Hellenes of Missoula, Montana: Social adjustment

Peter D. Chimbos

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53

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THE HELLENES OF MISSOULA, MONTANA: SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

by

PETER D. CHIMBOS

B.A. College of Great Falls, 1961

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1963

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Chairman, Board of Examiners

Dean, Graduate School

MAY 31, 1963
Date
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>INTRODUCTION</th>
<th>II.</th>
<th>III.</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description of Missoula</td>
<td>Review of literature</td>
<td>Socio-economic conditions in Greece</td>
<td>Reasons for immigration</td>
<td>Occupational occupations and social conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statement of the problem</td>
<td>Limitations of previous studies</td>
<td>Geographic distribution</td>
<td>Church and social control</td>
<td>Property and income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research methods and techniques</td>
<td>Other minority studies</td>
<td>Family and social life</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Educational achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limitations of the study</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Residential areas and home conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Definition of terms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Type of family government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent-child relationship</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage ideals</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional beliefs and practices</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquency and crime</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other social problems</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prejudice and discrimination</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group coercion</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in American community</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to American community</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII CHURCH AND OTHER FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of the church</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functions of the church</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other formal organizations</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint functions of Greek social organizations</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latent function of social organizations</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestions for further research</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY SOURCES</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Geographic Distribution of Greek Immigrants' Origin</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Formal Education of Greek Immigrants of Missoula</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Present Occupations of Greek Immigrant Males in Missoula</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Educational Achievement of Second Generation Greeks</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Occupational Categories of the Second Generation Greeks</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Business Establishments in Missoula Owned by Greeks</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>How the Greeks of Missoula Classified Their Families in the Social Class Level</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>Traffic Violations Committed by Greeks in Missoula from 1955-1962.</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF MAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAP</th>
<th>MAP</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Geographical Distribution of Greek Immigrants' Origin</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Residential Distribution of Greek Families in Missoula, Montana</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Their number is small, it is true, but the impression they yield is the more clear and definite."

- A. G. Keller

This study is concerned with an ethnic minority in Missoula, Montana, called Hellenes. They represent a nationality which for thousands of years has lived in a peninsula and on islands covered with mountains and who travel in every remote corner of this earth; but wherever they go, to America or elsewhere, they call themselves Hellenes.

The names "Hellas" and "Hellenes," by which the Greeks call their country and themselves, originally designated a small district in Phthiotis, Thessaly. The name "Hellenes" was not universally applied to the Greek people until the post-Homeric period. The word "Greek" is derived from the Latin term "Graecus".

1 Henry Fairchild, Greek Immigration to the United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), p. 16.

2 The term Hellenes refers to the native name for Greeks connected with Hellas, the native name of Greece. The word "Hellenes" in the title of this paper was used upon request of the Missoula Greeks. But, for the convenience of the reader the word "Greek" will be used throughout the following pages.

1.
The Greeks of Missoula, Montana, have always been a minority group constituting a very small fraction of the population of the city. They are one of the many minority groups participating in the assimilation process within the American culture. The group in Missoula consists of thirty families of which fifteen are of pure ethnic descent\(^3\) and the other fifteen are of mixed marriages.\(^4\) The total number of the family members is ninety-six, or .27\% of the total population of Missoula.

When the Greek immigrant, usually a farmer, came to Missoula, he could not bring with him his mule, his plow, or his olive trees and neither could he transport the more artistic and literary manifestations of his culture. But what he could transport to the new land he carried easily and unforgettably in his mind - the customs, the folkways, the mores, the ways of thinking and behaving that he learned in his home country.

Upon arrival in America he discovered that these cherished and, to him, almost sacred ways of thought and action, were not observed by Americans. In order to become successful in the new land he realized he must reject many of his native

\(^3\) "Pure ethnic descent" refers to families in which both parents are Greek, whether immigrants or second generation.

\(^4\) "Mixed marriages" refers to families in which one of the parents is a Greek whether immigrant or second generation.
cultural values and accept American standards in their place. Failing to accept these standards would not only affect his social and economic status but also the future of his children and grandchildren.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to show how the Greek immigrant in Missoula, in spite of his lack of education and his language barrier, has become socially adjusted to the American culture. He has intermingled with other nationalities in the American "melting pot" and has taken part in the growth of American democracy. He and his children have made themselves important in this, the land of opportunity.
Description of Missoula. Missoula is the metropolis of western Montana, with a population of approximately 35,000. Its beginning goes back to the days before Montana became a state of the Union. A store, opened at Hell Gate Ronde in 1860 by Higgins and Worden, was the first permanent building in Missoula. This became a trading center, post office, and general headquarters for life in all that region. It was named as a county seat by the Legislature of Washington Territory in 1860, and again in 1861. In the winter of 1864-1865, Worden and Company put up a saw mill on the present site of Missoula and called the place Missoula Mills.5

Early in the 1900's, when the Northern Pacific Railroad was expanding its line to the northwest territory, Missoula served as a center for many immigrants who were seeking employment. Since that time immigrants from many European countries have come to Missoula to work on the railroad and gradually have taken advantage of the numerous opportunities in the new land.

From a demographic point of view the population of Missoula represents certain mixtures. The United States

Census of Population for the State of Montana indicates that in 1960 the total population of Missoula was 27,000. Five percent of the city inhabitants were foreign born and sixteen percent were native of foreign or mixed parentage. The percentage of non-white population of Missoula in 1960 was .8%.

The chief industries of Missoula and surrounding territory are lumbering, agriculture and manufacturing. The principal manufactured products are lumber, paper, plywood and sugar. In the past the dependence of the community on the wood products industry has made the economy sensitive to the market for lumber products, but there has been a trend toward greater economic stability as the industry of the community has become more diversified.

Statement of the problem. The problem of this study is related to the field of ethnic minorities in the United States, about which a great amount of literature has been written by American sociologists. It is a scientific inquiry into the social adjustment of the Greeks of Missoula, Montana. In this study the term "social adjustment" is synonymous with "social adaptation" 6 - the fitting of man to his complex social environment. It is primarily concerned with the harmonious and satisfactory relationships of this Greek minority to the life conditions that exist in the American community.

For the purpose of this study the following were used as objective indices of social maladjustment: juvenile delinquency, divorce, mental disorders, unemployment, dependency, prejudice and discrimination.

The writer's interest in the study of the Greek minority in Missoula was aroused in September, 1961. His first acquaintance with this minority resulted from attending Greek church services. Many friendly invitations were given to him by a number of Greeks to whom he had introduced himself. Accepting these invitations, he had an opportunity to visit Greek homes during the next two months and to attend a variety of social functions.

Being in the position of a participant observer and holding friendly conversation with the Greeks and their American friends, the writer began to notice a high degree of social adjustment in this Greek minority that does not exist in certain other ethnic minorities as indicated by sociological studies. The degree of social adjustment of these other ethnic minorities will be discussed in the following section entitled, "Review of Literature."

The writer observed that both immigrants and second generation Greeks of Missoula appeared to be socially adjusted to the American culture. That is to say, the members seemed to have conformed to the institutional requirements and prevailing moral code of the community. Strong family bonds were among the many notable characteristics of the Greek minority, resulting in harmonious and consistent relationships among family members. Relationships of this kind existed not only among family members,
but also in the Greek community, which functioned as "one big family."

Paralleling this family solidarity, there was a seemingly low incidence of crime, delinquency and other social problems. Also, the Greeks of Missoula seemed to enjoy, for an ethnic minority, high social and economic status while displaying friendly relationships with dominant American groups.

Having read other sociological studies on certain other minorities and comparing them to the previously mentioned characteristics of the Greek minority, the writer noticed that the Greeks of Missoula appeared to have a higher degree of social adjustment. As a consequence of the unusual result of this comparison, the writer desired to do research in this area.

The objective of this research was to discover the present status of the Greek minority and its means of obtaining social adjustment among the Greek members; what elements of American culture they had adopted; to what extent they had formed a community and the degree of cohesiveness in this community. In the light of the foregoing, the writer offered the following hypothesis to be put to empirical test:

The Greeks of Missoula, Montana, have obtained a higher degree of social adjustment within American society than certain other ethnic minorities as demonstrated by sociological studies. It was expected that:
(a) The Greek immigrants, as a consequence of language barriers and strong ethnocentric beliefs, exhibit a lower degree of social adjustment than the second generation.

(b) Strong family cohesiveness, consistent discipline and good economic standards are responsible for an unusual lack of social problems among the Greeks of Missoula.

(c) Due to their reverence for American ideals, and disproportionately small contribution to social problems in the community, the Greek minority in Missoula has encountered relatively little prejudice and discrimination.

(d) As a result of group co-operation, thrift, efficiency, and appreciation of new opportunities, the Greeks of Missoula have achieved, for an ethnic minority, unusually high economic positions in the community.

(e) Group cohesiveness is more prevalent among the families of pure ethnic descent than among the families of mixed marriages.

Research methods and techniques. The period of the study, including participant observation and interviews, dates from December 20, 1961, to June 30, 1962. The investigator approached this problem by means of personal interviews
with first and second generation Greeks and city officials. The interview method was used in this research because of its flexibility. There is always the possibility in an interview of rephrasing questions so that they are understood or of asking further questions in order to clarify the meaning of the subject's response.  

The interviews were conducted under varied conditions, e.g., in private homes, social functions, and places of business. The method of interview was an informal set of questions asked during friendly conversation. The function of an informal interview is primarily to serve as a catalyst to comprehensive expression of the subject's feelings and beliefs, and the frame of reference within which these feelings and beliefs take on personal significance. It clearly avoids the crudities of mass-interview techniques and the self-conscious laboratory atmosphere of other methods.

The interview was not limited to any particular questions, and an attempt was made to make the questions directive. However, it was necessary to follow a general pattern of interrogation to obtain certain facts. The length of the interviews ranged from thirty to eighty minutes. The total

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8 Ibid., p. 178.
Greek interviewees numbered sixty-three. This included twenty-nine immigrants, twenty-six second generation and eight Americans (seven wives and one husband) married to Greeks. Seventeen Greek children under the age of twelve were not interviewed. The majority, 84%, of the interviews were conducted privately and the remainder, 16%, in groups of two or three.

Knowing many of the Greeks of Missoula from personal contacts and having the ability to speak the Greek language, the writer was able to obtain first hand information, especially from immigrants who were not well versed in English, without making the informants overly conscious of their particular culture. Goode writes:

Several studies have indicated that a greater range and intensity of attitude are more likely to be expressed when the interviewer is closer to the class and ethnic position of the respondent. 9

Certain data of this study were obtained through participant observation. As a Greek himself and well informed on the Greek culture, the writer had participated in and observed many Greek social functions in Missoula for a period of six months. Participant observation 10 is most often used to explore large social units such as entire cultures or


communities, but it is also appropriate for the exploration of small groups about which so little is known that more systematic procedures would be out of place. Therefore, in order to obtain information about Greek social functions and the purpose they serve for the group, a certain amount of participant observation was necessary. Social functions included parties, dances, church services and meetings of Greek social organizations.

Secondary sources of this study included official information from city police, health and welfare agencies, and other written material concerning the Greek minority of Missoula. The names and addresses of the Greek families were obtained from the most recent Greek community directory and church board.

Limitations of the study. Deficiencies of this study included bias, suspicion, and lack of co-operation of some of the Greeks. By "bias" is meant that some interviewees, because of self-pride, overemphasized their hardships and understated certain problems. Misinformation on their education, social status in Greece, and even social conditions in the United States was very common. For example, certain immigrant interviewees who had finished grade school in Greece between 1900 and 1911, stated that they had six years of grade school education although during that period there were only four years of grade school education in Greece.
Another example is that some immigrants stated that their economic conditions in Greece were good but later contradicted themselves by saying that they came to the United States to better themselves economically. Other immigrant interviewees stated that their social position in Missoula was upper middle class although on the basis of occupation, income and education, this was not sociologically acceptable.

Because of his familiarity with the Greek culture, the writer was able to evaluate the answers of the respondents through careful consideration. It should be noted, however, that although the writer has attempted to avoid personal bias, because of his ethnic descent some bias was inevitable.

Another important limitation of this study was that the majority of the Greek interviewees failed to state certain shortcomings that existed in the Greek minority of Missoula. The reason for this was that the Missoula Greeks were self-conscious of such incidents that would affect the reputation of their ethnic group. Said one of the Greeks: "We Greeks do not want other people to know some of our troubles. This would affect our good reputation." Some of the shortcomings that the writer discovered through interviews with three of the Greeks and few other Americans are discussed in the chapters on Social Problems and Family and Social Life.

Suspicion also seemed to be common. While the writer was making appointments for interviews, certain Greek immigrants
became self-conscious and asked questions such as:

Why do you want to study the Greeks of Missoula? Would this study give a good name to the Greeks? Is this study going to bring out the shortcomings of the Greek group in Missoula?

An explanation by the writer that the study was to be a social history of the Missoula Greek community was acceptable to the interviewees and this enabled the investigator to approach the respondents with little difficulty. It must be stated that most of the Greek members were very willing and enthusiastic about being interviewed.

