate their children in their mother tongue, as well as in the languages of the country that they had adopted as their new homeland. They established the Plato Greek Parochial School in 1910, which at first operated in the Church of Evangelismos Tis Theotokou, with 35 pupils. The first Day Parochial Greek School was named after the ancient Greek philosopher Plato, and it was supported and sponsored by the church. The principal of the school was Eracles Papamanolis, and in 1918 a school committee was appointed by the Greek Orthodox Community of Evangelismos; in order to take care of the needs of the school. Two years later, the number of pupils attending the four grades of the

Plato school reached 110. The school followed the curriculum of the Montreal public schools and taught three languages: Greek, English and French (Hellenic Canadian Community of Montreal, 1975).

This was the only church with a school in Montreal; it operated from May 5th, 1910 to 1925, and it was also the only social institution of the Greek community.

Religion and language were the two main factors that contributed to the development of the community of Montreal. The common needs that Greeks shared as a group, that is to preserve their culture, their traditions and faith, made these people a co-operative as well as a cohesive group, an important factor that enabled them to succeed in fulfilling these needs.

However, no matter how cohesive a group of people in a new land may be, or how well they can rebuild or organize their life, the ties with the mother land are not readily severed. This is the case with the Greeks; despite their work, their efforts, or even their sacrifices to construct a community, the political upheavals in Greece during 1914 had their impact on their newly organized life. The cohesiveness, their main behavioral pattern, took a distinctive form: there was fighting and dissension that drove people away from their community, church and school, and they formed another community.

This hostility among themselves was manifested in 1920, when the Greek community of Montreal was divided into two hostile camps.

1921-1945: Expansion

Greeks could not separate politics and the church. The progress of their church and the community in general, was interrupted in 1914 by the political situation in Greece. A similar situation happened in the Greek community of the United States. A feud had developed between the King of Greece, who maintained that the nation should remain neutral in World War I (he was personally related to the King of Germany) and his prime minister, Venizelos, who sided with the Allies. The Greek nation, as a result, was divided into two antagonistic segments. The situation was reflected in the minds and emotions of Greeks throughout the United States; these communities separated into two fractions; and consequently the congregation of the church broke up. As a result, the people who sided with Venizelos remained in the old church, while Royalists created new churches with priests not recognized by the Church (Stephanides, 1971:119).

In Montreal, in 1920, there were about two thousand Greeks, which number indicates that there was more room for diverse opinions related to the political situation in Greece. At that time, the Church leader was Mr. Koutsoyannopoulos, who was a Royalist, which made the Liberals (Venizelists) not too happy because he had too much control of the administration of the community. There was dissension. The Church assumed the position of the Royalists, whereas the Venizelists fought for the creation of another community with its own church and parochial

school.

In the early 1920's a committee of six was formed by Mr. G. Kalfas (Messrs. Manolakos, Frangalexis, Demetlan, Demakos, and one other were the members), whose purpose was to try to set up a second "Koinotita", Community. Finally, in 1924-25 the community split. The Venizelists bought a church, the Holy Trinity, at 8 Sherbrooke Street West, which belonged to the Methodist Congregation along with the Presbyterians (now the United Church of Canada). The church was bought on the 14th of September, 1925, for 50,000 dollars. This price included the church and building next to it, where they started another Parochial School, called Socrates, which still exists today (incorporating Plato). The financial source for this church came again from the community members. The leaders of this community issued bonds that Venizelists bought, and who, in the long run, never, reclaimed this money.

The social consequences of that split created many and disastrous problems; the two communities thus formed were like two enemies:

"Venizelists fathers would not let their sons marry Royalist daughters and vice versa: the Royalists would not support the Venizelists' business, that is, restaurants or stores."

Father Salamis, an ex-accountant who is now a priest at St. George Church recalls further many cases of Greeks who lost their businesses during this period because of the hostility between the two portions.

"I know because I was keeping their books and I could see how much the earnings were going down, almost every month until these people lost their business completely, and poverty did not take long to come; we suffered a lot. I'm against politics and I try to keep politics away from church, because I only know what it means; Greece can mind her own business, we have nothing to do with this, all we can do is send money to help them, but that's all."

Thus, the split brought enormous social, religious and financial consequences upon a few Greeks in Montreal.

Until 1928, there was still dissension in the Greek communities, but gradually many people came to realize that living in one city, being Greek, and having two communities created an intolerable situation. This situation, was not wise from an economic point of view either. Two thousand people could not possibly support two communities for long, since, as was mentioned earlier, the only financial substance of the community was the active participation of its members and the contributions of individuals. The Church, on the other hand, was too weak to maintain ethnic cohesiveness among its members, so that the dissension, the fighting and the national split seemed to go beyond the control of the Church.

The financial crisis and ensuing lean years that resulted from the 1929 "crash" of the Stock Market did not spare the two Orthodox congregations of Montreal (Evangelismos Tis Theotokou and Holy Trinity). The Greek community of Montreal was not strong enough, in either membership or financial output to sustain two churches and two parochial schools (Hellenic Community of

Montreal, 1975 :30)

Between 1928 and 1931 Archbishop Athenagoras came from New York to Montreal a number of times, and made every effort possible to unite the two churches. Thus the Greek Orthodox Church took the responsibility of solving the problem of the national split and uniting the two churches, and thus the two communities, in order to maintain the Hellenic spirit among the Greeks in Montreal. The two churches were indeed united in 1931; Archbishop Athenagoras got both parties together, and they held meetings and discussions on the futility and nonprofitability of being divided into two factions fighting among themselves.

As a result, on December 3, 1931, the two congregations reached an agreement for unification. All physical assets were united, the two communities became one community, and the Holy Trinity (Agia Trias) Greek Orthodox Congregation of Montreal was the only one to survive, along with its Socrates Parochial School. The Church of Evangelismos Tis Theotokou and Plato School were sold to a Hungarian Roman Catholic Congregation, due to the financial crisis. The holy icons and every other belonging were brought to the new church; Archbishop Athenagoras conducted the last liturgy at the old church.

The Greek community was restructured again, and the Church was the main important ethnic institution, whose existence required the spiritual, the physical, and the financial contributions of its members. The magnitude of

the individual contribution and participation of every single Greek immigrant to the construction of the Church, and thus the community, was stressed by the community's leader in an interview. An ex-president of the community during 1972-75, Mr. Manolakos was the first one to bring the very first dollar from outside sources. He stated:

"I always say that unless there is an input, an organization cannot survive; we can safely say today that the strength of the Church was in fact the people who wanted it - made a sacrifice for it and they paid for it, whereas organizations where all money comes from outside sources are here today and gone tomorrow and the fact that they collapse means nothing to anyone. The people who organize them, organize most of their time because there is something in it for themselves, and secondly because there is going to make a contribution for the community because, if they are not going to be paid they are not going to work. Whereas, in the old days, people would have to work, I mean it was unheard of to do church work and be paid for it."

Not everyone would necessarily agree with Mr. Manolakos' description of his altruistic note in the community. Nonetheless the ethnic Church was an important institution in the life of the Greek immigrants. It served not only as an instrument for maintaining the religious and cultural symbols of the traditional Greek world, but also as an instrument for social interaction between the Old and New Worlds. It also served as a social center where people could meet one another, where the mother tongue-the only language known- could be used; where ideas and sometimes political issues could be expressed and discussed; a social gathering, a home away from home - a way of life in the new

homeland.

"In those years all marriages that took place were all the result of the acquaintanceship and the social interaction that the church helped them to maintain. Every Sunday there were dancing, movies, basketball games. They were also sending children to the U.S. i.e. in Boston as a basketball team; all these people married Greeks. This move was the most important function of our church." (Father Salamis, 1981)

With the Second World War, the social function of the Church expanded. In 1941 the War broke out in Greece; some Greeks went back to fight. The Greek community helped Greece by sending thousands of tons of wheat, clothing and money which, according to the data collected, was not matched by any other Greek community outside Greece, including the United States, on a per capita basis. There was also a Greek Red Cross set up, which sent medicine and blood to Greece (Mr. Manolakos, 1981).

During this period the number of Greeks in Montreal was between 2,000 and 3,000. The community suffered very difficult times, and many efforts were made in order to keep the community functioning. A social organization connected with the Church was formed by Greek women; this was called Philoptochos Society and later on "The Philanthropiki Enosis Hellenidon Kyrion", which still exists today and it is now called the Hellenic Benevolent Society. This organization was active in trying to raise funds to help people in the community. The main source of revenue was from dances or from selling home-made food and sweets to stores and to the public. The purpose of this organization was to help

individuals in need, to pay the teachers of the school, to visit the sick in hospitals, to distribute milk to poor children, and to help families who had no money to bury their dead.

