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The Educational Process and Identity: Perceptions of Ethnic Youth

Helen Mary Kandarakis

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Education

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March 1991

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Abstract

The Educational Process and Identity: Perceptions of Ethnic Youth

Helen Nary Kandarakis

present research explored the perceptions of Montreal ethnic youth for education as they relate academic achievement, aspirations and social mobility, well as socialization and sense of identity. The purpose of this research was to determine the extent to which the Canadian school has provided for the youth of Greek origin in particular, and youth of other ethnic origins in general. in terms of social and cultural expectations. The Canadian school and the Greek or other ethnic home as cultural forces and their effect upon students' problem-solving and adaptation during the course of their studies investigated. The conceptual framework for this study of ethnic cultures in a plural society was developed by Smolicz 1976, 1979) and Smolicz and Secombe (1981) which has a basis in the work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918, 1920) in the analysis of memoirs. This inquiry engaged participants write memoirs recording cultural facts (expressed to attitudes) and concrete facts (statements of family background and present situation) and to complete questionnaire compiled that concrete fact profiles (demographic information). The views of (127) Montreal youth of Greek and other ethnic origins, in grade 11, who may or may not have been born in Canada but whose parents maintain their own cultural tradition, were recorded. The results indicate that the harmonious development of a bicultural identity within a pluralistic society, enhancement of academic achievement and access to its social, economic, and political structures, may come about if the Canadian school would offer language and heritage courses along with the regular curriculum.

Dedication

With much love, and in honour of immigrants, and children of immigrants all over the world, I dedicate this thesis to my esteemed parents, Kyriakos and Katina Kandarakis who ventured to seek a new life and made Canada their home; to my sisters, Debbie and Christine who have opportunity and prosperity; and to my nephew Jeremy and my niece Kathryne-Evangeline who will reap the fruits of the labours of the first generations and who will fulfill their dreams of an illustrious future.

This thesis is also dedicated to my paternal grandmother, Eleni Kandarakis who remains the stoic, indomitable matriarch, pillar of our large family and the guardian of our cultural traditions.

I pay tribute to my forefathers, and to the memory of my paternal grandfather, Micheal Kandarakis and my maternal grandparents Christos and Despina Christoulakis to whom I owe my roots, my heritage, my cultural stock, my identity.

I wish to pay solemn homage to the memory of a vibrant first grade teacher and mentor in later years, Irene Katsifarakis who sparked my interest to learn and gain perspective and to whom I owe my reverence to education; and to a wonderful and brave friend, Ivana Baliello who always had a sparkle in her eye, a kind word on her lips, and an ever-present smile and to whom I owe faith in humanity.

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PRELUDE

The essence of our effort to see that every child has a chance must be to assure each an equal opportunity, not to become equal, but to become different—to realize whatever unique potential of body, mind, and spirit he or she possesses.

John Fischer, Dean, Teachers College Columbia University

San Francisco Examiner 19, March 1973

We learn simply by the exposure of living, and what we learn most natively is the tradition in which we live.

David P. Gardner, President, University of Utah, Salt Lake City

Vital Speeches 15, April 1975

We have ignored cultural literacy in thinking about education... We ignore the air we breathe until it is thin or foul. Cultural literacy is the oxygen of social intercourse.

E. D. Hirsch Jr.

Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know. Houghton Mifflin 1987

Section I

INTRODUCTION

Greek children's perceptions of education as they relate to academic achievement, aspirations and social mobility, as well as socialization and sense of identity, when growing up in Canada (Quebec) constitute the focus of this study. The humanistic sociological approach is employed by considering the children in school as the source for understanding the process of education and its effects on such individuals. This approach recognizes that individuals are active participants, and allows for the examination of their attitudes as they relate to society's cultural values.

In a pluralistic society, with its competing value systems, the ideological pressures which confront a child are severe, having an overpowering effect. Hence, a theoretical analysis of the cultural forces involved is undertaken to understand the construction of a child's personal cultural world. As well, the application of the principles of humanistic sociology is reviewed. The methodology is derived from these principles and is based on the study of written memoirs which are expressed by the young people who present social reality from their perspective.

THE PERSON NAMED IN

This study is mainly concerned with the views of children of Greek ethnic origin, born in Canada or elsewhere whose parents were born outside Canada, either in Greece or

elsewhere and are presently residing in the province of Quebec, in the city of Montreal. These parents do not originate from Canadian society but from the Greek cultural tradition.

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Moreover, the choice of these participants (Greek and other Ethnic minority youth) as opposed to others, is due to the familiarity and interest of the researcher of the Greek social group in particular, and the other Ethnic social groups in general. Interpretation and any perceived bias will therefore, be due to the biases of the researcher.

Although the present study focuses upon the Greek immigrant youth and their perceptions of the educational process, children of other Ethnic minorities are also considered since the population of the graduating year of the high school (William Hingston) under study, consists mostly of those of Greek, Portuguese, Italian and other Ethnic minority descent. When combined, the students from these ethnic backgrounds are more in number than the English (Anglophone) or French (Francophone) students. This phenomenon allows for some comparative study between Ethnic minority groups.

The study examines two cultural forces that act upon the students, one being the Canadian school which is influenced partly by British (English) and partly by French society and their cultural patterns and, by the Greek home in particular, and the Ethnic home in general. The study investigates how the children who are faced by these forces in the course of their studies adapt, and solve their

problems, if any.

The authors of "The Australian School Through Children's Eyes", J. J. Smolicz and M. J. Secombe (1981), indicate that the principles of humanistic sociology and the use of memoirs to extract cultural facts, can be applied to the study of other social groups. Therefore, this study attempts to apply the methodology employed by Smolicz and Secombe (1981) that was proposed by W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki (1918, 1920), focusing on the Greek population with particular emphasis on Greek youth of Greek immigrant parents.