Although the writer was successful in conducting interviews with questioning participants, he was unable to persuade three of the Greek pioneers of Missoula to consent to interviews. These three immigrants felt that this study was of no interest to them. The writer was also unable to interview the three wives and children (nine of them) of these immigrants, as none of them was inclined to consent to an interview. Also five second generation Greeks who had temporarily moved out of town were not interviewed by the writer. Certain data concerning the social and economic life of these three Greeks and their families were obtained from relatives and friends.

**Definition of terms.** A number of terms are used throughout this paper, and to make clear the writer's meaning, an
explanation follows:

Acculturation: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different culture come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups." 11

Assimilation: "The fusion of two or more groups into one group; the interpenetration of divergent habits, attitudes, ideas and social relationships into a common unity. Complete assimilation of two ethnic groups may be said to have been accomplished when cultural distinctions, including distinctions in social status, based upon ethnic or physiognomic ancestry cease to exist." 12

Minority group: "It is a subgroup within a large community (ordinarily society) bound together by some special ties of its own, usually race or nationality, but sometimes religion, or other cultural affiliations." 13

Ethnic: "The term ethnic and minority group are used interchangeably. The term ethnic denotes a feeling of belonging to a group because of racial or cultural similarities or both." 14

Marginal man: "The marginal man is one posed in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds: reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality)


and where exclusion removes the individual from a system or group." 15

Moral code: "Those rules or principles of morality that are commonly understood and generally accepted by the members of a given social group and subject to social sanctions of varying degrees of severity." 16

Participant observation: "A setting in which the investigator commonly lives with or shares in the life and activity of the group under study, as in observing the life and behavior of hoboes or musicians; the investigator may have disguised himself in such a manner as to be accepted as a member of the group, although his role playing may not require him to carry out exactly the same activities as the other members of the group in order to be accepted as a participant observer." 17

Prejudice and discrimination: "Prejudice is a culturally predetermined, biased attitude toward, or conception of, a person or group. Discrimination is something else; prejudice is a matter of belief. Discrimination is a mode of behavior. Prejudice can be 'for' as well as 'against'. Discrimination is always against. To discriminate means to deny to an individual or a group, privilege or an opportunity or a pleasure that is thereupon reserved for one's own group. The denial, furthermore, is made on irrelevant grounds for reasons that have nothing to do with the qualifications of the person in question." 18


16 Fairchild, op. cit., p. 44


Social adjustment: "Those types of relationships between personalities, groups, culture elements, and culture complexes which are harmonious and mutually satisfactory to the personalities and groups involved."  

Social control: "The varied techniques or methods by which a social group influences or directs the behavior of its members. Techniques may be formal or informal, symbolic or nonsymbolic, punitive or based on systems of rewards, traditional or comparatively transitory, and directed toward the entire group or toward designated members."  

Social disorganization: "The decrease in the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group. It is the upsetting of an established group life."  

Social maladjustment: "Any type of relationship between personalities, groups, culture elements, and culture complexes which is unsatisfactory to the personalities and groups informed."  

Social problems: "By social problems we mean the defects, maladjustments or inadequacies of individuals, families or small groups as are directly traceable in some part to the human environment and would not exist in an ideal society even though the individual units concerned were precisely as they are. Illustrative of this category are many types of unemployment.

destitution, crime, vice, etc." 23

23 Ibid., p. 289.
CHAPTER III
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Limitations of previous studies. A review of the literature available in the Montana State University Library indicates that only one study has been made on ethnic minorities in the City of Missoula up to the present. This study deals with prejudice and discrimination against three minority groups - Mexican, Negro, and American Indian. Therefore, this study has no specific relevance to the social adjustment of the Greek minority. However, the degree of prejudice and discrimination against these three minority groups may be compared with the degree of prejudice and discrimination against the Greeks of Missoula.

Ginalis' thesis on the social adjustment of the Greeks in Great Falls, Montana, is not comparable on many points with the findings of this study. His research is limited in its statistical treatment and does not cover most of the social aspects of the Greek community in Great Falls. However, a few of his findings were compared with the Greeks of Missoula. 1

Due to the substantial lack of research on ethnic minorities in Missoula, this study of the Greeks in Missoula

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must be compared with sociological studies of ethnic minorities made in other parts of the country. This comparison demonstrates that the Greeks of Missoula do have higher social adjustment than is the general rule among other minority groups.

In his study of prejudice and discrimination against the Mexican, Negro, and Indian minority groups in Missoula, Santiago concludes:

Certain identifiable social groups do not enjoy the full benefit of civil liberties in Missoula. The three minority groups were found to meet varying degrees of resistance in various aspects of the community life. Discrimination exists in Missoula in spite of the cultural ideal which dictates equal rights for everyone regardless of his ethnic or cultural origin, and in spite of legislation which guarantees these rights.  

Other minority studies. In his study of the Hungarians of Detroit, Beynon found that many Hungarian immigrants are unable to adjust in a socially approved manner when economic pressure threatens the higher standard of living to which they have become accustomed in America; certain immigrants react either actively or passively in an anti-social manner. To the former category belong the confidence man, forgers, and planners of hold-ups, who appear accordingly among the Detroit Hungarians.

A great many Hungarians, both of the first and second generation in America, are emotionally unstable and very suggestible. They are inadequate to meet new situations; they require security in order to maintain proper adjustment to society. Under the conditions of life in a Hungarian peasant village, such people would be well adjusted. Their behavior would harmonize with the expectations of the group. 3

Beynon also found that the socially disapproved gangs are seldom limited to boys of Hungarian nationality. Their activity runs counter to the folkways and mores of the Hungarian people, in which nationality they have no common interest.

Galarza in his essay of the Mexican American presents a rather thorough study in succinct and popular terminology of several aspects of Mexican American life. He reported that:

As a group the Mexican workers have not been able to shake off the tradition of cheap labor. In the urban centers the Mexican still finds barriers to the better-paid jobs. The relationship between the Mexican minority and the dominant element has generally been a punitive-inquisitorial one on the part of the latter. It is interesting to note how the Mexicans shrink from contact with even those agencies of the dominant group that are intended to do good. 4

Campisi in his study of the Italian family found that the shift from a peasant and patriarchal family to a democratic


and highly individualized type produced conflict and disorganization in the first generation Italian family and created in the second generation a strongly motivated orientation away from the Old World's way of life. He writes:

Conflicting definitions of various family situations threaten to destroy whatever stability the family had maintained through the first period. This is the period of great frustration and misunderstanding between parents and children. In this understood state of war between two ways of life, it is the parents who have the most to lose, for their complete acceptance of the American ways of living means the destruction of old world ideals.  

Sutherland in his Criminology points out that the second generation of immigrants generally come into contact with the courts as delinquents more frequently than the first generation. The census report of 1910, which shows the opposite, can be disregarded because of the lack of homogeneity in the groups compared.  

Eleanor Glueck discovered that the second generation had just as favorable social and economic conditions as their parents. Her conclusion was that if persons in the second generation have a higher crime rate, it must be due to their greater culture conflict.  


7 Eleanor Glueck, "Culture Conflict and Delinquency", Mental Hygiene, Volume 21, pp. 46-66.
In his studies of delinquency areas Shaw indicates the comparatively high rates of delinquency in the immigrant areas of many American cities. In his Chicago study Shaw discovered that:

The rate for delinquents with foreign-born fathers is seventy-two percent greater than that for the children with native born fathers. 8

Sociologists agree that under certain conditions groups with distinctive racial or cultural characteristics come into contact with the dominant group, and interference with the social order of the community inevitably occurs. Therefore, social maladjustment may result as a consequence of culture clash. Park, an expert on ethnic minorities, writes:

One of the consequences of migration is to create a situation in which the individual finds himself striving to live in two diverse cultural groups. The effect is to produce an unstable character of personality type with characteristic forms of behavior. This is the "marginal man". It is in the mind of the marginal man that the conflicting cultures meet and fuse. In migration the breakdown of social order is initiated by the impact of an invading population and completely by the contact and fusion of native with alien peoples. 9


The above mentioned anti-social characteristics that are found generally among ethnic minorities are not prevalent in the Greek minority of Missoula. In this study the writer found that the Greeks of Missoula indicate a higher degree of social adjustment, and that there are certain factors or conditions responsible for such adjustment. The following chapters are concerned with the social background of the Greeks in Missoula and the social and economic progress they have achieved in the complex American society.
CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN GREECE

In order to obtain a clearer understanding of the social and economic adjustment of the Greeks in Missoula, a description of their socio-economic conditions in Greece from 1900 to 1950 is necessary. Every one of the Greek immigrants was asked to give a description of his social and economic environment in Greece. It is interesting to note that the cultural background of the Greek immigrants in Missoula, whether they were from southern or northern Greece, was so similar that approximately the same description concerning their social and economic conditions was given by them. This is due to the fact that Greece is a small country in which cultural variation is minute. A resident of Greece for nineteen years, the writer was able to evaluate the data with little difficulty.

Geographic distribution. Twenty out of thirty-one (64.5%) of the Greek immigrants who came to Missoula were from Morea (Peloponnesus) and the others were from Macedonia, Thessaly and Greece proper. Most of those who said they came from big cities such as Patras, Kalabryta, Tripolis, Pyrgos, Salonika and Larisa, had not really lived in those cities but in the country villages near by. Twenty-eight out of thirty-one (90.3%) of the Greek immigrants of Missoula came
from rural areas.

Generally speaking, these rural areas are so mountainous, precipitous and stony that only twenty-five percent of the fields can be tilled. Most of the area of Peloponnesus, from where most of the Greeks of Missoula came, is composed of a series of tiny, fertile valleys or plains, marked off from each other by enormous walls of barren and rocky mountains, almost or wholly impassable, except for a few narrow passes, in themselves sufficiently difficult. The table below indicates the geographical origins of Missoula Greek immigrants.

**TABLE I**

**GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK IMMIGRANTS' ORIGIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical areas</th>
<th>Number of immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peloponnesus (Morea)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece Proper</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thessaly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family and social life.** Greek society begins with the family, is patterned on it, and extends outward from it. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the
Geographical Distribution of Greek Immigrants Origin.
family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends, and their children, and their relatives. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular liturgy, not a Sunday School for children. This type of close family relationship is more prevalent in rural than urban areas.

In the Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults and listening to their conversation, especially when it is concerned with history or politics. The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place.

It is interesting to note that in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Greek family was more patriarchal and authoritarian than it is today. Women had a low status. Boys and girls were not allowed to associate freely. Marriage was usually arranged and the dowry system was dominant. The engagement and wedding ceremonies were of a religious nature. Birth rates were very high and divorce almost absent.
This family was influenced very much by the rural nature of the country, a conservative and authoritarian church, political instability, a peculiar bilingualism and poor transportation and communication.

"Recently (after World War II), the Greek family has been undergoing a few changes brought about by increased industrialization, improved transportation and decreasing illiteracy." 1 The greatest changes have occurred in metropolitan areas such as Athens, Salonika and Tripoli. There, marriage is less frequently arranged by parents than it is in rural communities.

In Greece, young people are beginning to enjoy more freedom; of course dating is not completely encouraged by adults, but contacts between girls and boys are constantly increasing through beach parties, dances, and other similar activities. Actual dating, in the American sense of the word, is very rare and usually takes place without the knowledge of the parents of the dating partners. In small rural communities, one may safely assert that formal dating is nonexistent, but secret meetings with boys and girls called "rendezvous" are very common.

One of the main forces that has helped in the gradual, but limited, modernization of the Greek family has been the feminist movement. As a result of the influence of feminism

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and other similar movements, the Greek woman is slowly but surely gaining her intellectual and spiritual freedom. 2

One of the most important functions of the Greek family is the discipline of its members. Discipline is a positive, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy since it creates few external demands and dependencies. Self discipline and self control are not prohibition: they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. Character training is very important for the child. Obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parent's task to mold the character of the child to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective. This kind of discipline is found in the majority of the Greek families in Greece.

The average family in Greece today is characterized by the following features:

(1) patriarchal type of authority

(2) parental mate-choosing is more common than spontaneous mate-choosing

(3) love comes only after marriage for the majority of couples, especially in rural areas.

(4) marriage as a relatively permanent union

(5) marriage is a status involving reciprocal rights and duties.

(6) emphasis upon economic aspects of marriage.

(7) balanced roles and interrelationships among the members.

2 Ibid., p. 20.
(8) evaluation of children as potential workers and economic assets.

Church and social control. Perhaps no other force has exercised a greater influence on the Greek family than the Greek Orthodox Church. One of the main reasons why the Greek Church has been very influential is the fact that Greece was occupied by Turkey from 1453 to 1821. During those four centuries of slavery, the only institution that managed not only to survive, but also to maintain part of the Hellenic civilization, was the Church. It is no wonder, therefore, that Greek Orthodoxy and Greek nationalism are almost inseparable. Indeed, Greek nationalism is Greek Orthodox nationalism; and the Orthodox Church of Greece is the national church.