During these two phases, the Church underwent successful as well as painful transitions. The fact that the Church's primary purpose was to maintain the Greek Orthodox religion as well as Hellenism, implies that these two elements can affect each other. The Church as an institution was the reflection of socio-cultural realities of both Greece and Montreal and not just a place for the practice of religious rituals or the expression of spiritual ideals. As the president of the community, Mr. Maris (1981) emphasized: "People can live on having maintained their religion, but Greeks cannot live just with their religion, they must maintain their Hellenism".

1945-1960: Consolidation

Following World War II, Greek immigrants began once again to flow into Canada in ever-increasing numbers. Fleeing the poverty and devastation of war and occupation in their homeland, they sought a new life in Canada, the new land of promise. The Greek community of Montreal, at the end of World War II numbered between 2,500 and 3,000 (Appendix 3). However, immigration accelerated rapidly in the 1950s after a new immigration law allowed young girls to enter Canada as domestics. Many young women came from Greece, and once they were settled in

Montreal, they found themselves in the advantageous position of being able to select a mate from their native villages without the provision of "proika" (dowry) that had been the custom in Greece.

A definition of a dowry is given in the Greek Civil Code (Article 1406):

"Dowry is the property that the wife, or somebody else on her behalf, gives to the husband in order to alleviate the burdens of marriage" (Lambiri-Dimaki, 1972:74).

The author stated that one of the basic reasons why a number of Greek fathers and brothers emigrated from Greece was to get higher wages in order to help the younger females in the family back home with their dowry.

In the case of these young Greek women the reverse happened: they were the ones to move, hence, an invitation to a young man to come from the village to Montreal, and the promise of landed immigrant status if he married, were considered an excellent dowry. Due to the war and the economic crisis, there were many young men who were anxious to get out of Greece, so that a large number of Greek marriages took place in this way which, as a result, increased the Greek population of Montreal. Once these young women were married, the parents, brothers, and other relatives came along as well, in order to live together as family groups.

However, these matches created a number of social problems, as it was described by the priests and the leaders of the community. Very often, the fiancés or the husbands who were brought from Greece abandoned their wives and went

to the United States, where they could never be found, leaving their women pregnant or already with children. The first place that these abandoned women would turn to for help or assistance, was the Church. During this period the social function of the Church was indeed visible; the priest became a social worker and a psychologist.

The Ladies of the Church (Philanthropiki Enosis Hellenidon Kyrion), along with the community's leaders at the time, were extremely concerned about these women, and they offered great assistance to them. Whatever the problem was these women could contact the Church or the Church's association in order to assist them. Most of the time the volunteers served as interpreters, for trips to the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Unlike the other ethnic minorities, such as, Jews or Italians, Greeks have never had their own hospital, so it was extremely difficult for a Greek woman to visit a hospital with no assistance. In the late 1950s, Mrs. Sophia Demetian, a member of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, organized a big dance and raised money that was spent in equipping part of the Women's Pavilion of the Royal Victoria Hospital. This donation was a gesture to show that the Greek community was part of this hospital, and that they appreciated the hospital's services to the Greek people. A plaque in honor of their donation exists still today and it is marked: "Donated by the Hellenic Community of Montreal".

Until 1971 the community continued to function in the same pattern, that is with the participation in and the

contributions to their community by the Greek people. These years have been described as being very difficult for two main reasons: first, because the Greek population was increasing to a point where they needed more churches and schools, in order to satisfy their spiritual and cultural needs; and second, because the new immigrants were not aware of the situation of the community: that is, they had the mentality that the Church was sustained by the State as it was in Greece, and therefore, they did not realize that they were in a position to help. Efforts by the community to raise money in order to expand its services to meet the needs of the growing population received much criticism as it continues to do today, to the effect that all the church cares about is collecting or asking for money. Despite the criticism, the leaders of the community continue to express thanks to those people who did help with its expansion, since without them the community would not be what it is today. Since the new immigrants were not willing to assist the Church financially, the Greek Orthodox Community entered a new phase, and it became government-sponsored for most of its physical assets.

A similar situation in the United States is described as follows:

"... a growing number of parishioners who were unaccustomed to paying membership dues to the Church in Greece, which was a state-supported church, and who rebelled against what to them appeared to be the dehellanization of the church" (Saloutos, 1973:404).

In 1956, the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Congregation

of Montreal petitioned the legislature of the Province of Quebec, and assumed the name of the "Hellenic Canadian Community of the Island of Montreal". On October 24 of that same year the Hellenic Community purchased a choice piece of land, 303,000 square feet in area, on the northeast corner of Côte St. Catherine Road and Wilderton Avenue, for the price of \$290,000. The purpose of this purchase was the erection of a new church, school, and community centre that would fill the needs of the growing Greek community (Hellenic Canadian Community, 1975:30). The community had already expanded and the money could be obtained from the people themselves, that is, by being customers of the Church through buying candles, paying for the mysteries, and through individual contributions.

Several months later, on March 18, 1957, a Board of Governors was elected by the General Assembly of the Hellenic Community and to proceed with the construction of these new buildings. The Most Reverend Iakovos, Archbishop of North and South America, officiated at the ground-breaking ceremonies of the new Church on Côte St. Catherine Road. The Hellenic Community was assisted by the two priests of Holy Trinity Church, Father Salanis and Father Theophilopoulos and Kimon Karayannis, and it was officially opened on May 28, 1961. The new Church was given the name St. George after the patron saint to whom it was dedicated, and on December 26, 1962, Archbishop Iakovos proclaimed it cathedral. (Hellenic Canadian Community 1975:30-31).

1960-1980: Recent Immigration

As soon as Greeks arrived in Montreal they started concentrating in the Park Avenue and Park Extension areas. Therefore, it became a necessity to provide these people with a new church in order to administer religious services. Thus, in 1968, another church, Koimisis Tis Theotokou, was bought at 7700 De l'Epée, where a facility for Socrates school was also established.

In 1970 more schools were needed; a new school building at 275 Houde St. in Ville St. Laurent was purchased from the School Board, and the name of the school system changed from Anglo-Greek school to Socrates Elementary School operating in two locations- the afore-mentioned and at 10615 boulevard Saint Laurent (Interview with Mr. Maris, 1981).

In 1971, under the presidency of Mr. Manolakos, the community started getting access to financial resources from the Canadian government. At that time, the chairman of the School Committee was Mr. Maris, the current president, who, along with Mr. Manolakos requested that the Quebec government declare the school as the "Institution d'Intellect Publique". In this way, the school was converted from English-Greek to French-Greek-English, emphasizing French as the language of instruction for the main subjects of the school. The benefit of this initiative was that the community obtained an 80% subsidy for the school. Mr. Manolakos stated:

I like to feel proud because my presence to the community was the turning point in the history of the community as far as grants are

concerned. I got grants for schools, for social services, and to operate youth programs. This is what gave our school the status that it has today and this is when I was able to elevate standards, the quality of instruction, the services that were offered to the community. Before we used to rely on a few people sending their kids to school forcing the parents to pay in order to hire school teachers. So because they had no money, we used to hire second class teachers. Today the kids have excellent instruction and there is no comparison in both knowledge and respectability (sevasmos) with any other school.

In 1977, under the presidency of Mr. Maris, the school got 100% subsidies for its program from the Montreal Catholic School Commission, in collaboration with the provincial government.

However, this initiation of the conversion of the school system created much criticism for a long period of time. The president of the community, Mr. Manolakos, was accused of having 'sold' himself to the French government for 'glory', however with the political situation of Quebec and the rise of the Parti Québécois, many Greeks have come to realize and to appreciate this change.

Between 1971 and 1975 another church was bought, the Evangelismos Tis Theotokou, on St. Roch Street. In 1974, the community's leader, Mr. Manolakos, obtained 160,000 dollars from the government to erect an office building next to Holy Trinity Church where the offices of Koinotita (Community), are located today.

In 1972, an institution of Social Services of the Community was established, located at 5679 Park Avenue and at 754 St. Roch Street, as well as the School of Home

Economics located in the basement of the Evangelismos Tis Theotokou Church. In this school, Greek folk arts are taught, and exhibitions are held of beautiful Greek embroidery done by young Greek-Canadian girls. In the basement of the same church is a Greek library, which was established in the same year.

Along with the development of the Hellenic Koinotita many other social institutions and organizations were established in the community. These are numerous, and vary between forty and fifty social organizations, including educational, cultural, socio-political, and local (provincial) ones. The historical process of these social organizations started in early 1960, when the number of Greeks had already increased to about 40,000 and, when they were concentrated in the same residential areas, that is, Park Avenue and Park Extension.