The theory of humanistic sociology assumes that culture consists of a system of meanings that a group of people share in everyday life. It is the organization of human thoughts and actions into categorical meanings that constitutes culture. This inherent organization is the objective data of the group's social and cultural life. Every group member's experiences and actions accumulate and contribute to the group social system which invariably includes the existence of the group's culture. Therefore, this sociological inquiry is based on two interrelated that the individual depends upon social principles: organization and culture; and that social organization and culture depend upon the individual. According to Znaniecki (1968), cultural data belong to someone and are not to be considered apart from the individual because it is the human factor which delegates the existence and dissolution of a group's cultural system.

Comparably, C. Geertz (1975), intimates his view of culture:

Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social experiences on their surface enigmatical. (p.5)

With reference to this basic assumption, sociological analysis will inherently accept all data with the "humanistic coefficient". The data are accepted as they appear to the individual participants in a given situation. Thus, the intentions, experiences and activities of individuals are examined within the context of their cultural situations and social roles as they perceive these external realities to be.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for the study of ethnic cultures in a plural society developed by Smolicz (1974, 1976, 1979), with reference to the work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918, 1920) is implemented in analyzing memoirs. The framework dictates that there are a number of cultural systems within the culture of a group: the linguistic systems; systems of social values; the ideological system; and the personal ideological system. A cultural value is

inherent in these cultural systems and is deemed meaningful by the cultural group. The concept of cultural value reflects the difference between the natural and cultural worlds. Accordingly, Znaniecki (1968) distinguishes between natural objects or things and cultural objects or values. A value or cultural object possesses a content and a meaning while a thing or natural object has only a content. For example, a musical instrument (cultural object) is an object in a physical state having a content, but it also has a meaning through its connection to music and words, and to its role as agent of lyrical statements. While on the other hand, a valley (natural object) is a thing possessing a content but having no meaning, at least in its general use. The meaning of values emerges and is understood by finding the role which they play in a cultural system of a social group, therefore making it necessary to study a system of values as a whole.

LINGUISTIC SYSTEMS

With respect to linguistic systems, the words of a language are defined as cultural objects or values in the life of a particular linguistic community or group. In addition to their content, they have a meaning in the consciousness of that group of people, when communicating verbally. These words are used in relation to one another incorporating the group's system of linguistic values and are defined as a cultural system. Communication with other

members of one's group is seen as a tendency to activate certain values in the group's linguistic system. As early speech develops, the individual constructs his personal linguistic system from those linguistic values whose meaning he has heard through his participation in the group's life. Whenever an individual communicates in his native language, he is using the linguistic stock of his people by referring to his personal linguistic system.

Furthermore, on occasion, the linguistic system and its relation to the consciousness of the group may be flawed. This occurs when an individual with good language facility in his native language may feel obstructed in expressing it. or the tendency to activate the values concerned, is blocked. His personal system may continue to emerge by way an attitude which is an intention to reactivate the values when the obstruction is removed. On the other hand, individual having a positive attitude towards the language, may not have the desire or opportunity to construct an Ethnic linguistic system of his own. If it is possible to learn his native, Ethnic language, then his attitude will activate the tendency to learn and use unconditionally. Maintenance of a personal linguistic system becomes contingent both on the attitude of an individual and apparent opportunity to demonstrate his linguistic facility and commitment to the group cultural values.

SOCIAL_VALUES

An individual from the sociological perspective, is a cultural value, since he gains meaning in the consciousness of that group of people with whom he communicates. Individuals thus become a stock of values to the group. As any other cultural value, an individual has both content and meaning, where he exists as a biological being and has a meaning for other individuals or groups. Within a social system, an individual has two roles: he functions as an active agent where he evaluates and acts upon values and evaluates and acts upon human beings; and is a social object of the activities of others. An individual appearing as an object in the activities of others as they appear as objects in his activities is the network of relationships seen as the composition of his personal social system.

SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL VALUES

Groups, institutions and relationships in which individuals are a part of are seen as social systems where individuals have social values for one another. Membership in clubs, professional associations, cultural organizations or extended family where interpersonal interactions prevail, are group social systems in which each member as a social value may become the object of others' social actions and relationships. Group systems stand for social stocks which are used by individuals in the construction of personal

social systems. Group systems may vary in size and importance. Even though they may be different, they resemble each other since they are established by the cooperation of a certain number of individuals and are maintained by the continuing activities of those involved.

Hence, a social system is a cultural creation except that every participating individual who allows a social group to exist also becomes a part of the product itself as a group member and therefore plays the role of the agent and the object.

An extension to the theory of social values is possible if the sociological distinction is applied between primary and secondary relations to social systems. According to Cooley (1909) and Gordon (1964), primary relationships occur when contact is personal, informal, or intimate and usually face to face, involving the entire personality whereas secondary relationships impersonal, are formal and restricted associations that are typical of occupational, political, commercial and military life. Thus, a secondary group system involves all members of one's professional or and is easily identified. occupational organization, However, a primary group system is more difficult to locate but identified as a family or social circle.

A distinction between primary and secondary relationships may be applied to personal and group systems. An individual can be seen as two kinds of social systems: a primary personal system made up of people he has primary relationships with; and a secondary personal system made up

of people linked to him through secondary relationships. A social value may be noted here, where in both primary and secondary personal systems, the individual can be a close well as, an occupational acquaintance. friend. as Smolicz and Secombe (1981), adopt a different definition for personal social system than Znaniecki (1939). However, both believe that there are a number of group systems in which an individual participates and that membership in a group constitutes a portion of his biographical existence. Znaniecki (1939), maintains that being a group member signifies a specific kind of person involved in several roles which correspond to the membership of different groups. The individual reflects the groups he is a member of is also the center of his activities where others are admitted into. Smolicz and Secombe (1981) on the other hand, maintain that each individual has two personal systems, a primary and a secondary personal system where the emphasis is on the individual as an active agent, denoting that members of his group are objects from his viewpoint and at the same time, as centers of their own personal systems.

By way of limitations to systems of social values, Smolicz and Secombe (1981), refer to the "double vision" of reality as having a basis on the principle of humanistic sociology, where cultural facts can be understood only in the form that they are given and that the conscious human is responsible for the validity of these facts. The problem lies with the human agent who plays a double role of object and subject. Therefore, what is seen by an individual

through his eyes, and what he treats as an object, may not be seen in the same way by another individual who treats him as the object. Furthermore, valid conclusions cannot be made. However, for the purposes of this study, the child is considered to be the active agent and the school is considered to be the object. Consequently, the study will be biased towards a particular kind of cultural reality.