The domination of modern Greece by a conservative and authoritarian Church, especially in rural communities, where the church has been the main source of social control, accounts for some of the features of the Greek family. The Church has not looked upon divorce and remarriage with favor. Marriage is considered as a sacrament and is expected to be permanent.

Freedom in the area of premarital contacts between the two sexes has been limited by the community priest. Emphasis on physical beauty - wearing make-up and the like - has been discouraged in rural areas. The official Greek Church has also regarded beauty contests as a source of immorality. On
April 14, 1954, the South Bend Tribune published the following:

The official Greek church issued an encyclical today condemning the current "Miss Greece" beauty contest. It said such competitions promote immorality and are a disgrace to human dignity. The Greek Orthodox Synod asked the priests to deter entrants and threaten to excommunicate those who ignore the Church’s orders. 3

The greatest strength of the Hellenic Orthodox Church lies undoubtedly in its popular character, its ability to reach the masses of the people, particularly the peasantry, and to identify itself with them. This derives, in turn, from a fidelity to traditional usage which is found throughout the Churches of the East and which has kept alive in them a core of piety and doctrine through the ages.

One would find the humble classes in Greece eagerly clinging to every detail of their rites and liturgy. In most Greek households, at five in the afternoon, as the bell of the neighboring church rings for the Hesperinos (Vespers), the duty of lighting the Kandyla (oil candle) before the domestic Eikonostasion, or holy corner in the house, is religiously carried out.

Education. Education, and especially professional education, is perhaps the most prized good in Greece. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing; the university professor has high standing;

3 News item in the South Bend (Indiana) Tribune, April 14, 1954, Section One, p. 4.
the highschool teacher and the priest have the respect of the people.

The printed word is very important, even revered. There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911, but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that the Greeks believed that women should have less education than men. The main reason for illiteracy was the poor education systems that existed in modern Greece, especially in rural areas.

There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the towns of Greece. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible, which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. The men, however, do read the newspaper with care and they have a detailed knowledge and a private opinion on international and national events and politics; politics, well understood, form the basis of most discussions in village or city.

Education is also hindered by the problem of bilingualism. At present, there are two Greek languages in use: Katharevousa (or upper class Greek) and demotic (popular or lower class Greek). This bilingualism not only hinders the more effective organization of education, but it also creates a great social distance between the upper and lower social classes. The isolation of the rural family is especially great. Incidentally,
the main, if not the only, reason why modern Greek literature is largely mediocre is the linguistic anarchy.

The education of most Greek immigrants of Missoula was limited to grade school level, and a few of them had no formal schooling whatsoever. This lack of education was due to the poor education system of Greece in the early twenties, especially in rural areas from which the majority of the immigrants came. These rural immigrants could only speak the demotic language, which was taught in elementary schools. The following table indicates the education background as reported by the immigrants themselves.

**TABLE II**

**FORMAL EDUCATION OF GREEK IMMIGRANTS OF MISSOULA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades completed</th>
<th>Number of immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two years of college</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highschool</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth grade</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth grade</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth grade</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third grade</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Reasons for immigration.* It is a well-known principle of all immigration, that there must be some active dissatisfaction or discomfort in the home land to cause people to leave. The assumption is that man will remain in the land
in which he is born, unless some strong motive impels him to leave.

To induce people to break the bonds of family and neighborhood relations, to give up a known situation for an untried one, to turn their backs on the home country and far-off shore, there must in general be some national, local, or personal disability to overbalance the influences of home attachments. 5

The strong motive that impelled the Greeks of Missoula to leave their families and their home land and come to America was intolerable poverty. Every one of the Greek immigrants stated that he came from a poor family which he had to support financially as soon as he received his first pay. The reasons for immigration of the Greeks in Missoula, as stated by the immigrants, were only economic and not political or religious.

The Greek pioneers who came to Missoula expected to return to Greece. Many of them sent money home, not only to support the families they left behind them, but to buy land and real estate in Greece. But those who returned found that ten or fifteen years in the United States had unfitted them for contented residence in Greece. Most of the Greek immigrant interviewees who had returned to Greece stated that the quiet simplicity of life in the villages of Greece was irritating and that they felt more at home with their Greek and American friends in Missoula.

The Greek immigrant males stated that they were discontented with the hard work and poor earnings of their farms in Greece and decided to come to America to take advantage of its opportunities. In order to progress economically, the new immigrants had to adjust themselves to the American system of capitalism which was much different from the economic system of their home land. The social and economic status of the Greeks in the community of Missoula at the time of this study will be discussed in the following pages of this chapter.

Original occupations and social conditions. The first Greek immigration to Missoula began in the early 1900's when the Northern Pacific Railway was extending its line through the northwestern territory. A number of the Greeks who first came to Missoula had joined railroad gangs in other states, but others had their jobs arranged for them by Greek immigrant section foremen in Missoula. Although the majority of the Greeks immigrated from other states, some of them came directly from Greece.
Because the Greek group in the early days was predominantly masculine, large numbers of men lived together, keeping house on some co-operative arrangement, and formed what may be called non-family groups as distinguished from the ordinary family group in which the wife or the daughter does the housekeeping for the family. Due to the lack of families among the immigrants in Missoula in those days there was no Greek community. Formal organization of the Greek community did not take place until the Greek families in Missoula were well established.

The Greek railroad worker endured great hardships in order to save enough money to send back to Greece for his parents, or to repay his debt for passage money or his sister's dowry.

According to the Greek pioneers, the Greek immigrants working on the railroad in the early 1900's in Missoula numbered approximately three hundred. Greek females at that time were non-existent in Missoula. Parties and Greek dances used to take place every weekend in the three Cafenia (Greek coffee houses) in Missoula and Greek orchestras from Seattle, Washington, or New York would come at least once a month to entertain these homesick immigrants.

During the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913, the majority of the Greek immigrants of Missoula returned to Greece to serve in the Greek Army. They joined the so-called "Holy Brigade"
which consisted of Greek immigrant volunteers who went back to Greece to fight against the Turks. The purpose of fighting was to protect their families, religion, and native country against the Turk invader. Only one of these Greeks came back to Missoula. During World War I he joined the United States Army to fight this time for his adopted country. By 1915 only a small number of Greeks remained in Missoula, where they decided to make their permanent home.

The early social organization of the Greek immigrants of Missoula had been very largely a product of the interplay of three factors. First, the earlier life of these immigrants was spent in primary group relationships in a rather homogeneous society. The majority of them were born in communes of smaller size in those sections of Greece which are least affected by modern industrial civilization. Before their migration to America, their lives had been molded and controlled by the traditional folk culture. Second, a number of these immigrants had spent some time in the Greek colonies of other American cities prior to their coming to Missoula. They had become partially acculturated to Greek-American life prior to their migration to Missoula. Third, there was a tendency for the Greek immigrants to live in the same house or settle close to the same neighborhood.
Occupational changes and barriers. One wonders if the early life of the Greeks in Missoula was not really as hard and difficult as that of the American pioneers who marched westward. True, they did not have to fight the Indians, but other barriers such as ignorance of the English language and of American culture were perhaps as formidable to cope with and far more subtle.

All the Greek immigrants of Missoula entered unskilled occupations when they first came to the United States. They first served apprenticeships on the railroad gangs or in the restaurant business. But, their apprenticeships were short. When they learned some English and accumulated enough money, they ventured into small commercial enterprises. This process of economic emancipation has been classically described by Professor Edward A. Ross, who writes:

Once his foot is on the first step, the saving and commercial-minded Greek climbs. From curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to big store, to chain of stores, to branch stores in other cities. Such are the stages in his 'upward' movement.1

The first enterprise in Missoula to be owned by a Greek immigrant was established in 1909. It was a push cart fruit stand set up by two immigrant brothers on a four by eight foot location. The Greek Candy Company owned by another Greek immigrant was established a year later. The establishment of shoeshine parlors and restaurants by other business-minded young Greeks quickly followed.

Greek businessmen stated that the first thing they learned in Missoula was that Americans are not leisurely. They found that money could be made, but it took long hours of hard work. From the Americans they learned this lesson well and soon acquired the habits of American business. The restaurant and shoeshine proprietors still maintain long hours of hard work, and they have learned to live by the clock. The Greek businessmen also expressed admiration for the American "system," meaning the efficiency, cleanliness and systematic character of the American business.

There is a peasant proprietorship of land in Greece and all those who immigrated to Missoula had lived on small farms which they owned and worked for themselves. Upon arrival in the United States they worked first as unskilled workers, but by 1962 their occupations in Missoula were quite different, as Table III indicates. The occupational categories include only men, as Greek women were not employed.
TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS OF GREEK IMMIGRANT MALES IN MISSOULA 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational categories</th>
<th>Number of immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real estate operators</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled workers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Missoula Greeks appeared to display a higher occupational mobility than the Greek immigrants of Great Falls, Montana. Ginalias reported that:

"...outside of the several self-owned businesses in Great Falls today, the Greek immigrants were found mostly in railroad occupations, primarily in the sections and shops. Other Greek immigrants were employed as barbers, bakers, tailors or shoe shiners."

The Greek immigrants of Missoula were asked what occupational barriers they had encountered in their efforts to move into the more skilled and professional occupations. Every one of them stated that lack of education was the main barrier and that the language barrier was second. The three immigrants, who did not have the opportunity to attend school at all, are able today, through self-teaching, to read and write Greek and English sufficiently well to carry on correspondence and to read newspapers.

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Some attitudes toward work were brought out in this study. The questions directed to Greek immigrants and second generation Greeks were: "Is the primary goal of work to make money?" "Is leisure more important than work?" The answers given by the respondents were: (a) Work should not only be a means of making money but should also serve as a means of satisfaction. (b) Work has a higher value than leisure.

The real estate proprietors, businessmen, and the second generation professional Greeks took more pride in their occupations than did the skilled and unskilled, and the professionals showed more self-expression. This was evident during interviews where businessmen, real estate operators, lawyers and teachers were more apt to express their occupational achievement with pride and enthusiasm. For example, the businessmen and real estate proprietors were eager to tell the writer the number of houses, rental units, businesses and cars they owned. Educational background enabled the professionals, such as teachers and lawyers, to answer interview questions with greater clarity and accuracy.

In Missoula, with the exception of two, Greek wives were not employed. This was due to the Greek tradition that the wife's place is at home to take care of the house and the

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Second generation Greek refers to the children who have foreign born parents or those Greeks who come from mixed parentage (the father is a Greek and the mother is not).
children. This practice was found not only among the families of the immigrants, but in the second generation Greeks also. The wives, the Greeks believed, should not be employed except in case of extreme economic necessity.

**Residential areas and home conditions.** The problem of infiltration between members of different ethnic groups in residential areas and its effect on patterns of social behavior has long interested social scientists, particularly those concerned with problems of ethnic relations of prejudice.

The discrimination against ethnic minorities in residential areas by the dominant group is very common in many American cities, but it was not so with the Greeks of Missoula. Since the early days of immigration to Missoula the Greeks had enjoyed freedom to live wherever they wished among their American neighbors. Greek respondents stated that they took up residence where they desired. At the time of this study Greek homes were found dispersed throughout the city of Missoula (see map next page). A number of Greek homes could be found within the distance of two or three blocks in a certain area of the city, but this was due to the inclination of certain Greek immigrants to be close to their own nationality. It was more convenient for the Greeks who often got together and had friendly conversations in Greek, or sometimes had family parties in which most family members participated. Also, close residence is convenient in case of
RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION
OF GREEK FAMILIES IN
MISSOULA, MONTANA

LEGEND
- FAMILIES OF PURE ETHNIC DESCENT
- FAMILIES OF MIXED MARRIAGES

INDEX TO POINTS OF INTEREST
1. CLARK FORK RIVER
2. MISSOULA COUNTY AIRPORT
3. U.S. HIGHWAY 93
4. NORTHERN PACIFIC TRACKS
5. MISSOULA COUNTY COURTHOUSE
6. MISSOULA COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL
7. M.S.U. FIELDHOUSE
8. M.S.U. CAMPUS
9. HUGHES AVENUE
10. COUNTY FAIRGROUNDS
11. U.S. HIGHWAY NO. 93
12. MISSOULA COUNTRY CLUB
13. FORT MISSOULA
emergencies. For example, if one of the Greek wives became ill the others nursed her and took care of the children and home.

Every Greek home visited by the writer possessed all the outward material manifestations of American culture: a radio, a television, refrigerator and variety of modern furniture. The women were good housekeepers. They worked hard in order to keep their houses uniformly clean and comfortable. Even the bachelors' homes visited by the writer were well kept and the food well prepared by the men themselves.

Educational achievements. Although the Greek immigrants of Missoula had received very little formal education in Greece, none of them attempted to further his education in the United States. The main reasons for this, as the immigrants stated, were the following: (1) an adolescent immigrant who had only four years of grade school in Greece typically felt that he was too old to resume his elementary education in the United States; (2) his purpose for coming to America was to work a few years, make his fortune, and then return to Greece; (3) education in American in the early 1900's was not greatly emphasized.