Most immigrants to Canada, the mass of migration, have not been of the professional or skilled classes, but rather from lower, working-class levels. They have been motivated by the desire to find work or more money in the countries of immigration. Indeed, the educated and the skilled, although increasing in proportion, have never made up a majority of the migrating forces (Porter, 1975:39). The majority of Greek immigrants come from rural backgrounds, have little education, have neither work experience, nor specific training or preparation for an industrial country like Canada. The overwhelming majority of Greeks entering Canada are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers from rural and

semi-urban communities. The majority of Greeks (between 70% and 80%) work as wage earners in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations (Gavaki, 1979:4). Nagata states, that the majority of Greek immigrants, about 97%, may be designated as working class, including both unskilled and semi-skilled categories in approximately equal ratio. The remaining 2% to 3% of the immigrants comprise a variety of professional and business occupations, which provide immediate access to the middle ranks of both Greek and Canadian society. At the working-class level, most are exclusively of rural background, the exceptions having generally migrated from Athens (1970:49).

The Statistical Year Book of Greece of 1970 shows that out of 92,681 immigrants, only 12,785 were from Athens, while the rest migrated from areas such as Central Greece, Peloponnesos, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, and the island of Crete. In 1977, out of 20,374 who emigrated, only 5,061 came from Athens. The occupational level of the number of immigrants in 1970 shows the large proportion of unskilled workers: out of 24,448, 827 were professional, technical and related workers; 70 administrative, executive and managerial workers; 320 clerical and related workers; 377 service workers; 3,000 agricultural and forestry workers; 4,012 production technicians and workers; 1,418 persons of unidentifiable occupation; 13,978 without occupation, and finally 17 in the armed forces. In 1977, out of 20,374 who migrated, 2,926 were agricultural and forestry workers, 4,093 production technicians, 988 persons of unidentifiable

occupation, and 10,657 without occupation.

Therefore, the majority of Greek immigrants are people who have come from villages. In villages people seem to remain directly dependent on their natural environment. In villages in Greece, the geographic situation allows proximity, so that individuals maintain intimate contacts with one another. As a result their social behavior takes a more joint or collective form when compared with the cities. It becomes only natural that rural immigrants will attempt to rebuild their past experience in their new land, and will create a way of life similar to the one they knew in their villages.

An organized social life, an institutionally complete ethnic community, would provide the immigrant with cultural and psychological satisfaction, as well as with some sense of belonging in a strange land. The social institutions would serve not only as socio-cultural or educational ones, but also as meeting places where one could maintain contact with one's fellows. They would also serve as places to receive news from Greece, and to find common topics of interest and discussion. Through membership and participation in these social organizations, the life of the immigrant becomes more vital and more interesting.

The nature of the receiving society, (that is Canada), is quite different from that of a village; people are scattered over a number of different and separate neighbourhoods, differentiated by education, income and occupation. Industrialization, greater technological

developments and more access to educational institutions and economic opportunities are all main characteristics of urban social settings. Given the occupational status of the majority of Greek immigrants, their potential for competence and integration with the urban world is very limited. Thus, the existence of ethnic social institutions can be further justified; they can be viewed as supporting agencies from the dominant society. They are places where the immigrant will turn for help to find employment, or to gain any type of information concerning lodgings, working rights or civil rights in general. It becomes obvious that there is a great need for the existence of such ethnic institutions in the life of immigrants. The growth of the Koinotita in terms of membership and physical assets, as well as the growth of the numerous social organizations, including the radio and the press, imply the dependence of Greek immigrants on such an institutionally complete ethnic community.

The strength of the ethnic community was the guarantee of successful integration; its power was derived from its social solidarity, which shielded the immigrant from anomic conditions and established a basis for bargaining with the larger society (Tomasi, 1970:95). The socio-cultural and economic position of Greeks in Montreal implies a need for the existence of an ethnic community, which in turn might be viewed as serving as a means of gaining a position and advantage in the host society.

1980- Present: Secularization

In the United States, the commitment to the preservation of the Greek national identity was strongest during the years before and immediately after World War I (Saloutos, 1973:395). However, one of the greatest threats to the Church in the United States was intermarriage, whereas in Montreal the threat came from the recent immigrants and the increasing size of the community. These self-styled 'progressive' immigrants had lived through various unstable political situations in Greece, and came here with a remarkably aggressive political attitude against authority, conservatism and private property. The Church institution, or the Koinotita, which was the union of the four Greek Parishes: Holy Trinity, St. George, Koimisis Tis Theotokou and Evangelismos Tis Theotokou, was the first establishment against which these progressive members of the community turned, in order to protect the interests of the Greek public. The main argument was that since all the money and physical assets owned and run by the Orthodox community, Koinotita, came from the people themselves, it should belong to them, and the church institution should be limited to its religious role only.

Thus, a few progressive people, and particularly members of the Labour Association, became active members of the Koinotita. Between the years 1980 and 1982 they tried to change its constitution concerning the Koinotita's property rights in the Greek community, for the equal benefit of the Greek people. During these two years, the Church sustained

much criticism to the effect that it was a money-oriented institution, and thus insufficient for the preservation of the Greek nationality, customs and traditions. The Church sustained more criticism during the period of the military government in Greece (1967-1974), where it was accused of supporting the junta. (The Greek government itself was in favour of the church, calling Greece the "Greece of Greek Christians".) The church was also accused of having contributed to the tyranny of those citizens who were imprisoned.

This attitude of some Greek community members towards the political and economic power of the Church resulted in the change to the community's constitution, which involved the exclusion of the Church from the community's property and administrative rights. This major change was regarded as a victory, and one member of the Labour Association described it as "Hellenism with action".

The last major event in of the historical development of the Greek community, was the construction of the Community Centre, in 1980 which by and large replaced the Church's cultural and educational role for the youth. Members of the Greek community like to feel proud of the Community Centre, which is viewed as the soul of the Greek community. For the recent immigrant the Community Centre is as important as the church once was for the first immigrants. Hence, the role and the importance of the Greek Orthodox Church have been changed dramatically over the last five years.

Conclusion

The prime function of the church is, of course, to minister to the spiritual needs of its members. But as it has already been demonstrated the Greek Orthodox Church has performed many important social functions for the community.

Chronologically, the church helped to educate the children of the first Greek immigrants; in the split following the division between the Royalist and Venizelists, the church was the "healing instrument" securing reunification of the community in 1931. During the post War II migration when so many men came to Canada and United States, the priests adopted roles as social workers, counsellors or psychologists.

Furthermore, the importance of the church as the "glue" of the community was commented on by many of the church leaders and, as it will be shown in the next chapter, by many members of the Greek community. The interviews with community leaders substantially differ from responses to questionnaire handed out to selected members of the community. The leaders tended to have Durkheimian views on the role of the church and religion; while many of the first generation immigrants had views that were more in common with those articulated by Marx. These differences can be explained in Weberian terms.

The views of the first and second generation members of the community (i.e. non-leaders) are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter V

THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY: INTERVIEWS

The questionnaire was organized around six specific topics, with a number of questions per topic. The topics were as follows: Church Attendance (Questions 1 to 6), Importance of Religion (Question 7), Attitudes towards the Church and its Importance to the Greek community (Questions 13,14,15,18), Attitudes towards Priests (Questions 8 to 12 and 20), Relation between Hellenism and Church (Questions 16,17,21,22), Religion as Opium of the people (Questions 19,23).

These questions were selected not only for their intrinsic interest and the light they would shed on the attitudes of the Greek community, but also because they would allow testing of the theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber.

The topics are discussed in the order in which they appear in the questionnaire. Each of these issues will be considered in full:

Church Attendance

Most people said that they attend church only on social occasions like weddings, baptisms and funerals. Of the twenty people interviewed, only five attend regularly; the majority of Greeks surveyed said that they refuse to attend church regularly. The data are tabulated in Tables 1 & 2; some of the responses are given below.

TABLE 1
Church Attendance by Sex
(In percent)

SEX	CHURCH ATTENDANCE		N
	Yes	No	
	%	%	
Male	25	75	12
Female	25	75	8
Total	5	15	20

TABLE 2
Church Attendance by Origin
(In percent)

ORIGIN	CHURCH ATTENDANCE		N
	Yes	No	
	%	%	
Greece	13	87	15
Montreal	60	40	5
Total	5	15	20

"I don't go to Church, because I don't believe in its role and in its services. The Church is doing nothing but to keep man in ignorance and lies; all it cares is to make money."

"I don't go to Church because it doesn't represent me; it is opposite to my ideology; I don't believe in this that it represents, the existence of a God. The Church would do something for me if I was believing in this, then I would go to Church either as a duty or belief or to find an ecstasy and communication with God."

"The Church is one of the largest establishments and it keeps us behind; it doesn't allow us to progress; it is a ring that maintains this establishment which keeps us in an other level that prevents us from freeing ourselves."