THE IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The ideological system directs all other cultural and social systems. It does not have reference to economic or social power, but refers to the group's standards of values and norms of conduct, according to Znaniecki (1963), or to principles, judgments, actions and thoughts which are accepted by group members. The ideological system functions as an evaluating agent for other items of culture that might be deemed important by the group, as well as, a device that structures the individual's and the group's social systems. Evaluation by the new generation of individuals in particular social groups makes culture an ever-changing phenomenon with regard to tradition.

Tradition is the heritage one is born with and is accepted. The malleable character of culture refers to what is added to heritage either from the group itself or adopted from outside the group. The purpose of the ideological system is to assess new values, and evaluate the heritage to meet the needs of the group. The changeable heritage is the

living tradition of the group where sentiments and consciousness are displayed. Tradition then, is taken into account with the human coefficient where it exists, and is as viewed by the individual. For example, Ethnic languages be seen as traditions because of the evaluations made by parents on the one hand, and children on other. The parents would like to pass on the language the and have their children learn it, while the children will either accept to do so indicating a positive evaluation, or deny such an exercise indicating a negative evaluation. Language as tradition then becomes an evaluated heritage. Tradition is subject to changes, according to the needs of the group. The ideological system acts on the heritage and the group's tradition and at the same shapes ideological values are isolated and considered by group members for evaluation and are part of the tradition. If however, the ideological values are not used by group members then they cease to be a part of the group's tradition.

PERSONAL IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The group's system of ideological values are important since they influence the personal cultural systems of group members. The kind of personal systems constructed by the individual depend upon the quality and accessibility of cultural systems of the group, and the individual's disposition to use those group systems that are available.

An individual makes use of Ethnic values which are culture-bound since they are influenced by the ideology of the group and of the society. The tindency to use the stock of one's native group is due to a network of forces, more precisely, the group's current ideological system. The origin and maintenance of the tendency is related to the individual's personal ideological system.

In a plural society, it is the interaction of the dominant group's ideological system and the group systems contributed by the Ethnic minorities. It is also maintained that an individual's ideological values are also influenced by an individual's personality and life experiences. Therefore, each individual may emphasize group values in a different manner however, according to Znaniecki (1963), they are of the same ideal type. The personal cultural systems of group members are alike in principle, since they all take reference from the same cultural stock.

CORE_VALUES

Core values are an important part of a group's ideological system which act as identifying values that are espoused by the group and its members. Once values are recognized as core values they acquire an ideological meaning for the group. When an individual rejects a core value, an individual risks exclusion from the group. Core values are the link between the group's cultural and social systems where otherwise both systems are prone to

disintegrate.

It is through core values that the cultural character of a social group can be identified. General examples of this instance can be seen in the maintenance of a language, or of a religion. When there is a direct link between the identity of one's group and what is an important element of one's culture, that element becomes a core value for the group. Group members identify with core values of their social system and their social system is seen as constituting the core values which the group members identify with.

The link is possible between core values and the social system due to the shared values of group members that establishes a collectivity or solidarity. Ethnic identity is defined as an individual's attitude to the core values of a group, or what makes up his personal ideological system and is experienced by both groups and individuals in terms of shared attitudes. The representation of a group as a collective body with an accepted group ideological system, is taken into account with the humanistic coefficient. Within the ideological system of a group, members share in a particular experience (group system) and express it in their own ways (corresponding personal system). Social scientists can study such phenomena, reconstruct the experiences of members, apply theoretic standardization, and perform a systematic study.

CULTURES IN A PLURAL SOCIETY

any plural society, there are two or In corresponding sets of group values in aspects of culture available to each individual of a minority or Ethnic culture, as well as, to those individuals of the dominant culture who have the same social relationship with the members of other Ethnic minority groups. Theoretically, individual can construct one's personal systems by using a variety of cultural stocks; however, in reality they are limited. The ideological system of an ethnic group includes certain beliefs about the value of its culture as a special entity and about the kind of interaction that should take place between itself and other groups. Ethnic individuals in a plural society will construct personal systems that are influenced by the ideological systems of other cultural groups. This depends upon how important it is to the group to retain its culture as separate from that of the dominant Empirical reports point to levels of assimilation of certain Ethnic groups, and are referred to below.

Dutch immigrants in Australia believe in interaction that will hasten assimilation. As a result, first generation Dutch parents are more willing and capable of conversing in English with their children, than other Ethnic groups, such as the Greeks or Latvians (Clyne 1977). These observations, agree with the data interpreted by Clyne (1980), of the 1976 Australian census where the pattern shows that first generation European immigrants do not use their mother-

tongue. The shift to English as shown in the rank order of major ethnic groups in Australia is in agreement with the study of the Australian scene (Smolicz 1979). A relationship is apparent between the core values of the Ethnic minority and those of the dominant group and the effects on the rates of Ethnic language maintenance. According to the census data, Greek-born Australians have a 3% language shift, and the Dutch have a 44% shift in the first generation. Other Ethnic groups, Italians, Yugoslavs, Poles, Germans, and Maltese have a language shift position between that of the Greeks and the Dutch on this scale.

A study of the languages used in the homes of Catholic secondary school students in South Australia has shown similar results in terms of the rank order of Ethnic groups (Smolicz and Lean 1979). Italians and Poles have the highest tendency to use the Ethnic language (88% and 85%), followed by the Germans (70%), and the Dutch (65%). A comparable phenomenon has been observed in terms of the teaching and learning of Ethnic languages where two-thirds of Polish and Italian respondents were in favour of the teaching of their mother-tongue at school. The German-Australians were less in agreement with the teaching of their mother-tongue. Dutch, however rejected the idea of Australian children learning any language other than English. This outcome was exceptional in that the Dutch exceeded Australians from an English speaking background (that is, British and Irish) over the preference of the English language. (Smolicz and Lean 1979).