One of the interesting findings in this study was the tremendous educational and occupational mobility of the second generation Greeks. The majority of Greek children had achieved
an education beyond the high school level. The following table shows the years of school completed and the number of persons who had achieved that education.

TABLE IV
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF SECOND GENERATION GREEKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degrees and years of school completed</th>
<th>Greeks of pure ethnic descent</th>
<th>Greeks of mixed parentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law degrees</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degrees</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degrees</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two years of college</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second generation Greeks in Missoula have received distinctions and awards at the high school and college level. Some of the most common distinctions and awards in high school were: (1) graduated with honors from high school, (2) National Honor Society, (3) class presidents, (4) student body presidents, (5) State Elks Leadership Award.

The most common distinctions and awards in college were: (1) president and vice-president of student body, (2) honor scholastic society, (3) graduated with honors, (4) scholarships, (5) member of Silent Sentinel (senior men's honorary).
Thirteen out of twenty-one (61.9%) of the second generation of pure ethnic descent received college degrees, and two out of seventeen (11.8%) of the second generation Greeks of mixed parentage received college degrees. The main reason for this, the Greek respondents stated, was that there was more zeal and academic competition among the families of pure ethnic descent. For example, the parents of one family encouraged their children to obtain higher education and more academic awards and distinctions than the children of the other Greek families. This kind of competition took place in a friendly way and motivated a desire on the part of the Greeks to earn the admiration of the community.

Tony L. this week was elected president of the Associated Students of Montana State University. He won this honor, the highest that university students can bestow upon a fellow, in an all-school election. John L., brother of Tony, last week received a similar honor at the hands of the students of the Missoula County High School. The brothers, who are sons of parents who were born abroad, are of pure Greek blood. And this brings the thought that all the Greeks who have come to Missoula have done well, have become worthwhile Americans, as a rule are taking prominent parts in civic enterprise and progress....To paraphrase what an ancient poet said, we not fear of the Greeks, who are bringing us as gifts, examples of ability, industry, thrift, and adaptability - and not a single "wooden horse". 4

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The above passage is but one example of many similar academic distinctions that other Greek youths of Missoula have received. This also indicates the degree of acceptance Greek children received from the dominant American group. Second generation Greeks stated that high school teachers showed preference in nominating Greek children for leadership positions and other academic distinctions because of the ability and strong motivation of the Greek children to carry out assignments successfully.

In general the second generation Greeks, whether they came from mixed or pure ethnic descent families, achieved occupational success. The parents, because of their own hardships, encouraged their children and helped them financially to obtain college education which, to the Greeks, is one of the greatest achievements in life. Because education meant so much to these Greeks, they worked even after retirement in order to help their children with the financial aspects of their education. One of the old immigrants who had never attended school, stated:

My only desire in life was to educate my three children so that they will not have to have the hardships of an uneducated man like myself.

His desire was fulfilled in 1956 when the youngest of his children, like the other two, graduated from college.
TABLE V

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF THE SECOND GENERATION GREEKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of occupations</th>
<th>Second generation of pure ethnic descent</th>
<th>Second generation mixed parentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Sales</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College students</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House wives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Property and income. Considering their low socio-economic conditions upon arrival in the United States, the Greeks of Missoula could be proud of their economic achievements. We must not forget that the majority of them came from purely pastoral and agricultural regions and that most of them had limited education and knew nothing of the language or the customs of the highly industrialized and complex American society.

The chief factor that guided the Greek immigrants of Missoula into the restaurant and shoeshine parlor labor was that such work demanded little skill and less English. They progressed rapidly from dishwashers to cooks, to owners of small restaurants, from laborers to real estate operators. This was the procedure as described by the Greek businessmen.
TABLE VI

BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS IN MISSOULA BY GREEKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of business</th>
<th>Number of that business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchandising</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant and lunches</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoeshine parlors</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of this study, every Greek family in Missoula owned its own house and rented at least one other unit. The total number of rental units owned by the thirty-one Greek families in Missoula numbered two hundred and thirty-five. Every family, with no exception, owned at least one car and fifteen families out of thirty-one (48.4%) owned two cars. The average income per Greek family in Missoula was approximately $12,000 a year as compared to the $5,800 of the average family in the city.\(^5\)

Twenty-two out of thirty-one (71.0%) of these Greek families owned their own business and the rest of them (29.0%) were employed by someone else. Second generation Greeks

\(^5\) The average income per Greek family in Missoula was estimated by adding the approximate family earnings and dividing by the number of families. Although it may be that this method contains greater inaccuracies than the census measure, it at least provides the basis for a rough comparison.

tended to get into professional occupations with much more prestige than that of their parents. This is evident from the fact that thirteen out of thirty-eight (34.2%) of the second generation had received higher degrees in law and teaching while none of the thirty-one immigrants was professional.

The subjective approach in studying the social stratification of the Missoula Greek families was used. That is, the interviewees were asked by the investigator where they placed themselves in the social strata. These families rated themselves into three categories.

(a) **Lower-Upper Class**

Families with patterns of income of $30,000 to $70,000 and recently acquired wealth. They socialized with the elite, were active in community affairs and were held in high prestige within the community.

(b) **Upper-Middle Class**

Moderately successful and professional people with incomes of $15,000 to $30,000; they were respected citizens but comparatively less active in community affairs than those of Category (a).

(c) **Middle Class**

Small businessmen and professional people, real estate owners, skilled workers and other salaried employees with moderate ($5,000 to $15,000) incomes who lived in neat houses; they were conservative and self-conscious about respectability.
Although the unskilled workers and some of the businessmen and real estate operators had very limited formal education, they classified themselves as middle class citizens. Because of their good financial standing, they personally felt they belonged to this class status. For example, a Greek immigrant who had three years of education, earned $15,000 a year, owned a house and a few rental units, classified himself in the middle class.

As has been mentioned above, all Greek immigrants of Missoula came from low social and economic status and had very little academic training but at the time of the study were in much better socio-economic conditions. The immigrants identified the following factors as responsible for their socio-economic achievements: (1) the hardships and poverty of the old country made the Greek immigrants appreciate the economic opportunities in America, (2) through hard, long hours of work and thrift, they were able to save enough from their wages to open their own businesses, (3) co-operation existed among the Greeks of Missoula. A few immigrants stated

### TABLE VII

SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF MISSOULA GREEK FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower-Upper</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper-Middle</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the unskilled workers and some of the businessmen and real estate operators had very limited formal education, they classified themselves as middle class citizens. Because of their good financial standing, they personally felt they belonged to this class status. For example, a Greek immigrant who had three years of education, earned $15,000 a year, owned a house and a few rental units, classified himself in the middle class.

As has been mentioned above, all Greek immigrants of Missoula came from low social and economic status and had very little academic training but at the time of the study were in much better socio-economic conditions. The immigrants identified the following factors as responsible for their socio-economic achievements: (1) the hardships and poverty of the old country made the Greek immigrants appreciate the economic opportunities in America, (2) through hard, long hours of work and thrift, they were able to save enough from their wages to open their own businesses, (3) co-operation existed among the Greeks of Missoula. A few immigrants stated
that when a Greek decided to establish his own business, his Greek friends would advise and help him financially.

Although co-operation was common, there was also indirect competition among the Greeks of Missoula. That is, the idea "who among the Greeks is going to progress economically faster than the other Greeks" was a strong motivation. Children acquired their parents' ways of "doing business" successfully. Children were encouraged from an early age to participate in economic activities under the direction of the parents. One of the second generation Greek girls stated:

As I remember, I was only eight years old when my father sent me to the stock market to buy stocks.

Another factor responsible for the economic achievements of the Greek immigrants of Missoula was that they were quick to take advantage of the business opportunities in America. This is evident from the fact that, at the time of this study, nineteen out of twenty-five (76%) of the Greek male immigrants were self employed. Some businessmen stated that they failed at first but tried over again. Professor Fairchild, although a critic of Greek immigration, says of the Greeks:

In whatever occupation the Greeks enter the majority of them are successful, at least from a pecuniary point of view. This is due to their native business ability and to their thrifty, and more than thrifty abstemious habits of life.  

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CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE

In a number of respects the cohesiveness, discipline, and training of children appeared to have facilitated the social adjustment of the Greek community in Missoula. The Greeks felt that the family was the basic social institution, and that it should play a very important role in the social adjustment of its members. One of the results of this study was the demonstration of the prominent role of the family in the proper training of the child, especially in the manner of adjusting to the biocultural environment.

Although the first Greek immigrants came to Missoula in 1900, the first Greek family was established in 1920. The greatest cause of this delay was the fact that the majority of Greek immigrants preferred Greek wives, or at least women understanding or appreciative of Greek standards. Hence, those who were financially successful and bound by tradition journeyed to Greece to their native villages or towns to bring back brides; a few acquired "picture brides," while still others married suitable American girls who appreciated Greek standards.

Type of family government. In Greece the family structure was rigidly patriarchal; the husband was the head of the household and his word was law. It is true that the Greek
family in Missoula was modified by American influences, but the father still was the head of the family and this seemed to meet with the approval of the wives. This type of family authority was carried from Greece to the United States and was still practiced in Missoula at the time of this study. It was more prevalent in families where the parents were either immigrants or second generation Greeks of pure ethnic descent.

In second generation families, where both husband and wife were of Greek descent, the patriarchal type of authority existed because of the influence of Greek culture. That is, the husband who came from a patriarchal family expected to be the head of his own family, and this could be accomplished successfully because the wife also had grown up in a patriarchal environment where she learned submissiveness to man.

In families of mixed marriage, where the husband was an immigrant and the wife an American, patriarchy seemed to meet with less approval from the wives. This was due to the influence of the more democratic family government in which the wife had been reared. In families where the father was a second generation Greek, especially of mixed parentage, and the wife an American, patriarchy was non-existent and family government was completely "Americanized."

In the Greek patriarchal families of Missoula, the father was not a tyrant but a leader with great responsibility for his family's welfare. The child raising and all the immediate
familial problems were left to the wife but the husband still remained the provider and leader of the family. Greek wives stated that they were respected by the husbands and were obeyed as well as revered by the children.

Members of patriarchal families stated that the father did not make important decisions without consulting his wife and children. For example, in a decision of buying a house or business, the whole family participated in advising the father. According to the informants, the children's participation was important because of the better knowledge the children had of American laws and the English language. That is, the child served as an adviser and interpreter at the same time. But decisions had to be approved by the father.

**Parent-child relationship.** The relationship between father and children was quite different from that of most American families where the father ideal is that of "pal" or older "buddy." The greek father never let the children forget that he was the final authority of the household and occupied a position demanding respect and submission. This type of relationship was more prevalent in pure Greek descent families than in mixed marriages.

The mother also played a very important role in the discipline of children, especially daughters. The mother was responsible for the moral instruction of the daughter,
which the Greeks regarded as the most important phase of the children's training. As long as the mother did not work and spent much time with the children, she had a big responsibility maintaining a clean house and close supervision of the children.

It must not be concluded that Greek children were cowering servants to a demigod father, but respect is the key ideal in the Greek family and the parents seem to get it from their children with a minimum of frustration. Children interviewees expressed satisfaction with regard to family conditions. They stated that their parents not only provided them with material sustenance such as good food, clothing, and comfortable homes, but with understanding, discipline, and education. This indicated that the psychological and physical needs of the children were being met among the majority of Greek families in Missoula.

In Missoula, almost every Greek immigrant identified the manner of rearing children as one of the chief differences between Greeks and Americans. The Greeks maintained that the majority of American children enjoyed unnecessary freedom and did not have sufficient respect for their parents, teachers and other officials.

The majority of Greek families in Missoula seemed to possess an essential unity of objectives. By this is meant that its members possessed similar attitudes on the most important aspects of their joint activities. This similarity
of attitudes was related to such mutual problems as the care and discipline of children, their education, the location of the home, the question of sex relations, and other matters of a deeply personal nature.

Discipline of children started early in childhood and was taught by both parents. The Greek children learned to comply with the family rules and to apply this discipline outside the home. The most important phase of discipline that Greek parents in Missoula were concerned with was to teach the child how to conform to the norms of society. This seems to have been a major reason for the lack of juvenile delinquency among Greek children in Missoula. Said one of the second generation boys:

We Greek kids are well behaved because our parents taught us which is right and which is wrong and made sure that we do the right thing.

In Missoula the Greek parents did not necessarily apply physical force to discipline their children. The firm attitude of the mother and the austere glance of the father were sufficient to make the children feel that the parents did mean what they were saying. Second generation interviewees stated that their conformity to the norms of the community was due to the proper training they received at home.

In Greek families, the freedom of the adolescent girls regarding dates was limited. The girls had to get their parents' permission before they could go out on dates and to
return at a certain time set by the parents. This kind of strictness was used more in the families where both parents were immigrants. Although adolescent boys enjoyed more freedom on dates, they were required to inform their parents where they went and what they did. Greek parents were strongly against the freedom that most American children enjoy on dates, drinking, parties, etc. Greek children were encouraged by parents to participate in useful social activities such as school leadership functions and athletics.