"I only go to Church on important holidays, marriages and baptisms; I don't go to Church, I have my house as a Church hence, I don't need to go to Church. I have no respect, there is a lot of hypocrisy in Church why should I go? to hear the priest saying "not coins in the disc please, they make a lot of noise!"

"Personally I don't believe, I have resolved the problem; if I will go it will be on a social obligation, marriage, baptism etc. Its role is reactionary and it has entered the services of the upper ruling class, serving the establishment."

The reasons for rejecting the church are many and various: Because people don't believe in God, or because they believe the church keeps people in ignorance through lies, because it is not progressive, because it is hypocritical, materialistic and serves the ruling class.

However, not everyone thinks this way. Some people, a quarter of those interviewed, still go to church and the interviews gave some clarification as to why they attend.

"I go to Church occasionally when the mood hits me or when I'm in a heavy emotional time. I feel a strong attraction and attachment for the Church mostly for personal reasons, because I was born within the Greek tradition and baptized an Orthodox. When I was in the army in the United States and I was feeling homesick I was attending services at an Orthodox Church; it reminded me of home, of my childhood

where I was attending the Sunday school until the age of 15."

"I go to Church some times because this is how I learned it when I was a child; I was taught to believe in something. The Church keeps the traditions, customs, culture and the Greek religion as well."

"Personally going to Church is not important for me; but it is important for the tradition which is very important and which is closely tied with the religion. Tradition is important to save more your culture and your identity than the religious aspect of it, and this is where the Church is important."

The reasons for going to church also vary, but these people emphasize the importance of the Greek tradition and culture, and emotional continuity rather than any religious or spiritual functions of the Church.

It is interesting that the majority of those born in Greece (87%) do not attend church, while the majority of those born in Montreal (60%) still go to church (see Table 2). Clearly, people's experience of the role of the church in Greece, as opposed to its role in Canada, has determined their attitudes to the church here. For those who were raised in Montreal, the Church is a means for the maintenance of traditions, customs and culture, as well as of their identity as a whole. Very often the Church becomes a symbol of identification of their Greekness, a fact that became evident during the interviews. Others however, who were born in Greece, do not see the Church as a means of tradition or culture, but rather, as a strong reflection of the socio-economic system, and as a symbol of their identification that touches another reality.

The majority of responses in general, can be characterized as highly negative in reference to religiosity among the Greeks interviewed. The Church was not linked to spirituality in any sense, but rather, it was linked either with tradition and culture or with the State and the social establishment.

Despite the low attendance rates at church, many people said that their religion was important to them. Tables 3 & 4 indicate the distribution of data in terms of the importance and non-importance of the Greek Orthodox religion to Greeks who were interviewed.

The majority of people (67%) said that religion was important to them. Although men and women differed little in this matter, place of birth is important. Of those born in Montreal, 80% said that religion was important, compared to 60% of those born in Greece. As it will be shown below, it is not only the different experience of the Church in Greece and Montreal, but also political attitudes that determine these attitudes.

When people were asked why their religion was important to them, they were very forthcoming:

"Religion is very important because it gives to people certain principles and bases important for the life we live; it also gives certain answers to matters or problems for the life."

"In terms of the religious importance, I would say that religion is extremely important for the overseas communities; along with the Church it plays an important cultural role; until recently the Church was the only place where Greeks like me were ever exposed to Greek history. Also, the religion plays a healthy role the moral building of the individual."

TABLE 3
Importance of Religion by Sex
(In percent)

SEX	IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION		N
	Important	Not Important	
	%	%	
Male	67	33	12
Female	63	37	8
Total	13	7	20

TABLE 4
Importance of Religion by Origin
(In percent)

Origin	Importance of Religion		N
	Important	Not Important	
	%	%	
Greece	60	40	15
Montreal	80	20	5
Total	13	7	20

"The religion was created by man for his inner world, but through time it became a performance for his external obligations provided by the Church such as: to go to Church, to listen to liturgy, to light his candle, to offer money to disc which passes several times around and in order to be alright with God; but all this doesn't do anything for his inner world. People go to Church to gossip, not because they need to."

"The religion is important for me, because it covers that aspect of man which has to do with metaphysics: with his destination, with death and the fear which man has for the unknown in general."

"Man needs religion especially in difficult times; when you have an accident or a difficult moment I think that everyone of us has this small window which he uses in accordance with his needs."

"The religion is important in the sense that it prepares people through catechism in the explanation of metaphysics and of morality and justice. Further, it offers to man or organizes the man towards the truth, the knowledge of the Good and the Beautiful."

"Here in Montreal, we have the classical example of the meaning of religion, that is, people in bad times and bad situations which are usually economic as in the case of Greeks, they turn into religion which is a mean to keep up hope."

These answers are particularly interesting because they cover such a wide range of explanations: individual and social, spiritual and educational, moral and cultural. One says that religion is particularly important for overseas communities, another that it is useful for gossip and a third says we need it, especially in difficult times. One person says it organizes us metaphysically towards "the truth, the knowledge of the good and the beautiful," but for someone else it is useful for learning history. Evidently, religion is important to different people for different reasons.

Some people said that although religion was not

important to them personally, it was important for the children. The important role of religion to the children underlines the moral function of religion. Several responses are given below:

"The religion is not important for me; perhaps in my childhood religion did play a role, but now it is not important any more; the morality aspect was useful to me and also the religion itself as a means to realize my desires e.g. I would say my God helps me for this and that but now there is nothing that has remained in my psychic world."

"Religion is very important, especially for the child up to the age of ten or twelve as a moral guide; the religion gives certain symbols with moral bases which are extremely important for his survival so that he wouldn't steal or kill each other."

"One important thing the church has done is what it has to offer to children, the Sunday School; there, they teach the Bible, the ten Commandments, what is morally right and wrong now, whether one agrees or not this is an offering to children and for this religion is important."

"The Church is important especially for the children who are born here; it enables them to follow those bases cultural and moral which their parents have at home; it is important for the child to have these bases in order to live in harmony and in communication within their home."

For those to whom religion is important, it is important for two major reasons: first, for the moral education man should obtain early in his childhood as a necessary basis for his harmonious survival with others; and second, for the cultural education that is also important for man in order to be able to live harmoniously within a culturally defined society. These aspects of religion have been discussed by Durkheim and Weber, however, the individual's own experience adds more diversity in explaining the same matter. For those whose religion was not important, it was still

important for the children, which contradicts Marx's idea.

One person had an answer somewhat different in orientation from the others. He, a Canadian-born Greek, was less concerned with the Orthodox Church as the expression of religious belief, but with religion as such. Indeed, he clearly separates the two and he emphasizes the individual rather than the cultural needs for man himself.

"All universal religions seem to have one thing in common; they all have silence and peace, quietude; the concept of "Nirvana" the cycle of birth and rebirth are what the whole mystical experience of all faiths aim. For most people this extinction is a constant internal struggle, this is why we need religion; we have a lot of weaknesses and we need to be constantly reassured that it is normal. The purpose of all religions ultimately is to help people survive on earth and to help them survive harmoniously. However, all this I learned in looking to other religions as well and not just from Orthodoxy - its instruction is poor."

Seven people, 33% of the sample, said that religion is not important for them; four of those are cited here:

"The religion takes away from man his self-confidence and his decisiveness which enables him to stand on his feet with his own will and power he is instead left on the will of God of the Omnipotent, and further on the will of the Fate; these are all negative aspects of religion."

"Religion is a rule and regulations you have to follow in order to be a part of it or to be a good Orthodox; I think everybody believes in something, but for me it doesn't have to be a specific religion where you have to follow its rules, the mass, the confession, the holy communion or to fast; all these are not important for me, since this is what religion is all about."

"Our religion is not important to me because it has not been as progressive as it should have been; it is still very backwards and conservative, as opposed to other religions."

"The religion cultivates the after life; as a result it becomes a business with economic interests for one group of people and a condition of poverty for another: people are

poor but the clergy have a lot of money."

People seem to have different reasons for not considering religion important. Religion for some is not important because it is a negative element for the life of the individual, while for some others it is not important because its emphasis lies on its structural aspect, such as in rules and regulations, rather than in an abstract and spiritual belief. Finally, for others, religion is regarded as a means of political propaganda that serves the economic advantages of one group while failing another.

Attitudes towards the Church

As a rule, people were not as critical of religion as they were, for example, about the Church as an institution. Many people viewed the Church as an economic institution to which no spirituality is attached. The Church in Greece is part of the structure of the State; the first article of the constitution specifies the relation between the Church and the State. That is to say, the Church has a say in civil, political and legal matters.