These findings show that Ethnic personal systems are dependent upon the way in which the core values of the Ethnic group are related to the value system of the dominant society. Moreover, when the dominant group has religious pluralism, then Ethnic groups who are culturally structured around a religious base are more likely to perpetuate, than groups who are centered on other values. When the core of an Ethnic culture is language, and when the dominant group's ideological system is that of linguistic monism, it is uncertain whether the individual is likely to construct a viable Ethnic linguistic system. Essentially, the viability of an Ethnic linguistic system is dependent on how the core values of the dominant group relate to those of the Ethnic culture. Cultural accommodation differs according to the cultures concerned, and the core ideological values that ensure their perpetuation.

Accordingly, Smolicz and Secombe (1981) refer to the work of Taft (1953) and Price (1969), and postulate that the personal systems of children of immigrants are formed in relation to the Ethnic resources available to them through the family and Ethnic organizations. The tendency to use Ethnic resources is closely related to the individual's personal ideological values which reflect his personality and experiences, as well as the result of the interaction of the dominant group's ideological system and that of the Ethnic group.

Smolicz and Secombe (1981), adhere to the frame of reference on the assimilation of immigrants discussed by

Taft (1938) and Price (1969), and have proposed four ideological orientations to cultural diversity in a plural society: dominant monism, hybrid monism, external cultural pluralism, and internal cultural pluralism. These orientations denote a cultural outcome as it relates to what is considered the ideal type of society. It is possible to recognize a pattern of personal cultural systems to emerge for each ideological orientation. The four orientations are seen to illustrate the pattern of personal cultural systems, as well as, group cultural systems. (see Table I)

The first of the two monistic orientations, Dominant Monism, involves all individuals whatever their Ethnic parentage who construct personal cultural systems accepted from the dominan; group's cultural stock. Such individuals would reject their Ethnic cultural values and adopt the cultural values of the dominant group.

The second monistic orientation, Hybrid Monism, corresponds to the involvement of Ethnic cultures which combine with the dominant group culture to create a new cultural synthesis where individuals draw on this stock in constructing their personal systems. In this case, individuals maintain their Ethnic cultural values, as well as the values of the dominant group in forming their ideological orientation that is really an amalgamation of the personal ideological systems of both social groups.

External Cultural Pluralism, indicates opposing values towards adaptation, where society as a whole is pluralistic but the personal cultural systems of individuals would

remain monistic. Adoption of Ethnic values for Ethnic individuals and adoption of the values of the dominant group by individuals of the dominant group is an example of maintaining separate personal cultural systems within a society where more than one social group exists in varying proportions.

Cultural Pluralism on the other hand. co-existing adaptation orientation indicates a different cultures exist side by side, on a social level and within members of a society where individuals construct dual systems of cultural values. Individuals adopt both Ethnic values and values of the dominant group which are employed in certain situations, when necessary. This is best illustrated in the case of the balanced bilingual who has a personal cultural system of the dominant group values and has its counterpart derived from Ethnic group values. Even where a dual system is maintained, it is possible for the dominant group values to be integrated into a personal system that is basically Ethnic.

Moreover, Smolicz and Secombe (1981) indicate that the most important systems or cultural values emerging from their study, were the ideological, social and, linguistic systems to confirm the personal cultural systems of the writers in these areas and to extract the existing ideological orientations in society.

TABLE I

Personal Cultural Systems in a Plural Society*

Value Orientation	Personal Systems	Anglo-Franco Canadians' Personal Systems**	Ethnic- Canadians' Personal Systems**	Type of Adaptation
EXTERNAL CULTURAL PLURALISH	exclusive monistic	(1)	(2)	SEPARATISM: (1) or (2) adopted as own by different individuals
INTERNAL CULTURAL PLURALISM	dual	(1) (2)	(2) (1)	DUAL SYSTEM INTERACTION: (1) and (2) adopted by same individuals but activated in different situations
HYBRID MONISM	hybrid monistic	(1,2)	(2,1)	SYNTHESIS TYPE INTERACTION: (1,2) both making new combination adopted by individuals
DOMINANT MONISH	dominant monistic	(1)	(1)	CONFORMISM: only (1) values adopted by individuals

^{*} Adapted from Smolicz J. J., & Secombe, M. J. (1981). The Australian school through children's eyes: A Polish-Australian view. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

^{**} The symbols (1) and (2) stand for personal systems based on Anglo-Franco and Ethnic values respectively.

This first section serves as introduction to the focus placed on the Greek and other Ethnic children's perceptions of the educational process as they relate to aspects of school success and of socialization and sense of identity, and presents the conceptual framework from which the methodology is derived.

Section II provides a description of the methodology employed for this study which includes the criteria for the classification of data and the selection of participants, that is, according to the humanistic sociological principles for the analysis of qualitative data based on observations of expressed social attitudes and assessments or background information of individuals.

In the following four chapters of section III, the analysis of the data of this study is presented and discussed.

Chapter I includes an examination of the nature of social systems with the focus on the social system of the Canadian school as socializing agent contributing to children's personal linguistic, social and ideological cultural systems. Demographics are also shown, from a global perspective, identifying the Ethnic concentration of students enrolled in schools, their reported experiences there and the school's transmission of values perhaps of optimal import toward future occupational qualification.

The social system of the Ethnic family in Canada is described in Chapter II to illustrate the nature and patterns of family life in Canada of children born to

immigrant parents and of social relationships and formation of friendships with peers.

In Chapter III the potentially bilingual linguistic and cultural duation of the family as a result of the social interchanges within the school and the home milieu is discussed with a general overview on the acquisition and usage of languages, the children's first experiences at school including experiences with language, and attitudes towards the maintenance of their mother-tongue.

The analysis of identity is outlined in Chapter IV based on the activation of linguistic and cultural values and ideological attitudes and self identity of the participants.

Chapter I of section IV concludes with a general statement on the school and the expectations of the participants with a focus on social mobility, sentiments toward the inaccessibility of Ethnic culture in the Canadian school and the acknowledgement that perhaps the cultural activation and attitudes of the participants point to a pluralism of identity whose outcome could be assimilation.