A social balance existed between the Greek and American culture, and rebellious attitudes against the parents were relatively absent among the second generation Greeks. Children did not rebel against the ideals of the Greek family or the Greek community as a whole. The reason for this was that through the tightly knit, well organized ethnic community, the Greeks offered their children a second home, or a kind of bridge between the family and society. The children had a feeling of belonging to a group which provided them with security, acceptance and guidance, and which encouraged them to maintain reverence for both cultures.

**Marriage ideals.** The aspect of the family most likely to produce disagreement between parents and children lay in the essentially unchanged mores concerning dating, courtship
and marriage. This indicated how little the Greeks had changed from the customs observed in Greek villages forty years before.

The problem of intermarriage (marriage outside of the Greek nationality) arose only in the families in which both parents were immigrants. This problem became acute as the second generation moved through adolescence. Childhood aroused no particular anxiety in the Greek families. Children were allowed to mingle freely with those of every nationality and background in public schools and on public playgrounds. However, when they reached the dating age, the parents became disturbed lest their children marry non-Greeks. They realized for the most part that traditional parental mate choosing was inappropriate to the American scene, but they did not approve of American courtship patterns.

Although the Greeks in general believed in endogamy (marriage within the Greek nationality), fifteen out of thirty-one (48.4%) marriages were exogamous (marriages outside the Greek nationality). All those who had married non-Greeks, with the exception of one, were men. The Greek immigrants in the early days were strongly opposed to exogamous marriage but were forced to compromise this position by the absence of eligible females of Greek descent in Missoula.

Among the second generation Greeks of pure Greek parentage, exogamous marriage was more prevalent among the
boys than the girls. Five boys and one girl had married non-Greeks. Although these were few cases, they suggest that parental pressure was stronger and more effective on the girls and that the endogamous ideals of the group had been more successfully "internalized" by the female second generation. Although Greek immigrant parents considered exogamy undesirable, the "outsider" was welcomed into the group once the deed had been done.

Greek boys did not date Greek girls in Missoula. The main reason for this, according to the boys, was that Greek boys and girls in Missoula knew each other so well that it gave them a feeling of close relationship. This was also evident in that none of the Greek boys had married a Greek girl from Missoula. Those who married Greek girls chose their mates from neighboring towns or out of state.

Another significant fact was that early marriages did not occur among the Greeks of Missoula. Greek children, like their parents, did not get married unless they were economically capable of supporting a family. Greek parents strongly advised their children to get married after they finished college or had secured employment. The married children of these Greeks seemed to have followed this advice. None of them had married under the age of twenty-two. According to the records of the City Court in Missoula, 297 out of
628 (47.3%) of the non-Greeks who received marriage licenses from July 5, 1961 to July 23, 1962, were under the age of twenty-two. This indicates that early marriages in Missoula are more common among the Americans than Greek immigrants and their children.

**Traditional beliefs and practices.** Although the Greek immigrants of Missoula had adopted most, if not all, of the material elements of American culture, they remained mentally and emotionally Greeks. While the American economy had affected their family and religion, these institutions were still distinguishable as Greek and had been preserved with a methodical tenacity.

As has been mentioned above, the Greek family in Missoula remained Greek with regard to its authority, discipline, and solidarity. On the other hand the Greek church had changed considerably in function. This change was of two sorts: One had been a lessening of the importance of its purely religious function and the other, an increase in the importance of its secular functions. The Greek church in Missoula was a symbol of Greek nationality which held the community together. As such, every family of pure ethnic descent stood behind it economically and morally.

This study brought to light the fact that certain Greek customs observed in Greece fifty years ago were carried on in Missoula with zeal. These customs had considerably
changed from the form in which the writer had known them ten years before in Greece. If the Greek immigrants in Missoula had returned to an average urban environment in Greece, such as Sparta, Tripoli, and Patra, they would have seen a remarkable difference. They would have seen the people dancing, not the traditional Greek dances perpetuated in Missoula, but tangos, foxtrots, rumbas, rock and roll and even jitterbugging. In the modern Greek city traditional Greek dances are seen only on special festive or holiday occasions.

The typical father in Greek urban areas no longer restricted the dating of his daughter or "arrange" her marriage as the Greek father might do in Missoula. What happened was this: In the fifteen years prior to this study, Greek culture changed rapidly so that it closely resembled the general Western European culture in many respects, while the culture brought to Missoula by the Greek immigrant underwent considerably less change. Self-consciousness in a strange land, was one of the reasons that the immigrants had guarded these customs with zeal. Social change to the man in Greece was taken for granted, but to the immigrant Greeks in Missoula, almost every change in their customs meant loss of their ethnic identity. Preserving their nationality had become the ultimate end to the Greek immigrants of Missoula and since all the cultural elements they brought with them were associated with their nationality, they clung to them tenaciously. This effort was limited only by their desire to succeed in the American community.
Besides the religious and the familiar national customs which the Greeks of Missoula had successfully preserved, there were also a few material culture survivals such as food. In every family of pure ethnic descent, Greek cooking predominated in the menus. Greek cooking means (aside from the purely Greek dishes) more spices, seasoning, predominance of lamb, brinsh foods, olive oil, and a great number of flaky pastries.

The Greek immigrants were asked to express their feelings about American culture. All showed appreciation of American democracy, individual freedom, laissez faire and the modern convenience of goods and services. But there were certain elements of American culture the Greek immigrants of Missoula found hard to tolerate. The most commonly disapproved were: (1) early dating and marriage, (2) weak family bonds, (3) drinking (especially youthful drinking), (4) divorce, and (5) disrespect for elders.

Some Greek immigrant interviewees remarked that "Americans drink too much" and "Americans like divorces." From such expressions it may be concluded that the process of oversimplification or "tabloid thinking" was common among some of the immigrants. According to this kind of thinking, some Americans were erroneously thought of as typifying the American society as a whole. These
"tabloid thinkers" were immigrants, especially women, who were closely attached to the Greek group and not well informed about the American culture. The Greek "tabloid thinker" failed to see that not all Americans were drunkards, delinquents, nor fond of divorce. However, only a few individuals of the Greek group possessed this attitude.

Another feeling, expressed by the majority of the immigrants, was that the "synesthematismos" among Americans was weak. The Greek word "synesthematismos" which consists of two words syn (together) and estheraatisraos (consciousness) may be translated in English as "consciousness of kind."

According to Professor Giddings, an early American sociologist, "consciousness of kind" is the state of consciousness in which any being recognizes another conscious being as of like kind. The Greeks felt that there was an absence of warmth and fellow-feeling among American family members and friends. Said one of the immigrants:

I saw an American father meeting his son who hadn't seen him for six years and they acted like strangers. They didn't even shake hands.

The attitude of "every man for himself", which the Greeks felt was very common among the Americans, did not exist in the Greek families or the Greek community as a whole.

The Greeks also criticized the Americans for being unhospitable. Stated one Greek housewife:

The Greeks are different. We are more friendly and hospitable than the Americans. You visit an American home and they don't ask you whether you would like to have a drink or something. The Greeks bring you food; they make you feel at home. It is our tradition.

It was true that no one was permitted to leave a Greek home without being treated to food, drinks, or both, and this custom was firmly ingrained in the second generation as well. Second generation girls stated that they had been trained never to allow a visitor to leave without having him partake of some item of nourishment.

The changing attitudes of second generation Greeks toward Greek customs and traditions was another factor brought out in this study. Because young people of the second generation immigrants mingled more with Americans, gained a knowledge of American traditions and institutions, and spoke English fluently, they came under influences that had not touched their parents. As a result, there was an inevitable reaction on their part to the standards, interests, and attitudes found in their homes. It was found that
this reaction was different with different individuals of the second generation Greeks in Missoula.

The second generation Greeks of pure ethnic parentage largely conformed to the dominant tendencies of the Greek community in Missoula and remained a part of it. These young people remained closely integrated in the life of the immigrant community in which they were born. All second generation interviewees of pure ethnic descent stated that they spoke modern Greek, and the majority of them could read and write Greek. The members of this new generation of Greeks no doubt exercised an Americanizing influence on the older generation, but their tendency was to follow the line of least resistance and to conform to the accepted standards of the Greek community. They formed a group who were, though born in America, not entirely of America.

The second generation of pure ethnic parentage displayed an unusual amount of Greek acculturation for persons reared in the United States. They felt this was due to their own constant association with Greek culture. Toward the Greek way of life they manifested a positive attitude. They all enjoyed the activities stemming from the Greek culture. They stated that this was not because they considered the Greek way superior to the American, but merely because it was the way to which they had become habituated.
All second generation Greeks expressed a pride concerning their nationality uncommon in the second generation of other nationalities. Phrases as the following were very common: "I am proud of being a Greek," "I am proud of being a Greek because of what the ancient Greeks have done and what the modern ones are doing," "I feel that a man is very fortunate to be the product of the world's two greatest cultures" (Greek and American). It is interesting to note that second generation Greeks who had visited Greece were strongly influenced by the Greek culture and displayed more pride for their nationality, as well as interest in Greek community functions.

In this small ethnic group, a peculiar social balance existed between the two cultures so that the children appeared in a fairly stable equilibrium between the two cultures (Greek-American) and had only a few areas that might cause psychological conflict. Certain psychological conflicts did appear as a result of attempting to conform with the parents' demands, such as limitations on dating or marriage.

The second generation Greeks of pure ethnic descent in Missoula showed more interest in the Greek community functions than the second generation Greeks of Great Falls,  

2 In this respect, psychological conflict refers to an unhappy state of consciousness resulting from a cultural clash where the desire or aims of the second generation are suppressed in order to satisfy their parents' demands.
Montana. Ginalias found that "... in Great Falls, Montana, the second generation male and female frequently avoided Greek-Greek relations in social activities. Many claimed that they participated in the social functions to satisfy their parents." 3 The second generation Greeks of Missoula stated that they participated in Greek social activities because they enjoyed the informal and friendly atmosphere of the Greek dances and parties.

The Greek minority in Missoula believed that it had a good reputation and Greek children felt proud to be a part of it. Greek children also felt self-confident regarding their ability to succeed and attributed this to the training given by their parents. Finally, in early childhood Greek children were taught the Greek ways of life, and, at the same time, reverence for American ideals, so when they grew up, the bicultural way of life was not strange to them. An example of this was the Greek dances in which the Greek children participated from the age of three.

The second generation Greeks of mixed marriages, where the father was a Greek and the mother an American, seemed to be different in many respects. They did not speak the Greek language and were very little acquainted with the Greek culture. Very few of them participated in Greek dances

and parties and none of them belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. Some of them were baptized in the Greek Church, but all had embraced their mother's faith at the time of this study. Their unfamiliarity with and lack of interest in Greek culture was due to the home environment in which they were raised. For example, the American mother, who spent most of her time training the children at home, had no knowledge of the Greek language and little knowledge of Greek culture. The Greek father, who worked twelve hours a day in the restaurant or shoeshine parlor, spent very little time with his children. Therefore, the children grew up in an American environment where Greek customs and traditions were absent. The result was the disappearance of Greek culture in those homes. This was the main reason why the ethnocentric Greeks opposed intermarriage.

Nevertheless, the second generation Greeks of mixed parentage did not deny their nationality nor change their names but, as they all stated, were proud of their fathers' heritage and liked to be called Greeks.
CHAPTER VII
SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Studies contributed by Erdomon Beynon, Paul Campisi, Ernesto Galarza, Eleanor Glueck, Edwin Sutherland, Robert Park, Clifford R. Shaw and Hendry D. McKay (see Chapter II) indicate that social maladjustment is commonly found among members of ethnic minority groups in the United States. These sociologists have reported that when the cultural characteristics of the minority group come into contact with the culture of the dominant group, social problems in the community inevitably occur.

Culture conflict in the immigrant family between the Americanized children and the unassimilated parents has been found to be an important factor in delinquency, crime and other forms of social maladjustment. 1

More careful sociological investigations on social disorganization among various ethnic groups may, however, correct some errors of previous studies that were based on prejudice and sentiment rather than facts. The present study would suggest that there are degrees of social disorganization that differ with nationality and geographical location and that cultural clash does not necessarily result in social disorganization.

This study produced evidence indicating a surprisingly low incidence of social problems among the Greeks in Missoula.

1 Louis Wirth, "Culture Conflict and Delinquency", Social Forces, June, 1931, p. 484.
In studying the criminal records for the city and county law enforcement and public health and welfare agencies, the investigator found that social problems were not prevalent among the Greeks of Missoula.

**Delinquency and crime.** An unusual lack of juvenile delinquency and crime was found among the Greeks of Missoula. Every one of the first and second generation Greeks was asked whether he or any member of his family had ever committed a crime. None of them, they stated, had ever committed such offenses, but some of them admitted minor traffic violations.