If people are not satisfied with the State in terms of its political, socio-economic and legal matters, it becomes only natural that the first institution people will turn against will be the Church, since it is the State's representative. The dissatisfaction with or even hostility towards the Church were clearly expressed in the questions asked about the role and the effectiveness of the Church in the community in the past and in the present. The responses

TABLE 5

Attitudes Towards the Role and Effectiveness
Of the Church by Sex
(In Percent)

SEX	ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS		N
	Positive	Negative	
	%	%	
Male	33	67	60
Female	37	63	8
Total	7	13	20

TABLE 6

Attitudes Towards the Role and Effectiveness
of the Church by Origin
(in percent)

ORIGIN	ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS		N
	Positive	Negative	
	%	%	
Greece	20	80	15
Montreal	80	20	5
Total	7	13	20

positive and negative) are tabulated in Tables 5 and 6.

All responses will be divided into positive and negative ones in order to calculate their significance.

The majority of the respondents (65%) had negative attitudes towards the role and the effectiveness of the Church as an institution. As Tables 5 indicates, there is not much difference between men and women. Place of origin proved to be the most significant variable; 80% of those who were born and raised in Greece said that the role of the Church has been and still is negative and not at all effective, while 80% of those born in Montreal said that the role of the Church was positive (table 6). The attitudes of the respondents from different places of origin seemed to be as opposed as the ideas of Durkheim and Marx were.

One possible explanation for these differences in opinions is that for those who were born and raised in Montreal, the Church was the first and perhaps the only institution that they were ever exposed to. Thus there is an emotional attachment to it, which might justify their positive attitudes towards the Church. On the contrary, Greeks who were born and raised in Greece found a variety of social institutions established and a settled Greek community when they arrived in Montreal. For the recent immigrant then, the Church would be a second choice for social and cultural needs. One might argue that the generational, environmental and socio-political differences that the two groups of people have, could be responsible for the significant differences in their attitudes towards the

Church. This explanation throws a considerable light in understanding the different theoretical outlooks that were discussed earlier.

Some of the negative responses are presented below. Many people questioned the quality of the Orthodox religion itself; they did not criticize the Church as much as they did religion.

"If religion was a religion of knowledge of the truth and the beautiful, which could help man in his evolution, by deifying human forces instead of human beings whom we call Saints, then the Church will be constructive. But Christianity, plays a destructive role just by making people believe in a few men, in a few people as Gods and it keeps the mental level of people very low. But the ancient Greek religion was not to deify human beings, but human forces, like Sophia (Wisdom), Eros (Love), War, Fertility and Justice. Now the Church which could teach all these, it would be of great value to all, instead of preaching darkness and ignorance as ours does today."

"The role of the Church is definitely negative, because it is based on the Christian preaching: that we are all sinful. Hence, we are ashamed of ourselves and of our bodies, and it is because of this sin which man carries that makes him believe and pray in order to free himself. How can this type of preaching be constructive for man? If someone believes in all this, then the Church becomes an imprisonment of the human mind that can not go any lower."

"The role of the Church is significantly negative for Greeks, because it is not flexible with the social changes which are happening and it is not as free as it should be; it is a selfish and not at all idealistic institution and the bearer of selfishness is the clergy, who are not attached to the principles of the Church so that the whole Church institution is an hypocrisy."

Others had more secular concerns which resembled those of Marx's. They commented on the political propaganda of the Church that keeps people alienated from the social reality in which they live. Others drew a parallel between the Church and capitalism, arguing that the Church is one of

the few establishments serving this economic system, as Marx, for example, had argued. Weber, on the other hand, had suggested that religion created economic systems, not that it served them! Finally, others see the Church as a social mostly economic establishment itself, one which makes every effort to safeguard its economic interests. One example which was widely used to describe the Church as an economically oriented institution was the introduction of social class into the mysteries, e.g., first-, second- or third-class marriages or baptisms. Several typical responses having to do with the above concerns are listed below:

"The role of the Church is negative because its preaching gives to people a different direction and perspective on the society's social phenomena. If for instance there is unemployment, they won't tell people to go ahead and fight for their rights; rather, what the Church has to say is this is God's "Will" and this is how it is given from God; if there is hunger, she will tell people the same and also that they will be rewarded later on, after death for all the present miseries, so politically she maintains conservative attitudes and she creates conservative individuals."

"The role of the Church is destructive for the immigrant; because of all the difficulties the immigrant faces due to education, language and the contact with the larger society, he depends on the Church and, she keeps him in ignorance. It is supposed to be a non-political institution, while we know that she is in the service of the establishment and the upper class; they were blessing the junta during the dictatorship with the excuse that these were our government."

"The Church has divided her interests 90% for the clergy and 10% for the people; the positive role that she has lies within this 10%. She is an example of Capitalism. Church and Bank are the same thing."

"The Church-all she cares is to maintain a kingdom which is a politico-economic one. She has a lot of money, but where did she find the capital? from the people themselves. In Montreal, the Church wants to buy more Churches, but we have

already four which is more than enough; until when we are going to buy Churches? We are not that many to have all these ones, so it is evident that the role of the Church is commercial."

"The Church has introduced social classes inside this spiritual institution and we can see it in the mysteries where you have to pay more for first class mysteries, which includes more lights on, and a variety class of decoration. It is a commerce, an economic institution like any other one."

Thus, 80% of the negative responses deal with the educational and political as well as the economic role of the Church. People would prefer to see the Church as a pure, idealistic institution that would concentrate on its original purpose. That is, to preach the words of Christ, to perform liturgical mysteries rather than economic ones, and without political and economic attachments.

Still others accepted religion and even accepted the Church as an ideal, but had some criticism nonetheless. The following response proposes a positive role for the Church if its orientation should differ from what it is today. †

"The Church was the first place where Greeks like me, were ever exposed to Greek history, but its emotional matter was very important too; because if you have sick individuals you are going to have a sick society... Ideally, the Church can play a healthy role for the moral building of the individual; if it concentrates in the Gospels, if it would allow us to expose ourselves to other religions and to permit us to be open to others, it could play an important role in the emotional evolution of the individual and hence, of the society and our relations with the outside world. But in practice our Church doesn't do so."

Only one of the Greek-born agreed with the role of the Church as it has been until now:

"The mistake people make is that, although we might become modernized in one way or the other, the Church should not; the Church should remain the same, as we found it and this is what people don't want to understand."

The above response emphasizes the conservative attitude of the Church as being essential for its survival; the Church has to remain the same at all times in order to reflect tradition. However, the conservative attitude of the Church is exactly the problem for the majority of respondents.

Another person emphasized the social and the legal services of the Church as being one of the reasons why the Church plays an important and effective role:

"The Church is important for legal reasons like marriages etc., which the law requires to have certificates and as far as our customs are concerned. The function of the Church, any Church, is that it is the center of the community; historically it has been linked with the spiritual needs of people whereas its main function was to bring people together; so in brief, the Church is the center of cultural happening."

Clearly the Greek Orthodox Church plays a variety of different roles: political, economic, psychological, social and legal as well as cultural; but they can be confusing and alienating role. However, for many people in the sample, the cultural role of the Church in preserving culture, was more evident in the responses to the question about the importance of the church to the Greek community (Q.13).

As Tables 7 and 8 indicate, the majority of the sample believe that the Church is important in the Greek community. Again there are significant differences between the Greek-born and the Canadian-born. Eighty percent (80%) of the Canadian-born say that the Church is important to the Greek community, compared to only 53% of the Greek-born. Even

those who were negative towards the Church still admitted to its importance.

Most people tended to emphasize the importance of the Church as a "social glue" for the community, and its welfare role for the immigrants:

"The role of the Church has always been very important to the community, there is no such thing as a Greek community, there is the Greek Orthodox community. In all Greek communities you have by law to be an Orthodox, in order to become an active member of the respective community. If not, you can be an associate member; this is the importance of being Greek Orthodox, because the Church is the foundation of the Community."

"The Church played a major role in keeping the immigrants together and also, in helping them through the philoptochos society when they needed help; she helped them to maintain their religion and to transmit it to their children. It was through the Church that the whole community was developed from many aspects: culturally, socially as well as financially. It gave rise to other important social organizations, stores, bakeries, selling food and ornaments in traditional holidays, and they all increased to Greek employment as well."

"The Church is the focus of the Community; it started from the desire to have a Church and then all major institutions are around the Church. It is important in a sense that Greeks are not involved within an anonymous collectivity."

It should be mentioned that those who hold the opinion that the Church is not important for the Hellenic community, did not state any additional comments simply because they had already expressed their opinion on that matter in the questions about the role and the effectiveness of the Church. The argument for not stating any further comments was that if the role of the Church is negative and not at all effective, it will be the same under any given circumstances and under any given community so that their opinion would not be different if they had to talk

TABLE 7

Importance of the Church to the Greek
Community by Sex
(in percent)

SEX	IMPORTANCE OF CHURCH		N
	Important	Not Important	
	%	%	
Male	58	42	12
Female	63	37	8
Total	12	8	20

TABLE 8

Importance of the Church to the Greek
Community by Origin
(In percent)

ORIGIN	IMPORTANCE OF CHURCH		N
	Important	Not Important	
	%	%	
Greece	53	47	15
Montreal	80	20	5
Total	12	8	20

specifically about the Greek community in Montreal.