The implications for educational policy are presented in Chapter II of section IV with respect to assimilation as the intended goal to the Canadian way of life as a consequence of disregard toward the maintenance of cultural pluralism, secure identity, and opportunity and access to the social, economic and political structures of society.

Section II

The present study undertakes to employ the conceptual framework formulated by Smolicz and Secombe (1981) as outlined above, and apply it to the analysis of personal cultural systems of groups with particular emphasis on the youth of Greek immigrant parentage and their perceptions of education, as well as, to other Ethnic groups and their youth in general.

It is important to note that it cannot be assumed that the experiences of these participants recorded in the memoirs are necessarily typical of other children of Greek or other Ethnic background in Canada (Quebec) and therefore, may not be an accurate portrayal of the actual perceptions of Greek or other Ethnic students in general. Nevertheless, the perceptions of these participants allow for interesting outcomes in terms of shared experience, events, attitudes, and aspirations in the process of educational attainment of this specific group of individuals belonging to the Greek social culture, as well as, those who belong to other Ethnic social cultures.

Assessments are subsequently made in this study, to compose a profile of the experiences of immigrant youth receiving educational instruction. An evaluation of the extent to which the Canadian school has had a positive or negative impact on the educational development of Greek or other Ethnic-Canadian youths' social and cultural

expectations with regard to academic achievement. occupational aspirations and social mobility. and socialization and sense of identity is undertaken ascertain the particular context considered at present. Although the participation and experiences of individuals evolve within the social structures of society, these experiences lend to a context within which the educational processes involve comprehensive adherence to the values of dominant society primarily by way of achieving mastery of the English language. The implication of this adherence relates to a functional literacy that is encouraged rewarded over the access to, and maintenance of, Greek any other Ethnic language and culture, to ensure occupational security.

Furthermore, emphasis is placed on important points for discussion stemming from apparent incongruencies regarding perceptions of cultural identity and self-concept which may affect academic aspirations and achievement including attitudes toward school and teachers; teacher expectations and self-fulfilling prophecies; and student achievement motivations and attributions having to do with decisions to terminate studies voluntarily before or upon high school graduation with various reason(s) for the reluctance to consider higher education.

In looking at the influence of the Canadian school on the Ethnic youths' perceptions of the educational process, certain points of view are particular to the researcher as to the extent to which the Canadian school has made provisions for Ethnic youth. Consequently, in the opinion of the researcher, Canadian policy must assist the transmission literacy and intellectual heritage of all children of despite their assignment to either the Ethnic minority or Dominant groups and achieve an unfettered sense of identity within the context of their perceived social reality. Moreover, Greek-Canadian or other Ethnic-Canadian children might become secure Biculturals, being both Greek or other Ethnic, as well as, Canadian. Equally important would be the aspirations, of self-concept, academic enhancement mobility. performance and achievement, and social

The purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which the Canadian school has provided for the Greek immigrant youth in particular, and the Ethnic youth in general, in terms of social and cultural expectations, their social mobility, (educational and occupational aspirations) and access to the Greek or other Ethnic culture. Engaging the participants of this study to write memoirs has allowed the observation of cultural facts required to deduce the type of aspirations and feelings the writers might reveal. The analysis of such memoirs, would confirm the personal cultural systems of the writers and establish from this analysis the relevant ideological values in society. Memoirs are a source of information on actual social reality that may otherwise be unobtainable.

METHOD

The memoirs gathered for study and analysis, adhere to the methodology postulated by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918, 1920), and Znaniecki (1939, 1963, 1968), and employed by Smolicz and Secombe (1981), where personal statements are considered as the expression of attitudes that may otherwise not be divulged. Autobiographical expressions and assessments made by memoir writers, illustrate what perceptions of objects are valued, regardless of whether these perceptions are or are not as the writer claims them to be. Expressing views as such, is a means by which to impose upon human behaviour in the social arena.

It is at this level, that Znaniecki (1920), considered the importance of memoir writing as data for sociological analysis. The sociologist would be concerned about the individual writing the memoir and take into consideration the social context within which the individual exists and functions. Memoirs are important in that they provide cultural and concrete facts that remain unchanged and are open for interpretation at any given time once they have been recorded whereas, this is not possible in participant observation studies where replication of studies and the phenomena investigated is difficult to achieve.

According to Chalasinski (1964), a memoir derives its significance from a historical perspective, a reality, as well as being historical in itself since every individual writes his own history, one that he feels and experiences in

his own consciousness. Although this history is subjective, it is nevertheless complete in that it is a reality perceived from an individual's perspective and within a specific context of the perceived reality. Furthermore, Chalasinski (1964), argues that quantifying sociology is an error with the consequence of losing human personality and historical reality in the way it is shaped by national and other forms of culture and maintains that "the use of memoirs reunites sociology and history" (p.14).

Actual social reality can be represented by information found in memoirs that has a staying power in the mind of an individual, a strong impression left by an event. Such information Smolicz and Secombe (1981) contend, cannot be elicited from questionnaires nor from interviews since the individual cannot be confined within these structures which do not permit the individual the time needed to reflect upon a question concerning an event of the past. An individual, in writing a memoir, structures his own story as he wishes, to reveal what to him are important events in his past while editing or omitting others. Given this manner of reflection, the researcher is able to recognize in the memoir what persists in the consciousness of the individual and how his present pattern of thoughts and actions have been influenced.

Evidently, only a detailed autobiography allows for complete analysis of a memoir because only then can the researcher deduce the type of aspirations and feelings an individual might have, regardless of whether they were

directly or indirectly expressed. An aspiration or feeling for example, that is consciously or unconsciously withheld, might allow the researcher to recognize a social or psychological undercurrent than when exposed by the memoir writer.

The humanistic sociological analysis of memoirs according to Bukowski (1971), allows for the consideration of attitudes in their social context, observation of the transformation of social attitudes of the individual, as well as, the interpretation of human personality and its evolution within the context of social reality and culture.