In order to verify the apparently low crime rate among the Greeks of Missoula officially, an investigation with city and county law enforcement agencies was necessary. The investigator personally visited the sheriff of Missoula County and the chief of police in Missoula and asked them to check the criminal records of every Greek name. The list of Greek names was obtained from the Greek Orthodox community council, which keeps records of all active and non-active members of the Greek community in Missoula.

According to the sheriff's office, no one with a Greek name was ever arrested for delinquency or crime. The period of maintenance of criminal records was from 1950 - 1962. The sheriff stated his opinion of the Greeks of Missoula as follows:
If we all were as patriotic, loyal, and law abiding citizens as the Greeks, we would be ok. I can't think of any Greek here in Missoula that has been in trouble. They respect the law and contribute to the community drives. They are always neatly dressed and keep their establishments clean. I don't think most of the native Americans of Missoula have sense of values like the Greeks do. For these reasons, I can say nothing but to praise and admire them.

Investigation in the city police department also showed an absence of serious crimes. According to the records, no Greek name was listed under the files of serious offences during the last fifteen years. But minor traffic violations committed by Missoula Greeks were found. The table below indicates the kinds of traffic violations the Greeks had committed during the previous seven years.

**TABLE VIII**

**TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY GREEKS IN MISSOULA FROM 1955-1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of violations</th>
<th>Number of violations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Careless driving</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improper passing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to stop at red light</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to stop at stop sign</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speeding</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Greek names checked for criminal offences in the city and county law enforcement agencies included all Greek immigrants, their spouses, and children, who came from pure ethnic descent or mixed parentage. Although law enforcement records did not indicate any juvenile delinquency among Greek children, through the method of interview the investigator was able to discover one juvenile offence committed by a second generation Greek boy of mixed parentage. This was an offence of malicious mischief. It was seriously regarded by the parents, who themselves had taken the responsibility of rehabilitation.

With the very low record of criminal offences among this minority in Missoula, it is not strange that the Missoula Greeks, in general, were considered law abiding citizens. Said the chief of the city police:

I have been working in the police force here in Missoula for nineteen years and I don't think any Greek has been in trouble. They are so well adapted to the community that I never thought of them as a minority group. Because of their excellent citizenship, I always considered them as good Americans. Although all minority groups here in Missoula are pretty well behaved, the Greeks are the best law abiding citizens. I have never received any complaints from Americans concerning Greek neighbors or establishments.

According to the Greek interviewees, this unusual lack of juvenile delinquency and crime was due to certain conditions or factors that existed among the Greeks of Missoula: (1) the mores of the old country encouraged respect for authority
whether familial or civic. (2) Group pressure might be exerted upon those individuals who departed from the community mores. (3) Greek children were taught early in childhood to conform with the norms of the community. (4) Greek family bonds were so strong that parents and children were very much concerned over each others' security and welfare. (5) The Greeks of Missoula were very cautious in maintaining their good reputation. (6) Greek mores were more effective in the small Greek community with strong group cohesiveness.

The Missoula Greeks appeared to have a relatively lower rate of minor law violations than the Greeks of Great Falls, Montana. Ginalias reported that:

...The Greeks of Great Falls, Montana, are criticized for not being faithful to minor law restrictions. The sanitation code of Great Falls is an example. Repeated violations of this code by the Greeks in the restaurant or grocery store businesses occurred frequently. 2

Said the fire marshal of the Missoula Greeks:

I don't have anything to say against the Greeks. They always keep their establishments in order and do what they are supposed to do.

Although police records indicated only minor criminal offenses among the Greek minority in Missoula, it must not be concluded that all Missoula Greeks were perfect law abiding citizens. "White Collar" crimes, which are common

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among the upper socio-economic class and which are not ordinarily included within the scope of police crime records, would have been committed by Missoula Greeks. The writer was informed by a few Greek and American interviewees that one offense of income tax evasion and one offense of bootlegging had been committed by Missoula Greeks. Greek respondents also stated that in Missoula there was a Greek bachelor who many times had been accused of stealing. He suffered from kleptomania (an urge to steal useless articles) and the police had considered him not responsible for his actions. This man lived by himself and had never been a participating member of the Greek community in Missoula.

**Other social problems.** Divorce is very common in American society, but the Greeks of Missoula found it hard to tolerate. According to the interviewees, there had been only one divorce in the Greek minority of Missoula since the establishment of Greek families early in the 1920's. The father divorcee was a second generation Greek and the mother was an American girl. As compared to present marriage and divorce rates in the United States (where one out of four marriages ends in failure), the

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3 "White Collar Crime" refers to crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation. These crimes are not essential factors in the crimes which ordinarily conform to police departments and criminal courts. For example, tax frauds, bribery of public officials, etc. are crimes of this sort. Such criminal cases are usually undetectable and often "fixed" by political office-holders.

Greek minority in Missoula had been successful in maintaining stable marital relationships during their forty years in the city.

The absence of divorce among the Greeks of Missoula did not mean absence of conflict between husband and wife, especially in the mixed marriages, where there were cultural differences. A few respondents stated that serious conflicts between immigrant husbands and American wives had taken place over cultural issues. But the Greek immigrant husband who had been influenced by the old country's mores and who felt that divorce was a disgrace would put up with many conflicts instead of getting a divorce immediately. This was the impression the writer obtained from interviews with Greek immigrants.

There were only a few Greeks on relief in Missoula. According to the unemployment office, only three Greeks had received unemployment compensation, and this was for a very short period of time. Official records also showed that only one Greek immigrant had received financial help from the welfare department. He was a very sick, poor man who, because of self pride, would not accept financial help from his fellow Greeks.

An aversion to unearned income among the Greeks resulted from a high degree of self-reliance and a determination "not to be failures in the new world." That was how the Greeks felt. The large number of benevolent mutual-aid and other cultural associations would take care of Greek
members in case of necessity where public aid would otherwise be required. Rather than an isolated individual, the Greek of Missoula was a member of a community with responsibility and unwritten rules he had to follow.

The Greeks who emigrated to the United States and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adopting the village pattern; besides their philotimo (primary virtue) would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. 

Severe mental illness (psychosis) is also a major social problem that affects the welfare of the community. It is held that one out of every ten persons in the United States is expected at some time in his life to receive institutional treatment for some serious emotional disturbance.

According to this study, problems of psychosis were non-existent among the thirty-two Greek immigrants of Missoula and members of their families. Every one of the interviewees was asked to state whether he or any member of his family, or any other Missoula Greek had ever suffered from a mental disorder. All of them stated that such problems had never

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6 Psychosis refers to severe mental illness in which a decided and usually progressive disintegrating change takes place in the personality. The person is treated usually by temporary or permanent commitment to a special hospital.

7 Mable A. Elliot and Francis E. Merrill, Social Disorganization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 274.
existed among the Greek minority of Missoula. Also, investigation with the Health Department of the City of Missoula showed no record of such problems among the Greeks.

Although the Greek minority of Missoula was a small group to compare with the general population on severe mental disorders, some possible explanations for the absence of these problems were found to exist among the Missoula Greeks. First of all, as the Greek immigrant stated, they were raised in an environment where children were conditioned to accept failures or disappointments as normal experiences of life. The family in Greece, especially in rural societies, serves as an educational institution for character training. For example, the child is taught self-discipline, self-control, and a direct approach to life's problems early in childhood. Murray writes:

Personality crashes and a host of other mental and emotional maladjustments, usually go back to childhood in their origin. Parents are chiefly to blame for many of these adult crashes... The result is that a new crop of personality misfits is coming to maturity in the community each year. 8

Prejudice and discrimination. The attitude of the American community toward any racial or nationality group is one of the most important factors in determining whether cultural conflicts exist to any great degree. In Missoula,

a surprising lack of prejudice and discrimination against
the Greek group was found. Every one of the interviewees
was asked whether he or his Greek acquaintances had ever
experienced any degree of prejudice or discrimination on
the basis of nationality. This was defined as including
prejudice and discrimination in residential areas, employ­
ment, social clubs, civic organizations, schools, peer groups
and any other public relations. None of the respondents
could recall such evidence.

It was found that the Greeks of Missoula did enjoy certain
privileges in the community. The majority of the immigrants
and second generation Greeks stated that it was an advantage
to be a Greek, especially when a person needed to find employ­
ment. Said an American girl who was married to a Greek:
"Since I got married and changed my name, I have no trouble
getting a job any more."

An interview with the oldest immigrants who came to
Missoula between 1900 and 1915 brought to light the fact
that in the early days (approximately from 1900 - 1915)
prejudice toward the Greeks did exist in Missoula. They
stated that the strange looking Greek with his foreign
clothes and manners, his name and his speech, even the
expression of his countenance, was distasteful to "Americans,"
who felt naturally superior to him. The prejudice was more
the Greeks' fault who, because of fear and strong ethno­
centric beliefs, kept to themselves and resisted changing
some of their beliefs, customs, and traditions, which is necessary for social adjustment. Writes Dorothy Johnson:

The first Greeks I ever saw were swarthy, fierce, mustached men who worked at repairing railroad tracks for the Great Northern near Rainbow Falls, Montana, when I was six years old. They were much talked about in our tiny community because they spoke no English, kept to themselves, and sometimes had uproarious fights. These Greeks did not at all match my later college concept of Greeks as bald, bearded philosophers loosely draped in white bed sheets. When I was six the Greek section hands were simply foreign and incomprehensible. Now, I know they were bolder adventurers than Odysseus.9

According to the immigrant interviewees, prejudice toward the Greeks of Missoula disappeared as soon as the Greeks became more assimilated within the American culture. As mentioned above, the majority of the immigrants adapted quickly to the American way of life by becoming good businessmen in the community and conforming to its norms. They showed a positive attitude toward the American civic, social and commercial life was evidenced by an article which appeared in the Sunday Missoulian on June 18, 1933.

The Greeks, naturalized and those on their way to secure final papers of citizenship, have shown praiseworthy devotion to American institutions and to American ideals. They want to be known as patriots, loyal to the code and ready to do their part, assuming all obligations without complaint and striving in every way to make themselves good citizens...Missoula never has had a cause to be ashamed of those who have taken their places in the community. They have been found ready and willing to respond to the call for community service, and many of them

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have become leaders in the business life of the city. They are fine examples of American citizens and that they intend to maintain themselves as such is indicated by such activities of AHEPA as were in evidence at the dinner of Flag Day. 10

There were other factors accounting for the lack of prejudice and discrimination toward the Missoula Greeks. The Greeks are Caucasoid and therefore color prejudice did not affect them as it does immigrants from non-white populations. The Greeks came to Missoula when the city was growing and became a part of it while contributing a great amount of hard work to its economic and social development. Another factor was that the Missoula Greeks were numerically a small minority and did not represent a strong competitive working-class group like the Mexicans, Negroes, and Indians in many parts of the United States. And, finally, the Greeks of Missoula, as an ethnic group, were not associated with a high rate of social problems, such as delinquency or crime.

**Group Coercion.** Along with the policy of inculcating respectful attitudes, the Missoula Greeks possessed an unusual desire to maintain an unblemished group reputation. The phrase, "we like to keep the Greek name clean," was commonly used by the Greeks. Group pressure was found to be one of their effective methods of keeping the Greek name clean.

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10 Editorial in *The Sunday Missoulian*, (Missoula, Montana), June 18, 1933.
Relatively speaking, American society emphasizes *laissez faire* when it comes to the behavior of its individuals. In theory at least, what a man does with his sex life is his own affair, and what he does in his business is the concern of the law. But, this did not hold true for the Greeks of Missoula. Deviation from the community mores was likely to result in group pressure. Group action was swift and concerted.

Many of the interviewees related several instances of group coercion that had taken place in Missoula. Such instances were concerned with Greeks from out of town who, while visiting Missoula, failed to conform with the norms of the community. The following example of group coercion will indicate how group pressure was used by the Missoula Greeks. Several years before, a Greek from a neighboring town, who had the reputation of a procurer, had come to Missoula for immoral purposes. When the Missoula Greeks found out, they got hold of the man and asked him to leave town immediately. The same method had been used on Greeks gamblers who visited Missoula from neighboring communities.

Another type of informal social control used by the Greeks of Missoula was gossip. The power of gossip was great among the immigrants, particularly among women, whose only opportunities for prestige and recognition were within the Greek group. (Their language deficiencies and strong ethnocentric beliefs precluded a significant amount of mixture
Gossip was their greatest weapon, and their greatest fear was the realization that it might be used against anyone who stepped out of line.

**Participation in American community.** In the early days the Greek immigrants of Missoula seldom participated in the American community. Their social participation took place within the Greek group, and their acquaintance with the Americans was very limited. This was due to language barriers and to their purpose of coming to America to make a fortune and then return to their native land. Later, when the Greeks acquired some knowledge of the English language and established their own businesses, they found out that this was really the land of opportunity where they could make their homes and live happily. But they soon found out that in order to become successful in the new land, they had to reject many of their traditional ways of thinking and acting and accept American standard in their place.