Finally, a few people who had negative attitudes towards the Church as it is today nonetheless admitted to the important role it plays for the Greek community:

"The Church has contributed through its calendar of national and religious holidays which are indeed connected with the Hellenic culture, to keep the immigrants in contact at a common place, where Greeks will meet each other, will concentrate and talk, will celebrate the same holiday because, the joys of people are connected with religious holidays and ceremonies such as Christmas, Easter and Weddings or Baptisms."

"The Church played an important role for the immigrants to concentrate Greeks and to keep them in a homogeneous level; there are some aged immigrants who came to Montreal already old, so for them the Church is a comfort and a place where they will meet others who are "religious-made" or "closed religious-minded" and for whom the Church is their joy in Montreal."

Attitudes towards the Priests

Attitudes towards the priests were overwhelmingly negative - often extremely negative. For this reason, the data is not tabulated, and for this reason the questions "I would feel proud if my son wanted to become a priest, Priests have the right and the obligation to tell me how to live my life; and if I follow their advice I can't go wrong" (questions 9 and 12) were not always asked.

The majority of the respondents disagreed with almost every question on the priests. The responses are presented in Table 9.

All questions dealing with the priests gave the opportunity to people in the sample to express, but also to clarify, their negative attitudes towards the Church. An answer like "It is the priests and their behavior who send

TABLE 9

Selected Attitudes towards the Priests

	Agree %	Disagree %	Total #
I think the priest is some-one to whom every Greek should go for advice and help.	10	90	12
I would feel proud if my son wanted to become a priest.	25	75	12
Personally I have very little respect for the clergy.	95	05	20
In my judgement, priests are too important in the Greek Community.	70	30	20
Priests have the right and the obligation to tell me how to live my life; and if I follow their advice I can't go wrong.	05	95	12

people and our children away from the church" was very common during the interview.

Along with the general attitude towards the Church of the majority of the people in the sample (that the Church is an economic establishment), the priests in turn, were regarded as the employees of this establishment.

The following responses were typical:

"It is the priests that make people not go to Church, they are hypocrite as a rule; their actions are different from their faith. They care how to "make it", in order to ascend in the ranking of clergy, or just to make money in order to live in comfort as much as they can."

"In my judgement there is a small proportion of those who are doing their job and well and remain consciously faithful to the principles of the clergy; but in general terms, they are the exploiters of religion."

"Priests are like business men; the reason why archbishops do not marry is for the sake of property, so it won't be split up or between their family members; in this way it will remain in the clergy kingdom."

"Archbishop Makarios is the owner of ships, hotels and in partnership in the very first high rise building in Athens. The behavior of priests is money oriented."

"Priests do not play their role correctly; the priest should be the lighting person as a paradigm to all others by in his life and by the quality of his life. But today, it is an occupation like all others and most of the times, because they are not allowed to marry they become homosexuals and sexual deviants, and as a result, they become the least respected people."

"The priests are the victims of the Orthodox preachings simply because it makes people go against their nature, towards an ideal that no one can practice, so we turn against them."

"Priests are supposed to be the spiritual individuals, but in reality they do not behave in terms of this expectation."

These quotes speak for themselves; there were no positive comments about the priests, not even from those who

were positive about the Church. The remaining 25% who said that they would feel proud if their son wanted to become a priest responded from the view point of an open-minded parent, who wouldn't interfere with his or her son's choice.

Hellenism and The Church

Historically, the Church and the Greek community have been closely linked, so only one question was asked on this topic: "To me the Church is the Greek people, and the Greek people are the Church, and I cannot understand any separation of the two." To understand the importance of this question, it is perhaps necessary to review some historical background.

Two years ago, all the financial assets of the community were under the control of the property of the Church. Greece had no access to the social and financial affairs of the Church of North America because the archdiocese of North America belongs to the Ecumenic Patriarch of Konstantinoupolis.

The Greeks in Montreal, during the presidency of Mr. Papachristou, and with the collaboration of some "progressive" members of various associations, tried to change the former constitution with respect to the title of property. It was considered important that the title of property should be transferred to the control of the community, to the people themselves, who were the only basis for the financial assets controlled by the Church.

The above aim was accomplished with the help of the

Québec government, and particularly with the help of the then Minister of Cultural Communication, G. Godin. They argued bitterly that the large differences between the Koinotita and the Clergy, which took place during the change to the constitution, was about the "Title of Property" and not about religious ideals, pointing out once again the "money-making" orientation of the Church.

Thus, for the last two years, the Greeks tried and finally achieved this major change to the constitution concerning the title of property; it now belongs officially to Koinotita.

Along with the change to the constitution of the Greek community, the Community Center was built, thus replacing the Church in its social, cultural and popular functions. During the interviews, the respondents were very proud to call it a "popular" and "democratic" Center, whose purpose is to educate culturally the young, and to be a home for all cultural happenings for the old. The respondents emphasized that the Community Center is the home and the property of the people themselves, who, in turn, created everything.

Of course, all these changes brought conflict between the Koinotita and the Church. The clergy was soliciting funds from the members of the community, in order to finance the breaking down of the community into smaller segments of koinotitas, but still governed by the Church. Had this happened the alternative structure would have been called Agia Marquella, Ste-Marquella, and would have been a church community.

Thus, during the last two years there have been important changes, as well as conflicts occurring in the Greek community. It is perhaps for this reason that the majority of the Greeks interviewed, having already established the Community Centre, do not see the Church alone as bound to Hellenism. Instead, other elements were suggested and proposed, which are linked with the Greek culture, and that were considered much more important than the Church or religion itself.

A few of those responses are worthwhile mentioning in full:

"For me the Church is not important, for the community however, I think that the Greek culture could be maintained without the Church; through the right education from the parents, different youth centers, with organized trips to Greece and with the right acquaintance of the Greek culture, I mean the quality of cultural symbols, music etc."

"The Church is important but not the most important; I think the most important thing for the Greek people is their history, their culture, their identity - where they come from, and not the Church. Also, their music, their dancing, their way of life, they are all other important aspects of Greekness than what the Church can provide."

"The Greekness can be maintained through the organized departments along with the religious ones as, Koinotita Labour Association, University Association, and other associations where Greeks meet as a group; all these help for the maintainance of Hellenism."

"The Church alone is not enough; in United States, where there is only the Church, and without other organized associations as it here, Greeks have lost their Greekness because, they don't have what we have here. The way they can remain Greek is by being closely involved with the Church."

The Opium of the People

The respondents who had indicated their dissatisfaction

with the Church and religion agreed with the above doctrine and vice-versa. However this question, whether or not religion is the opium of the people, seemed to be the most provocative item in the questionnaire, because it gave people the chance to think and to philosophize about religion as a doctrine or as a way of life. Also, this was the only question that was based on principle, rather than the people's actual experience of the Church.

Most people, however, agreed with Marx that religion is the opium of the masses. Five individuals disagreed, and six said it depended on various factors. Three others came up with answers that could not be categorized; two said that they did not think this way, and one muttered something about dreams.

The hard-line responses were the most frequent:

"I agree that religion is the opium of the masses, because of this hallucination it gives to man, that in another life, he will be rewarded for all misfortunes he has in the present life; it exploits people economically, and it cultivates an after life for one group and it becomes a business of large economic interests for another."

"I think religion is the opium of the masses, for it keeps people backwards in terms of society's evolution; it emphasizes 'destiny' so we say 'It was written this and that to happen to you'; if you did not become a doctor it is said it was written this way, but it is not said that because you were poor, did not have money or because you did not have the appropriate circumstances."

"Religion is the opium in a sense that it gives to people hope for something they can't have; I would justify Marx's statement by saying that people by appealing to God, they are trying to escape reality."

"I believe that religion is the opium of the masses, in terms of its structure because there is a lot of hypocrisy in it as it is represented by the Church at least. In this way, it sends people back, it doesn't give them time to

expand and it keeps them at a certain level."

"I agree absolutely; it makes people depend on Fate and see everything as predetermined, which doesn't allow them to stand on their feet and to estimate his powers in terms of his own measure and in order to face life. Then, religion resembles the opium, which when you take it, you are in a state of apathy and you have no consciousness of whatever is going on; for instance, we say "It was God's Will."

However, two people strongly disagreed with this statement:

"I don't agree that religion is the opium of the masses. Every society has its own beliefs; for me this belief is something untouched, invisible, you believe in something invisible. Like all the Saints you believe in, you haven't seen anything but you believe in them; you believe in whatever has been written or what you have been taught."