CLASSIFICATION OF DATA

The facts that emerged from the memoirs were classified into two categories: cultural facts, and concrete facts. Cultural facts constitute the expressions of individuals' attitudes, aspirations and, generalized evaluations on society when from their own point of view, situation and role. Cultural facts indicate the attitudes of individuals since they reflect the cultural values of the two social institutions in which they participate that is, the Greek or other Ethnic group and the Dominant group, which allow evaluation of the extent to which Greek or other Ethnic culture has been maintained in Canada and to the degree to which it is being modified to fit the Canadian situation. Cultural facts can be used as source material since they represent real manifestations of regulative or normative

aspirations that are themselves real social facts. Concrete facts, are important where family background and present situation is recorded, as objective data both in the memoirs and the questionnaires.

This study adheres to the memoir data analysis scheme employed by Smolicz and Secombe (1981), where it is important to distinguish between cultural and concrete facts in order to understand a cultural phenomenon. Understanding is facilitated by referring to and being aware of the consciousness of the individual. Together, concrete and cultural facts are elements of the sociological process for reconstructing an individual's experiences in the course of analysis. Table II is a summary of the derivation and necessary relevance of cultural and concrete facts.

The analysis of data and compilation of profiles required the identification of cultural and concrete facts. Cultural facts include assessments of the participants' actions, the actions of others, or of institutions or organizations which may indicate their attitudes directly or indirectly. Concrete facts are statements incorporating information without additional comment which could facilitate the interpretation of cultural facts.

To illustrate the identification, classification and interpretation of cultural and concrete facts the following examples are presented below.

Participant No. 47 provided her assessment of the viability of her Portuguese cultural heritage in Canada by qualifying that this depended upon ability and opportunity

to speak Portuguese and to identify with the community.

I think that if I try to speak with my Portuguese friends...think of myself as Portuguese, maybe once in a while, and so I won't forget how to be Portuguese...just because I was born in Canada and I go to school in English...and speak a lot of the time in English with my friends...(Participant No. 47)

The view that language is significant also points to indirect evidence of a positive attitude to the mother-tongue. The assessment and attitude of this participant, further extended the concrete information concerning language usage.

I speak Portuguese with my father and my brother...my mother died...my mother liked to learn me to read from Portuguese stories...I get letters from my cousins and sometimes my mother's sister in Portugal...and I write them back sometimes...(Participant No.47)

Although participant No. 113 had the opportunity to develop and speak the mother-tongue, it was not spoken at home.

I know how to say a few things in Polish and I can write my name in Polish...my father pushed me to learn Polish...my mother and my sisters and me talk English all the time...(Participant No. 113)

The following assessment expressed poor language fluency.

I might have a foggy idea of what my uncle and father are saying... I learnt a little when I was small... from

my father make me do Polish homework...(Participant No. 113)

This participant did not take the opportunity to construct a Polish linguistic system and his disinterest has remained at the level of an attitude.

I don't like talking Polish...I quit Polish...calling me dumb Polak...because of my name kids in my class laughed all the time...(Participant No. 113)

An older girl, born in China, whose father is English-Canadian and mother Chinese gave other concrete facts about language usage, including that Chinese was spoken at home with both parents as often as was English and that she had continued to go to Chinese school on Saturdays after her arrival from China. Her assessment of her language fluency was expressed below.

I can speak Chinese better than I can write it...it's not as good now as my English...(Participant No. 5)

This participant's attendance of Chinese Saturday school helped preserve to some measure the mother-tongue although more time had to be devoted to her new language.

I wanted to keep the language I learned in China polished...to speak and play games with my Chinese friends...by then I was picking up English very quickly...my father helped me the most because he encouraged me to practice speaking both languages but I had to do better in English for schoolwork, to get good grades...(Participant No. 5)

For this reason, concentration on the Chinese language

was less than she wished.

I feel sad for not keeping my Chinese as polished like I used to...wish that I could have learned more Chinese in regular school...Saturday school was not enough...(Participant No. 5)

This statement could be assumed to express a positive attitude to Chinese even though she had been able to construct a Chinese linguistic system which was at this date, neglected. The opportunity to activate the linguistic systems appears to be lacking in face of other academic priorities for this participant however, she seems enthusiastic about language maintainance for herself and hopes "to keep the Chinese culture for my own kids". (Participant No. 5)

TABLE II

Analysis of Memoir Data*

	C	NCRETE FACTS		CULTURAL	FAC	CTS
			AS	SESSMENTS	AT:	'ITUDES
LOCATION	1.	Information from questionnaire.	Comments and remarks from memoir writers about:		Thoughts, feelings, & aspirations by memoir writers about	
			1.	their own		lves.
	2.	Information with	2.	actions of		
		little or no comment in memoirs.	3.	others institutions organization	_	
	3.	Information from assessments made in memoirs.				
EMPLOYMENT	1.	To interpret cultural facts (to know whose attitudes, values are being studied and what their social, economic and cultural situation is).	,	Provide concrete facts about actions of writers and of others.		Are direct source of the writers' attitudes
	2.	Indicate what cultural values are actually being activated.	2.	Given an indirect indication of attitude of writers.		Provide indirect evidence of group values.
			3.	Give indire evidence of group value		

^{*} Adapted from Smolicz J. J., & Secombe, M. J. (1981). The Australian school through children's eves: A Polish-Australian view. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

In the first phase of memoir analysis, the concrete fact profiles of the participants were compiled and used together with each memoir. The questionnaire was distributed in English, which recorded the sex, birthplace, and age of all participants; the schools they attended; the birthplace, level of education, occupation and details of immigration of their parents; and birthplace, educational level and occupations of any siblings. The memoirs gave information about the individual's place of residence; co-habitation of other family members or those living in close proximity; language use at home, with peers, at organizations or clubs; and the Ethnic background of their close friends; and whatever else the participants deemed significant.