According to the interviews with the Missoula Greeks and city officials, there was, at the time of this study, very active participation in the community by the Greeks, especially of the second generation. Greek interviewees stated that they always responded to the call for community drives. Said the assistant manager of the Chamber of Commerce:
I think a great deal of the Greek citizens. They make good merchants and the businesses which they own in Missoula are run in a most high-toned manner. I know that they have never failed a single time to answer any of the calls we have made upon them toward building of a greater city.

Twenty out of thirty-one (64.5%) of the Greek immigrants and thirty-four out of thirty-eight (89.5%) of the second generation belonged at least to one American social organization. The most common organizations to which the Missoula Greeks belonged were the Masons, Elks, Kiwanis and Eagles. The first Greek immigrants who joined these clubs were the veterans who served in the United States Army during World War I. Veteran interviewees felt that their veteran's status gave them more acceptance in different American social organizations.

This study discovered that Greek-American social relationships varied from one member of the Greek minority to another. The second generation participated more in civic functions, held more memberships in social clubs, and established more acquaintances with Americans than did the immigrants. The immigrants who were married within the group (married to Greeks) were less assimilated than the immigrants who married outside the group (married to Americans). However, their associations with Americans were limited to business acquaintances, as their social functions were carried on within their ethnic group.

The majority of the immigrants of the endogamous group (where the husband and wife were both Greek) inclined to be
with their fellow Greeks. They observed distrustfully the freedom of the American children and the equality of husband and wife; they tasted with disdain the flat and spiceless American foods; they listened with an uncomprehending horror to the thumping of American jazz, and disliked the levity with which American courtship and marriage were considered. They wondered why Americans drank so relatively frequently and became intoxicated so often and why they got divorced without "good" reason. These attitudes were commonly found among Greek immigrant interviewees.

The natural reaction of the Greek immigrants was to band together with their fellows, and to group with those who shared their language and beliefs. They wanted to participate in American social functions, but their participation was hindered by their language problem. Said one of the immigrant ladies:

I belong to Mother's Club, and I attend some of the meetings. But, when I go to the meetings I feel thwarted because I don't understand what they are saying.

Attitudes of this sort were prevalent in the majority of the Greek immigrants. It seems, therefore, that the language barrier resulted in a frustration that is common among immigrants who have limited knowledge of the English language.

Greek immigrants stated that the most important factor which made them less identifiable with the dominant
American group was the historical background of their country. Interviews revealed a great pride by the immigrants for their native country. These respondents were always ready to tell the writer about the Greek philosophers and the superiority of the Greek soldier. They felt it was their duty to spread the fame of their nationality whenever possible.

**Contributions to American community.** Although all Greek immigrants came to Missoula with little else but their desire to work and improve their social and economic conditions, the Greeks, in the relatively short period of their life in Missoula had proven to be a valuable asset in the community. Hard working and thrifty, they set as their primary aim to give a higher education to their sons and daughters, a motive which explains the careers of law, teaching and management the second generation Greeks of Missoula had followed.

The public spiritedness of the Greek immigrants of Missoula was manifested by their generous contributions to many worthy charities. They contributed to community drives such as Community Chest, Red Cross and to many recreational purposes. The Greek immigrants stated that they considered their contributions as expressions of their greatfulness for the great opportunities America had given them. An example
of the many contributions by the Greeks is stated in the following passage:

First sizable contribution to the fund for a Missoula youth center was received a $500 check from James Demos. This was a gift on the 50th anniversary of Demos' arrival in the United States from Greece. The one-time immigrant told the board that he considered the contribution an expression of gratitude for what America has done for him.

In summary, it may be said that the Greek minority in Missoula had contributed to the development of the community. While contributing a disproportionately small number of social problems such as delinquency and crime, the Greeks had benefitted Missoula by their participation in its business and social life. As a result, the Greeks encountered relatively little prejudice and discrimination in the American community of Missoula.
CHAPTER VIII

CHURCH AND OTHER FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

The significance of the Greek Church and social organizations in the structural unity of Missoula's Greek community will be examined in this chapter. It will be seen that the Church held its members together psychologically because it embodied the ethics and ideals they believed in and brought them together by its group ritual and social functions. Greek social organizations also played a very important role in the social adjustment of the immigrants by integrating their members and serving as recreational and "Americanizing" agencies.

Development of the Church. Although the Greek Orthodox Church in Missoula was not established until 1956, the Greek community was formed in 1940. From 1940 to 1956, the Greeks of Missoula maintained membership in the Greek Orthodox Church in Great Falls, Montana, about one hundred and sixty miles east of Missoula. Occasionally they attended church in Great Falls or the priest would come to Missoula and conduct worship services in a temporary place of worship.

The Greeks had been in Missoula for forty-five years when they decided to buy their own church. The building fund drive was begun late in 1955 by the Greek Orthodox youth of
Missoula. They first entered a float in the first "Parade With a Prayer" that launched Missoula's Christmas season on November 28, 1955. The float of the Greek youths, which had the theme, "The Family That Prays Together Stays Together," won the first prize of seventy-five dollars.

With the prize money, the Greek youths sent printed copies of a letter to 250 Greek Orthodox Churches in the United States. Each letter was signed by nineteen members of the group. The letter explained that the signatures were of nineteen of eighty-six Greeks who all lived in a community without an Orthodox Church. It told how the nineteen Greek youths were trying to raise money for a church and asked for either five cents from each member of the congregation or ten dollars from the church general funds.

The letters went out in December, 1955, and by August, 1956, the youth organization had received $1,330 from Greek Orthodox Churches all over the United States. With an additional $525 from the Philoptokos Society, a local Greek women's society, and local contributions, $10,000 was obtained, enough for a down payment on the church. In August, 1956, the members of the Greek Orthodox faith in Missoula attended services in their own building for the first time.

News about the misdeeds of youth travels as the wind. Even spectacular stories of the good deeds of youth go unwritten. Here in
Missoula is a story of nineteen members of the youth organization of the Greek Orthodox Church who have committed themselves to work for the church which shall be dedicated as their place of worship.  

Functions of the church. Among the Greeks, as among other ethnic minorities, the church is dominant in almost all group life. Thomas and Znaniecki, in speaking of the Polish "parish" in America, have shown how the church becomes more than a strictly religious center when it becomes the main common denominator for a foreign group in an alien country. "The Polish-American parish," they write, "is much more than a religious association for common worship under leadership of a priest. The church serves as the main unifying structure of the parish."  

Precisely this phenomenon can be observed among the Greeks. The Greek Orthodox Church is a national church and, unlike international religions, it symbolizes nationality, and adherence to it keeps alive group identity. During the Turkish domination (1453-1828) the Greeks clung tenaciously to their Church as the only means of preserving their nationality. On a smaller scale, the same was true in Missoula, where the Greek Church assumed a communal character.


The officers of the Greek Church in Missoula were the officers of the Greek community. The council and the president were elected every year. Nominations were made in the following way: Every January the church board, which consisted of eight members, elected a president and a council (three officers) from its own members, who were responsible for the church affairs for the whole year. The church board was elected every December by the church members. Four of the board members were elected one year and four the next year.

It would seem that neither age nor ethnic generation was a selective factor for election to the church committee. However, women did not serve on the church board, as the Missoula Greeks felt that church and community government were more stable when run by men only. Neither occupation, social class, nor birth place appear to have been effective selective factors. Second generation Greeks of pure ethnic descent did serve on the church board as secretaries and treasurers. At the time of this study, the church board consisted of five immigrants and three second generation Greeks.

The church was the rallying place for the group. Since the church was centrally located and its basement was the hall used for meetings, dances, parties, etc., it served as the social and religious center for the Greek community. The Greek Church in Missoula was served by the only Greek Orthodox minister in Montana, who was from Great Falls.
travelled to Missoula from Great Falls twelve times a year. At such times as Christmas and Easter, a number of the Greeks attended church services in Great Falls.

The Greek Orthodox Church in Missoula had a membership of twenty-two families and four bachelors. Six of the families (twenty-seven percent) were of mixed marriages. From these six families only the husbands, who were Greeks, were active members, and their wives and children, with the exception of one family, belonged to another church. All families of pure ethnic descent, with the exception of one, were members of the church. In church services, participation of families of pure Greek descent was one hundred percent, while of the families of mixed descent (Greek-American), only two participated regularly.

Other formal organizations. Important from a structural point of view are the Greek organizations connected with the church. The Greek church in Missoula was the focal point from which the three Greek organizations (societies) that held the Greeks together radiated.

(1) AHEPA. The most important of these organizations was the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA), a branch of the national organization. The headquarters of AHEPA, the Greek-Americans' largest fraternal union which also has a cultural function, is located in Washington, D.C. It stands for Hellenism, the traditions
and values of Greece, which it holds are essentially identical with the ideas of Americanism.

The national organization of AHEPA spends $300,000 annually for educational and charitable work to educate Greek immigrants in America, and to impart to them the ideals and traditions of America. The AHEPA is an English speaking organization composed of Americans and American citizens of Greek descent. Its ritual inculcates the principles of loyalty to the United States and teaches Patriotism, National Honor, and National Service.

The local chapter (number 239) of AHEPA in Missoula was organized March 19, 1929, seven years after the national Order of AHEPA was organized in 1922 at Atlanta, Georgia. Since the founding of AHEPA in Missoula, thousands of Missoulians have participated in conventions, banquets, picnics, parties, and dances sponsored by the AHEPA, giving the Americans a better understanding of Greek culture and of the social life of the Missoula Greeks.

The AHEPA is a men's organization. The local chapter of Missoula had thirty-five members of whom nine (thirty-six percent) were second generation Greeks. It sponsored picnics and dances, sent delegates to the annual state and national conventions, contributed to both Greek and American charitable organizations, and at the regular meetings provided a public airing place for all matters of interest to the Greek community.
(2) Daughters of Penelopy. Another Greek organization in Missoula was the Daughters of Penelopy, a women's auxiliary to the AHEPA. It was organized on March 19, 1940, and had seventeen members of whom thirteen were women of Greek descent and four were American women married to Greeks. The purpose of this organization was to help the AHEPA sponsor conventions, dances, picnics, etc. The Daughters of Penelopy also sponsored drives and bazaars in order to secure money for philanthropic purposes in the United States or Greece.

(3) Philoptokos. Also important was the Philoptokos Society for the married women. The Missoula Philoptokos Society was organized by Father Zetas on November 24, 1952. The chapter was named in honor of St. Catherine and had thirteen members. None of the non-Greek wives who were married to Greeks were members, as it was a church organization.

The Philoptokos functioned officially as an aid society. It sponsored drives and bazaars in order to secure money for the church and other philanthropic purposes. The Philoptokos bore the name of the Greek words "philos" (friend) and "ptochos" (poor). It provided philanthropic institutions in the United States and Greece with food, clothes and occasionally funds.

Joint functions of Greek social organizations. Dances, parties, and picnics sponsored by the Greek social organizations not only served as a means to secure money for the church and philanthropic purposes but had a recreational
function as well. The congregation of the Greek Orthodox Church was one of the closest-knit denominational groups in Missoula and was considered by its members as one "big family." The members were close because they were few in number, and also because they had a great concern for one another. This concern was demonstrated in the Greek social functions where all family members participated.

An important function of the Greek social organizations in Missoula was the Vasilopita Feast which the writer observed with interest. Every January the Greek families and their guests gathered in the church basement for the annual New Year's Feast. This custom dated back to the fourth century of the Christian era when the first Philoptokos (friends of the poor) group was founded by St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Asia Minor.

From the fourth to twentieth centuries, the Greek Orthodox Church has carried on this tradition of St. Basil the Great. Annual dinners are held at the New Year commemorating the death of St. Basil on January 1, 379 A.D. This date is in accordance with the Julian calendar used by the Greek Orthodox Church. From the fourth century to the present day the Greek Church has commemorated that tradition by raising funds for orphans and the poor.

The grand moment of the New Year's Feast is the cutting of the Vasilopita, a sweet bread of torte. According to tradition, it was served by St. Basil at his annual gatherings.
He would climax the occasion by asking for bids to donate to the orphans and the poor. The highest received the honor of cutting the Vasilopita. The ancient custom includes baking a coin in the Vasilopita, and whoever receives the piece with the coin supposedly will have good luck during the year. At least $300 a year was collected at the Vasilopita Feast in Missoula. The money was sent to the Greek orphanage, St. Basil's, in New York State.

Another important joint function of the Greek social organizations was the celebration of Greek Independence Day on March 25 each year. The Greek families and American philhellenes gathered on that day at the church for dinner. After the dinner, the president of the community and the president of AHEPA gave speeches concerning the history of the revolution and the purpose for the celebration. Second and third generation Greek children enthusiastically stood on the stage and recited Greek patriotic poems in Greek. After the performances were over, Greek folk dancing followed.

The spirit, pride, and sheer enjoyment of the Missoula Greeks was obvious in their dancing as it was in their feasts and other ethnic celebrations. When all tables and chairs were cleared away, the nickelodeon came to life and everyone caught the contagious spirit of the Greek music. Soon the dancers were in line, moving synchronously to the rhythm of their music. Approximately twenty percent of those who participated in Greek dances were American friends who had
become partially acculturated within the Greek culture. Most of these philhellenes had visited Greece, and participation in Greek dances and parties brought back memories of Greece.