"Marx is not the only one who did not believe in what he was saying! Religion opens up your spirit and your perspective whereas, Marx closes it, and makes you see what he wants you to see and from one single perspective: the economic factor."

What is interesting about the difference between these two views is that the "Marxists" tended to identify religion with the institutional church and its allegedly conservative role; while those who disagreed with Marx were speaking about religion as a personal and individual-belief system, almost regardless of the Church.

Three other people gave qualified answers that, by and large, touched on the distinction made above. One person said that he agreed with Marx on this Church at this time, but his dictum was not valid for the ancient Greek Church. A second made the point that if religion is an opiate so is Marxism! While the third person stated that the Church is not doing her job - thus religion is an opiate; if the church did her job (to teach the words of Christ) it would

not be an opiate.

"I agree with Marx but for the religion of Christianity, which is the opium or the drug that narcotizes people and which was mainly used by the upper class in order to control and dominate the masses, and to keep them at the level of ignorance and a poor mental level. But if we were to talk about ancient religion and church, Marx would not have said this; because the ancient Greek religion had defied the physical human forces and which deities were the ones of light and knowledge, which are contrary to Christianity which preaches darkness and ignorance."

"If religion is the opium of the masses, I think that Marx is the opium of the intellectuals, simply because there is a basic contradiction which makes it impossible as a system. Our Church is based on class, but Marx's society is a "superstate" through the dictatorship of proletariat which is the most centralized bureaucratic state that ever existed."

"I think that the Church is not doing her job just by having a part in the power structure; but if she was to teach the words of Christ, that is, to concentrate in the Gospels, and to allow us to be exposed to other religions it will permit us to be open to others and this would play an important role in the emotional evolution of the individual and hence, of the society and our relations with the outside world. If the Church had done all these then, Marx would probably never lived in the religion sphere."

Summary

The information collected in this study has indicated that most of the participants do not attend church (15 out of 20). A major differentiating characteristic in whether they attended or not seemed to be whether they were born in Greece or in Canada. The respondents explained their non-attendance by stating either that they did not believe in God, or that they rejected the Church as reactionary, conservative, hypocritical and materialistic. Those who still attend regularly were mostly Montreal-born and gave cultural and emotional reasons for their attendance.

Even though people did not attend church, they still believed that religion was important (13 out of 20), but for very different reasons: spiritual, social and cultural. Some mentioned that religion was particularly important for children.

There was a clear distinction between religion and the church - they mostly accepted the importance and value of the first, but tended to reject the second. The Greek-born objected to the secular political and economic roles of the Church at the expense of people. The Canadian-born stressed the social value the church has for them in Montreal. "The Church is the focus of the community" said one. Thus, it seems, that Greek-born individuals' opinions resemble those of Marx, whereas opinions of those born in Montreal resemble Durkheim's.

The majority of the people interviewed tended to be hostile to the clergy. Even those who were positive about the Church (a minority) were not positive about the clergy; 19 out of 20 said that they had little respect for the clergy! The main reason given for this hostility towards the priest was that they care a lot more for money than for spiritual ideals. Priest were described as "businessmen", not as spiritual leaders setting an example for their parishoners.

Respondents further distinguished between religion and culture; the religion and Church alone did not seem to be sufficiently adequate for the maintenance of Hellenism in Montreal. Many other elements apart from the Church were

mentioned, such as Greek history, music, dance, organized trips to Greece for the youth, as well as the participation in existing organizations and associations.

The majority of the respondents agreed with Marx's statement that religion is the opium of the masses; 12 out of 20 agreed absolutely with Marx, pointing to the structural quality of the Orthodoxism that emphasizes fate, destiny and after-life rewards, all of which are regarded as opium in the sense that they exploit people socially and psychologically, but mostly economically. Three other individuals discussed the quality of the Greek Orthodox religion, and they agreed only conditionally with Marx.

Finally, 5 out of 20 individuals were absolutely opposed to Marx's dictum, describing Marx's system as a closed one, as opposed to a religion that offers an open and broader perspective in life.

An interesting contradiction appears, however, for 60% of the sample agreed with Marx that religion is an opiate, and only 25% disagreed; yet in response to another question 65% said that religion was important whereas 35% said it was not. It would be facile to suggest that most people believe it is important because it is a drug; it seems far more likely that those who believe it is important emphasise the non-religious reasons, including social and cultural.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

This study has presented one with a wide range of opinions on the role of the church in the Greek community, and a wide range of theories. Is it possible to make a fit? Briefly, yes; but not an exact fit. Nonetheless the insights of Durkheim, Marx and Weber are all, to some degree, useful. Each illuminates different aspects of Greek life in contemporary Montreal.

First, the attitudes of many people to religion and to church attendance confirm Durkheim's ideas. Few people attend church regularly, but most go there for weddings, baptisms and funerals. The social events of the society are reflected in the church. Conversely, the church regulates the social, as well as the religious life of the community.

The individuals' perspective of the Church was found to vary among first- and second-generation Greeks. The former groups seemed to be closer to Marx and Weber's views, emphasizing its economic role as well as the poor explanation the Church has to offer in interpreting socio-economic realities that are considered to be the only determinants of social life. The latter groups, however, were closer to both Durkheim and Weber, describing the Church as a cultural institution necessary for transmitting cultural identity. They also emphasized psychic necessities as one of the most important functions of the Church, which in fact was considered as a condition for the inner well-

being of the individual.

Furthermore, people described religion as important to them, not only for spiritual sustenance but also "to gossip" i.e. to meet one's friends, chat, catch up with everyone's lives -- for some the church has evidently become the equivalent of the corner-store or the coffee-bar. But they also go to "hope" in "bad times and bad situations". These personal functions are supplemented by the broader socio-cultural functions of the church in developing and maintaining the community, as it has been shown. Indeed, the historical close association between church and community, until the recent secularization of the Koinotita, is an affirmation of Durkheim's dictum "Everything social is religious" (1933:46).

Marxist views became clearer on different topics: the attitudes towards the church and priests, and the discussion on religion as opium. Most people had negative attitudes towards the church and its priests; the criticisms were many and various but most were politico-economic: "church and bank are the same thing" said one; another said: "it is a commerce, an economic institution like any other one". A third observed "it is supposed to be a non-political institution (but) they were blessing the junta during the dictatorship": It was said to be conservative. Priests are regarded as any other citizen who is trying his best to get to higher economic levels, except that they are using religion as a means to achieving their goal.

Furthermore, most people agreed with Marx that religion

is the opium of the masses. The association between religion and economics was evident among the respondents. Those who hold that religion is an abstract thought and thus misleads people about true social reality over-emphasized the economic factor and, they treated it as the only determinant of social life. Some people mentioned that religion (faith in religion) keeps poor people poorer, whereas, the rich get richer, thus, supporting Marx's idea that religion oppresses the poor.

Others mentioned that it is used as an instrument by the ruling class to keep the masses at their proper level, while yet others emphasized that the clergy is an important class of people responsible for keeping people in ignorance. A few individuals gave the example of how the clergy had a real battle in trying to keep the community's (Koinotita) constitution unchanged. They argued that this was an obvious indication of the clergy's fear of losing their vast economic interests.

First- and second-generation Greeks seemed to have different opinions about religion and about the role of the church in the community. First-generation Greeks were negative, dogmatic and almost aggressive about the issue. They were concerned with socio-economic and political issues so they were not pleased with the conservative and "reactionary" role of the church. However, they mentioned that religion and church are good for the community and for the children, but not for themselves. Opposingly to these views second-generation Greeks discussed

the subject of religion in offering to them as individuals. Besides the cultural and social aspects of religion they also stressed the importance of the inner need of religion for man's soul and they discussed quietitude, silence and peace.

There is, therefore, some support for both Durkheim's theories and Marx's theories, albeit is largely (but not totally) different topics. And this fits in precisely with Weber's points that different strata adopt different religious beliefs and certainly the Greek born immigrants and Montreal born natives have quite distinct attitudes towards religion.

In conclusion, this study of only one aspect of the Greek community in Montreal has clarified a number of points of both theoretical and empirical importance: the important historical roles of the church not only in religious affairs but also in social, economic and political affairs; the changing role of the church, and particularly the shift in the balance of power between the church and the community in the last few years; the vast differences in attitudes and practice within the Greek community - it is not a homogeneous community for there are major divisions between Greek-born and Montreal-born Greeks in their attitudes both to the church and to religion. It has been discovered that Greek Montrealers carefully distinguish between "church" and "religion" and between religion in practice and religion as an ideal; it has been also shown that the ideas of Durkheim, Marx and Weber are still valuable - and still

offer the dominant paradigms which assist in the understanding of this heterogeneous population.