The second phase of the analysis of memoirs involved identifying the significant cultural facts which includes attitudes directly expressed by the participants in relation to a particular social situation and experience. As well, a second category of cultural facts was identified by the assessments and evaluations made by the participants of their own or other people's aspirations, thoughts and actions. Evaluations and assessments revealing an attitude that was expressed indirectly, was valuable for the purposes of this study. Both categories of cultural facts (attitudes and assessments) allow an understanding of the social phenomena, as they appear to individuals who experience and use them. (see appendix A, for examples of memoir analysis)

PARTICIPANTS

In this study, memoirs were written and questionnaires were completed by grade 11 students in their graduating year. They were enrolled at William Hingston High School which is located in Park-Extension, an area of Montreal, that is populated mainly by immigrants. The participants were Greek, or other Ethnic youth, who were born in Canada or elsewhere, of Greek or other Ethnic immigrant parentage originating in Greece or elsewhere but who reside in Montreal, Quebec.

The high school was selected on the condition that it have a moderate population of immigrant students, with specific focus on Greek immigrant students, and be located in an area of relatively high Greek, as well as, other Ethnic group concentration. William Hingston, a comprehensive high school, affiliated with the Catholic School Commission, is located in the North-West, of the city of Montreal, in the Park-Extension area.

One of the criteria for selecting participants included that all must have spent considerable time in Canadian educational institutions, at least some elementary and/or some secondary schooling. The Greek or other Ethnic student population at this school, was verified through the class registers that quantified their enrollment and confirmed their ethnicity.

PROCEDURE

Initially, the principal of William Hingston High School was interviewed by telephone, to request cooperation towards carrying out research in the school. It was granted, provided that the researcher contact The Catholic School Commission to obtain official permission to conduct research at William Hingston Comprehensive High School. The officer at the School Commission, responsible for research recommendations, was agreeable to the request and advised that the principal of the school in question would consult with me on the proper and acceptable manner in which to conduct the proposed study. A formal interview was scheduled to present an outline of the intended research, as well as, to discuss further details.

The proposed research was accepted and full cooperation was obtained, due to interest on the part of the school in learning of the status and developments of its educational community nested within the multicultural character of the greater community from which it receives its students. Furthermore, particular interest was expressed in aiding the researcher to meet the academic requirements towards a Masters thesis.

It was agreed by the principal of William Hingston High School and her administrative assistants, as well as the teachers of the grade 11 English classes to set aside class time to allow the participants to engage in writing the memoirs and completing the questionnaires.

The English teachers for the grade 11 classes introduced the research as an interesting endeavor that would allow the participants to learn something of themselves and their school, as well as, to take the opportunity to demonstrate their graciousness.

The memoirs written by participants, were used as cultural documents which are appropriate for this type of analysis. In addition, participants completed a questionnaire that would record biographical details and allow a concrete fact profile of each of them.

For the purposes of this study, the participants were asked to write on the topic "The Canadian School and the Ethnic Child". The participants were given a set of guidelines to suggest areas of special interest which they could consider in describing their feelings about the influence which the Canadian schools had exerted on them personally, concerning their: teachers; parents; school; friends; academic achievement; aspirations; opportunities. In addition, participants were asked to complete a brief questionnaire relating to the family's economic and educational background, present situation, and the history of its immigration to Canada. The length, form, and content of the memoir was left to the participant him/herself so that he/she could discuss any aspect of his/her experience that he/she considered important and relevant to the topic. Instructions were also provided to aid the completion of the questionnaire.

The written guidelines accompanying the memoirs given

to participants stated:

Please write an essay of about 2,000 words on the topic "The Canadian School and the Ethnic Child". It is your own views and experiences of Canadian schools that we look for. We want to hear about your feelings on events which you actually experienced rather than comments based on hearsay or second hand reports. In this essay you may write about school and you, and how school relates to your life experiences in the family, in your plans for your future, in making friends and developing your identity. You may wish to follow the plan presented.

The written instructions accompanying the questionnaires given to participants stated:

Please fill out this Questionnaire. For each question you are asked to put an X in the appropriate box and where it is indicated, fill in the blank. Do not write anything left of the margin.

The grade 11 English teachers of the participants agreed to provide no further verbal instructions other than to read the written guidelines and instructions, clarify terms and to encourage them to complete the memoir and questionnaire to the best of their ability.

There were five grade 11 English classes out of six that participated in this study. There were a total of 146 participants who completed either the memoir or the questionnaire. Out of the 146, there were 130 who completed the questionnaire. Only 127 out the 146 completed a memoir.

For the purposes of the study, which required a memoir and questionnaire from each of the participants, 127 complete sets of data were selected for inclusion. Each set provided a cultural fact profile and a concrete fact profile, accordance to the criteria for inclusion. It was necessary to exclude the contributions of those participants who were absent, or who had not completed either the memoir or as was required. All forms for 146 questionnaire participants were returned to the researcher whether they were completed or not. The researcher made certain that the criteria of inclusion were met, and that the 127 complete sets of data selected, were appropriate for the intended analysis.

The memoir and questionnaire forms provided by the researcher were distributed by the grade 11 English teachers during class time. The teachers read the written guidelines and instructions aloud to the participants and clarified terms when necessary.

Each participant upon receiving the memoir and questionnaire forms, was assigned a number to include on both their questionnaire and memoir for the purposes of anonymity. This number corresponded to the name of each participant which each of the five grade 11 English teachers kept on record for their individual classes. In addition, for this record, each of the participants included their actual ethnicity beside their name and assigned number. The record of names and actual ethnicity of participants for each of the five grade 11 English classes was compiled and

referred to by their individual teachers only to make certain once the forms were collected, that each participant had returned a memoir and questionnaire set belonging to him and thus, were correctly assembled.

The researcher received 146 sets of data where each set constituted a memoir and questionnaire that was assigned the same number, signifying that the set belonged to one and the same participant. The researcher also received 5 class lists, one from each English class, which included the assigned number and Ethnicity of each participant without the corresponding name. Only the Ethnicity was made available to the researcher to ensure that the memoir and questionnaire belonged to the same individual participating in the study since there were no other means of verification except for the assigned number. A further purpose for retaining a record of ethnicity, was to aid the researcher in the verification and possible comparison of ethnicity reported by the participants on the class which were drawn up and made available by the teachers, containing their names and assigned numbers, with what participants reported in the questionnaires and perceived their ethnicity to be.