**Latent function of social organizations.** Greek social organizations did not only serve recreational and philanthropic purposes, but they also served as Americanizing agencies. Their system of management was American and the Greeks made themselves American citizens by practicing democracy in the management of their church and social organizations.

The Greek immigrants of Missoula started to become more Americanized when they stopped frequenting Greek coffee houses and were initiated into American clubs. In the Greek-American organizations which occupied their time, they became accustomed to the election of officers, the collection of dues, the writing of minutes, the making of motions, and debating in formal fashion. Gradually, they learned to use formal organization as an instrument for achieving common ends.

The organizations served as guides in the sudden transition from a simple rural society (Greek) to a complex urban one (American) by creating a semblance of the earlier social setting. They provided a time and place for seeing familiar faces and hearing the languages of one's childhood.
Another important latent function of these organizations seemed to be that of supporting essential aspects of the Greek personality by reducing frustration. A Greek peasant thrown alone into the complex American society would have the feeling of being lost if he could not continue to talk and act, laugh and make merry or mourn his dead in the company of others and in the ways to which he was accustomed. The personality disorganization which Thomas and Znaniecki discuss was minimized for most individuals by the sense of still being in familiar surroundings and remaining themselves unchanged. 3

The social organizations also permitted outstanding members of the Greek community of Missoula to practice difficult leadership techniques. They learned to handle typical American problems, involving complex co-operative effort such as securing members and keeping them active, raising money and arriving at joint decisions acceptable to all functions. Some Greeks of Missoula who had graduated from the AHEPA moved on to fulltime participation in American organizations. As a result of their outgroup experience, they were able to obtain leadership positions in American middle class organizations.

It is apparent, then, that through these social organizations, the Greek community of Missoula carefully

integrated its members. Although these organizations served as agencies of helping the immigrant to adjust to American culture, each one was constructed around a common and central idea: the Greek culture, language, and religion must not die. It was never forgotten in any of these societies that it was a Greek organization. By sponsoring dances, parties and picnics for the ethnic group, these societies contributed to the cohesiveness of the Greek community.

Therefore, the Greek social organizations served to maintain the integrity of the Greek community and, at the same time, facilitated the transition to an American urban middle class way of life. This fostered the Greek-American value system which permitted transition from Greek nationalism to American patriotism.
CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

**Summary** The majority of the Greek immigrants in Missoula (ninety-five percent) were from rural areas in Greece and all of them belonged to the lower social class before immigrating to the United States. They were raised in a society whose culture regarded the family as the most fundamental unit and religion as an important institution maintaining social control and national identity. Due to the poor educational systems in Greece, the education of the majority of the immigrants was limited to elementary school level, and a few of them had no formal schooling whatsoever. Every one of the Greek immigrants came to America to better himself economically and socially.

The first Greek immigration to Missoula began in the early 1900's. Although the majority of the Greeks migrated from other states, some of them came directly from Greece. Every one of them entered unskilled occupations upon arrival in the United States. At the time of this study, their occupations in Missoula were those of real estate operators, businessmen, and skilled workers. With regard to home conditions, Greek homes possessed all the modern equipment of a comfortable home.

Although the immigrants received very little education in Greece, many of their children in the United States had acquired an educational achievement beyond the high school level. In this study it was found that the Greeks of Missoula,
as an ethnic group, occupied high social and economic positions. The immigrants had progressed to higher occupational levels as compared to their original occupations upon their arrival in the United States, and the second generation had achieved positions as professionals, businessmen, and skilled workers. Through the economic success and educational achievements of the second generation, the Greeks of Missoula had raised their status to that of middle class citizens.

The family and social life of the Missoula Greeks was emphasized in this study as a basis for understanding the factors responsible for their adjustment to American culture. This study shows that although the Greek family in Missoula had been modified by American influence, the father remained the head of the family. Patriarchy was more common in families of pure ethnic descent where both parents were Greek. Strong family bonds as well as group cohesiveness was a distinguishable characteristic in the Greek community of Missoula. ¹

¹ Although the Missoula Greeks in general exhibited cohesiveness, they did have their conflicts. Greek interviewees stated that certain conflicts had taken place between a few of the Greek families and over church government matters. For example, two families had become alienated over a business disagreement; again, at a church meeting, the church council and one of the parishioners exchanged heated words which temporarily disturbed certain families of the Greek community. These conflicts, however, had never reached a magnitude to seriously threaten the general unity and stability of the Greek group in Missoula.
In this study it was found that the relationship between Greek parents and their children was quite different from that in most American families. Although the father was the authority of the Greek household, both he and the mother demanded respect and submission of the children. The discipline of children started early in childhood and was taught by both parents. The most important phase of discipline that Greek parents were concerned with was to teach their children to conform with the norms of society, and more importantly, to become loyal and useful citizens in the community.

Problems of intermarriage existed only in families where both parents were immigrants. Greek interviewees stated that the parents attempted to discourage exogamy as much as possible. The custom of endogamy, as well as many others, was guarded with almost fanatical zeal by the parents. Although the immigrants displayed a moderate degree of assimilation, there were certain American ways of life that they found hard to tolerate. The in-group sentiment carried with it strong belief in the rightness and superiority of the Greek culture, and this was the main characteristic of the Greek immigrants.

In this research an unusual lack of social problems among the Missoula Greeks was found. That is, the majority of them were adapted to the expectations of the community and conformed with its prevailing moral code. For example, delinquency, crime, divorce, psychoses, and unemployment were not prevalent
among the Missoula Greeks. The reason for this, as the Greeks stated, was that the mores of the old country encouraged great respect for authority, whether familial or civic. Group pressure also was exerted upon those individuals who would deviate from the community mores. The good economic status and family solidarity which were found among them were also responsible factors for the lack of social problems.

In Missoula there was a surprising lack of prejudice and discrimination toward the Greek group. According to the respondents, prejudice and discrimination in employment, schools, social clubs, and residential areas, and denial of economic and political privileges were absent among the Missoula Greeks. Certain reasons for the lack of prejudice and discrimination toward the Greeks of Missoula were discovered in this study. The Greeks of Missoula, as an ethnic group, contributed disproportionately little to social problems and were not subject to racial barriers. They were numerically a small minority group and did not represent a strong working-class competitive group.

The Church and the Greek social organizations played a very important role in the adjustment of their members to American ways of life. The church held its members together psychologically because it embodied the ethics and ideals in which the Greeks believed and brought them together structurally by its ritual and social functions. The social organizations
served not only philanthropic and recreational purposes, but also as Americanizing agencies, contributing toward the integration of the Greek community and the survival of Greek culture in Missoula.

In comparing Ginalias' study of the Greeks of Great Falls with this study it may be concluded that the Missoula Greeks appeared to be more adjusted in certain social aspects. It was found that the Missoula Greeks not only displayed a higher socio-economic mobility, but a relatively lower rate of minor law violations than the Greeks of Great Falls. Second generation Greeks of Missoula also indicated a higher participation in the Greek community than did the second generation of Great Falls.

Conclusion. It is concluded that the hypothesis which was tested in this study has been confirmed. The Greeks of Missoula had obtained a higher degree of social and economic adjustment within the American culture than other ethnic minorities as indicated in the sociological studies of: (1) Hungarians of Detroit by Beynon, (2) Campisis' study of the Italian family in the United States, (3) Galarza's study on the social and economic conditions of the Mexican Americans in the United States, (4) Gluecks' and Shaw's study of second generation delinquents of immigrant parents, (5) Santiago's study of prejudice and discrimination toward three
ethnic groups in Missoula, and (6) Ginalias' study of the
social adjustment of the Greeks in Great Falls, Montana.

The Missoula Greeks maintained their own ethnic and
cultural identity in the community without being completely
assimilated. They had adopted enough of American culture to
be accepted in the American community but not enough to
endanger the core of Greek culture which they managed to
insist upon without its becoming annoyingly apparent to the
community of Missoula.

It is the opinion of the writer that this study is
valuable in spite of certain limitations mentioned in Chapter
One. By recognizing the existence of such limitations, the
writer has taken steps to circumvent and check them whenever
possible. For example, his familiarity with the Greek culture
enabled him to evaluate certain data based on suspicion,
bias and misinformation. Also information about uncooperative
Greeks, and certain shortcomings of the Greek group was
obtained from other cooperative Greek respondents. The
limitations, then, have been carefully considered by the
investigator and should not substantially affect the validity
of this study.

Suggestions for further research.

(a) A comparative study of the social adjustment of
the Missoula Greeks and any other ethnic minority in Missoula.
For example, a comparative study of the Greeks and Italians
of Missoula would provide much knowledge regarding what
degree of social adjustment is attained by different ethnic
groups living in the same geographic area.

(b) A comparison of the social adjustment of the
Missoula Greeks and the Greeks of Butte, Montana. Such a
study would indicate the degrees of social adjustment of
small Greek groups living in approximately comparatively-
populated American communities in the same region.

(c) A restudy of the Greek minority in Missoula twenty-
five years from now. Such a study would indicate different
degrees of social adjustment among the Missoula Greeks, as
many changes in the socio-economic statuses, family and social
activities, social problems, church and other formal organ-
izations may be expected to have taken place.

(d) A comparative study of the occupational mobility
of the Missoula Greeks and the Greeks of Great Falls, Montana.
An extensive study in this area would indicate certain con-
ditions responsible for the different degrees of occupational
mobility of the two Greek minorities.

(e) A restudy of the Greeks of Missoula by obtaining
information from non-Greek interviewees. Such a study would
bring accurate results on prejudice and discrimination toward
the Greek minority of Missoula.

(f) A sociological study of the Missoula Greeks by a
non-Greek investigator. Such a study would not be limited by
the bias of the investigator, and the non-Greek investigator
would have the advantage of eliciting different responses from the Greek interviewees to certain questions. On the other hand, the non-Greek investigator would encounter a language barrier with the immigrants and a difficulty in evaluating data because of his non-familiarity with the Greek culture.
PRIMARY SOURCES

Greek immigrants (twenty-nine interviewed)
American wives and a husband married to Greeks (eight interviewed)
Second generation Greeks (twenty-six interviewed)
Missoula law enforcement officers (four interviewed)
  County sheriff
  City chief of police
  Juvenile officer
  Fire marshal
Missoula community citizens (eight interviewed)
  City mayor
  Vice-president of Chamber of Commerce
  University teacher
  Businessmen (two interviewed)
  College students (three interviewed)
Missoula County Health and Welfare Agencies
  Administrator of Health Department
  Administrator of Welfare Department
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APPENDIX

INFORMAL INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR IMMIGRANTS

1. Socio-economic background in Greece
   a. Geographic areas
   b. Education
   c. Description of family ideas and social life
   d. Occupations and social class
   e. Reasons for immigration

2. Occupations and socio-economic status in Missoula
   a. First immigration to Missoula
   b. Early social conditions in Missoula
   c. Original occupations
   d. Occupational changes and barriers
   e. Attitudes toward work and American business
   f. Residential areas and home conditions
   g. Educational achievements and barriers
   h. Property, income and economic achievements
   i. Social class

3. The family and social life
   a. Description of family government
   b. Parent-child relationship
   c. Family conditions and objectives
   d. Dating and marriage ideals

117
e. Traditional beliefs and practices
f. Feelings toward American culture

4. Social problems and community relationships
   a. Delinquency, crime, divorce, unemployment
   b. Mental health problems
   c. Prejudice and discrimination
   d. Conditions responsible for the lack of social problems
   e. Participation in American community functions (clubs and other social organizations)
   f. Citizenship and military services
   g. Contributions to American community

5. Greek church
   a. Development of the church
   b. Membership
   c. Religious beliefs and practices
   d. Participation in church services
   e. Functions of the church

6. Other Greek formal organizations (AHEPA, Daughters of Penelopy and Philoptokos)
   a. Membership
   b. Joint functions
   c. Latent functions
INFORMAL INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECOND GENERATION GREEKS

1. Occupations and socio-economic status
   a. Occupations and attitudes toward work
   b. Educational achievements
   c. High school and college distinctions
   d. Property and income
   e. Economic achievement and social class

2. Family and social life
   a. Description of family government
   b. Attitudes toward parents' beliefs
   c. Family conditions
   d. Dating and marriage ideals
   e. Feelings toward Greek culture

3. Social problems and community relationships
   a. Delinquency, crime, divorce, unemployment
   b. Mental health problems
   c. Conditions responsible for the lack of social problems
   d. Participation in the American community (clubs and other social organizations)
   e. Citizenship and military service
   f. Contributions to American community

4. Greek church
   a. Development of the church
b. Membership

c. Religious beliefs and practices

d. Participation in church services

e. Functions of the church

5. Other Greek formal organizations

a. Membership

b. Purpose

c. Joint functions

d. Latent functions