However, this study is restricted principally to one area of the sociology of the Greek community. Further studies of other areas, and perhaps comparative studies, will be extremely useful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aron, R., Main Currents in Sociological Thoughts. New York: Basic Books, 1967.
- Bendix, R., Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. London: Methuen, 1960.
- Bottomore, T.B., Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, London: C.A. Watts and Co., 1961
- Coser, A.L., Masters of Sociological Thought, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1971.
- Durkheim, E., The Division of Labour in Society, New York: Macmillan, 1933.
- _____, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life London: The Free Press, 1947.
- Freund, Julien, The Sociology of Max Weber, New York: Random House, 1968.
- Gavaki, E., "The Greek Family in Canada: Continuity and Change and the Process of Adjustment", International Journal of Sociology of the Family, June 1979.
- The Hellenic Canadian Community in Montreal, 1975.
- Iakovos, The Greek Orthodox Catechism, in C. Callinicos, Hellenic Orthodox Community of Montreal.
- Ishwaran, K., Family Kinship and Community, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1977.
- Jansen, C.J., Community Organization of Italians in Toronto, 1971.
- Lambiri-Dimaki, "Dowry in Modern Greece" in C. Safilios-Rothschild, Toward A Sociology of Women, Toronto, Xerox Corporation, 1972.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. K. Marx and F. Engels on Religion, Moscow,: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1975.
- _____, The Communist Manifesto, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964.
- McKee, J.B., Introduction to Sociology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

McLellan, D., The Thought of Karl Marx, London: Macmillan 1971.

Millet, D., "Ethnic Survival in Canada: The Role of the Minority Church", in Elliott, J.L., Two Nations Many Cultures Vol. 2, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1983.

Moskos, C.C., Greek Americans, Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980.

Nagata, J.A., "Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working Class Immigrants in the city of Toronto", International Migration Review 1970:44-69.

O'Dea, T.F., and O'Dea J.K., Readings on the Sociology of Religion, New York: Prentice Hall, 1973.

Pickering, W.S.F., Durkheim on Religion, London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Saloutos, T., "The Greek Orthodox Church in the United States," International Migration Review, No.7, Winter.

Spencer, M., Foundations of Modern Sociology, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1981.

Statistical Year Book of Greece, Athens: National Statistical Service of Greece, 1970.

Stephanides, M., "Detroit's Greek Community," in Feinstein, Ethnic Groups in the City, Lexington, Ma.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1971.

Tomasi, S.M., and Engel, M.H., The Italian Experience in the United States, New York, The Center for Migration Studies of New York, 1970.

Weber, M., The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, Charles Scribner and Sons, 1958.

_____, The Sociology of Religion, New York: Beacon Press, 1963.

Xenides, J.P., The Greeks in America, California George H. Dpran Company, 1922.

APPENDIX.1

28

Questionnaire

1. Do you go to church?
2. Why? Why not? How often?
3. Is religion important to you? Why? Why not?
4. What is religion is doing for you?
5. What is the function of the church in the Greek community?
6. Do you like priests? why? Why Not?
7. What is the role of the priest in the Greek community?
8. I think the priest is some-one to whom every Greek should go for advice and help.
9. I would feel very proud if my son wanted to become a priest

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. Personally I have very little respect for the clergy.

- _____
11. In my judgement, priests are too important in the Greek community?

- _____
12. Priests have the right and the obligation to tell me how to live my life; and if I follow their advice I can't go wrong.

- _____
13. How important would you say the Church is in the Greek Community?

Very important
Important
Not very important
Quite unimportant

14. What does the Church do in the Community? How effective do you think it is?

15. In what areas (if any) do you think the Church is failing the people?

16. Do you think the Church is losing its influence in Montreal? Yes No

17. If so, why and in what ways?

18. I think the Church is the most unselfish and idealistic institution in society

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

19. I think that too much money is being spent on the Church for the benefits that come from it.

20. When was the last time you had a priest in your home?

In the last month
In last year
In last 5 years
More than 5 years
Don't know
Never

21. To me the Church is the Greek people, and the Greek people is the Church and I cannot understand any separation of the two.

22. What has been the role of the Greek Church in the Community in past and present?

23. Is Religion and opium of the people?

APPENDIX.2

INSTITUTIONS ET ORGANISATIONS DE LA COMMUNAUTE

PAROISSES GRECQUES ORTHODOXES

Cathédrale St. Georges	2455 Ch. Côte Ste-Catherine	739-5517
Sainte Trinité	8 Ouest, rue Sherbrooke	849-2302
Koimisis Tis Theotokou	7700 de l'Epée	271-2421
Evangelismos	777 rue St. Roch	276-3779

ASSOCIATIONS PHILOPTOCHOS

Cathédrale St. Georges	2455 Ch. Côte Ste-Catherine	739-5517
Sainte Trinité	8 Ouest, rue Sherbrooke	849-2302
Koimisis Tis Theotokou	7700 de l'Epée	271-2421
Evangelismos	777 rue St. Roch	276-3779

ECOLES

Elémentaire "SOCRATES"	275 rue Houde	744-5614
	10615 boul. St. Laurent	381-2208
Secondaire "ARISTOTELIS"	7445 Champagneur	277-1733
Cours d'Après-midi	2116 boul. St. Laurent	849-5619

opérant dans 26 endroits différents

D'Enseignement Ménager	2116 boul. St. Laurent	849-5617
	7722 Champagneur	274-3346

INSTITUTE CULTUREL HELLENIQUE	2116 boul. St. Laurent	849-5617
----------------------------------	------------------------	----------

BIBLIOTHEQUE	7722 Champagneur	272-1388
--------------	------------------	----------

SERVICES SOCIAUX	5679 ave. du Parc	271-7444
	754 A rue St. Roch	271-4520

CLUB D'OR	2116 boul. St. Laurent	849-5617
	5679 ave. du Parc	271-7444
	754 A rue St. Roch	271-4520

BOY SCOUTS	2116 St. Laurent	849-5617
------------	------------------	----------

APPENDIX.3

Chronology

- 1880 First ten Greek immigrants in Montreal
- 1905 Greek population 700 - 1,000
- 1906 Property purchased for the erection of a church
- 1909 Evangelismos Tis Theotokou 'Annunciation' built at 735 St. Lawrence, between Prince Arthur and Milton Streets: the Greek community established.
- 1920 Plato Parochial Greek School established
- 1910-1925 The church and Plato School were the only institutions in the community
- 1914 Civil War in Greece influenced the Greek people in Montreal.
- 1920 2,000 Greeks in Montreal
- 1924-25 A second Koinotia, community, was established; a second church, Holy Trinity, was bought, with the 'Socrates' parochial school
- 1925-29 Two antagonistic Greek communities in Montreal
- 1929 Economic crisis in the community
- 1928-1931 Negotiations from Archbishop Athenagoras to unite the two churches of Montreal
- 1931 The two churches were united, the two communities became one; Evangelismos Tis Theotokou and Plato school were sold, and the Holy Trinity Church and Socrates School remained.
- 1941 The number of Greeks in Montreal was between 2,000 and 3,000; World War II.
- 1945-1950 The vast Greek migration movement to Montreal
- 1956 The Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Congregation

petitioned the legislature of the Province of Quebec and assumed the name of the Hellenic Canadian Community of the Island Montreal.

1956 The Hellenic Community purchased a piece of land for the erection of a church, corner Côte St. Catherine Road and Wilderton Avenue.

1960 The number of Greeks in Montreal reached 60,000.

1961 The St. George Cathedral was built at 2455 Côte St. Catherine.

1968 The church Koimisis Tis Theotokou was bought at 7700 de l'Epée, with a facility for the Socrates School.

1970 A school building was bought from the school Board at 275 Houde Street, Ville St. Laurent, and named Socrates Elementary School.

1971 The Greek community obtained financial support from the Canadian government. The Socrates socrates school was declared an 'Institution d'intellect publique', with 80% subsidy.

1972 The Institution of Social Services of the Community was established at 5679 Park Avenue and at 754 St. Roch, along with the Home Economics in Evangelismos Tis Theotokou church basement.

1971-1975 The Evangelismos tis Theotokou church was bought at 777 St. Roch Street.

1974 The office building for Loinotits was bought, next to Holy Trinity Church.

1977 The Socrates School was subsidized 100% by the

provincial government.

1978 The Socrates Elementary school became an associate school with the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal.

1980 The Socrates Elementary School operated in two school buildings, at 275 Houde Street and at 10615 St. Lawrence Blvd.

1980 The day care centre was established at 7745 Champagneur Street.

1980 The Greek section of the Aristotelis High School was established.

1980-82 Change to the Community's constitution; the Hellenic Cultural Centre was built.