The participants, for the duration of approximately two weeks, worked on the memoirs and questionnaires at alloted segments of time when attending their English classes. The questionnaire was distributed first for completion, and then the memoir. Those participants who didn't finish during class time, were permitted to continue working on the forms

at home. All forms, whether they were completed or not, were later collected by the grade 11 English teachers from the participants and returned to the researcher.

At the end of the data collection period, an interview was held with the principal of the school. It was pointed out that although the study was time-consuming and an inconvenient disruption for the school and the normal activities of the English classes, the response to the research was positive on the part of the teachers, as well as, the participants. The reason for this was due to the fact that the questionnaire for instance, also provided valueable experience, as well as, a good example of what would be expected in the future, when the participants will be faced with completing forms of a similar nature. Equally valuable was the experience of writing a memoir which provided a means by which the participants could structure their thoughts creatively.

Participation in the study, effected an "educational" experience according to the principal and the teachers, and a "practical" diversion from regular studies according to the students. The opportunity of completing a questionnaire was seen as a beneficial exercise affording the acquisition of a new and practical skill normally not provided in an academic curriculum. The memoir was seen as a helpful means for participants to concentrate and express their perceptions on a number of topics, as well as, to practice their writing skills. The principal intimated that the school, the teachers and participants, were eager to learn

about themselves and how to further ameliorate their educational environment. Moreover, the principal expressed a concern towards understanding and providing for the needs of the growing multi-Ethnic student population in the school.

The principal acknowledged that the character of the school was changing not only in terms of its multi-Ethnic nature, but in terms of discipline as well. Discipline within the school was of a major concern in the past. It was noted, however, that the reputation of the school had improved immensely since the principal's arrival, due to the perseverance of the school administration in instilling in its students a code of ethics, a moral mode of conduct and the importance of adhering to the common good. There remains the encouragement to strive for academic and personal excellence, for honesty, respect, and faith.

The principal after having made ready the data collected, and prepared the list of participants who had contributed and indicated those who had been absent, presented the data materials to the researcher. previously stated elsewhere, this list included the actual ethnicity of the participant and his assigned number which corresponded to his questionnaire and memoir. Upon closer inspection, of the list of participants involved in the study, the principal was surprised to see how few Greek students were graduating from grade 11 for the year 1987. It was naturally assumed that the enrollment of Greek students would be much higher since the area where the school is located is populated mainly by Greek immigrants. To explain the decline in enrollment of Greek students and the apparent incongruency, the principal offered several reasons. reason for this, the principal intimated, would be that the students were distributed to other high schools nearby, which are either affiliated with the Catholic School Commission or the Protestant School Board of Greater be students' Montreal. Another reason, would the ineligibility of attending English schools due to Bill (the French Language Charter). Still another reason, would be due to the existence of French Immersion programs at some the junior high schools and the high schools of neighbouring areas. Further considerations would include the declining birth rate, and students who are not yet of high school age.

Section III

Chapter I

RESULTS

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE CANADIAN SCHOOL

PERSONAL AND GROUP SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The participants of this study were influenced by two different groups: the family and, the school curriculum and programs which serve to a certain degree as points of reference for daily life, and have an effect on their subsequent behaviour. Notably, in the lives of children, significant others in the home, and school contexts are a representation of those who may become significant others in society. In these contexts, significant others may undermine or enhance self concept and self esteem of individuals or groups and thus, have an impact on self concept of Ethnic identity, values and culture, as well as, on full participation in society as responsible adults with the potential of making important contributions.

According to the assumptions of the principles of humanistic sociology, as adhered to by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918, 1920) and later by Smolicz and Secombe (1981), who formulated the conceptual framework, the home and the school may be regarded as group systems of social values since the shared meanings of individuals comprise a group's culture

which evolves as experiences are contributed, to affect both the individual and the group.

Membership in group systems of social values characterized, augmented and maintained, bу the participation of members in shared cultural activities, that is, activities and values transmitted and emphasized in the in the home and school environments. Individuals acknowledge these group systems and use them as bases for constructing their personal systems of social values at the primary and secondary levels. Presented in Table III. the nature of group social systems and the relation between group and personal social systems.

TABLE III

The Nature of Personal and Group Social Systems*

Type	Primary	Secondary
Group	Individuals sharing cultural activities.	Individuals involved in cultural activity or organization.
	Individual members are actually, or potentially linked to other members by primary relationships.	Individual members are actually, or potentially linked to other members by secondary relationships.
Personal	All persons linked to an individual by primary relationships.	All persons linked to an individual by secondary relationships.
	May originate from primary group system or secondary group system via secondary personal system.	May originate from secondary group system.

^{*} Adapted from Smolicz J. J., & Secombe, M. J. (1981). The Australian school through children's eyes: A Polish-Australian view. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

In this investigation, the home is regarded as the primary group system which involves intimate face-to-face relationships and interactions. Individuals who are linked to other members by primary relationships, share values, and modes of conduct constituting the culture of a group. The school however, is regarded as the secondary group system which involves secondary relationships. Individuals in this instance are linked to other members by secondary relationships and are involved in cultural activity or organizations comprising of shared values.

A detailed examination of the nature of the social systems as mentioned in the questionnaires and in the memoirs of the writers has been undertaken. The focus of this examination has been on: the secondary group system, that of the Canadian school involving the participation of students in the school culture which attempts to transmit values to be adopted by way of secondary relationships; and the primary group system, that of the Greek and other Ethnic family in Canada involving the participation of students in the home culture by way of shared activities and values of the group maintained by primary relationships.

Furthermore, an analysis of the memoir writers' responses, descriptions and evaluations of the two types of group social systems are included to illustrate the kinds of personal social systems that have been developed at the primary and secondary level. Subsequent to this synopsis, a judgement has been made on the degree to which participation in these social systems has influenced the construction of

the writers' personal linguistic, social, and ideological cultural systems.

GREEK AND OTHER ETHNIC STUDENTS IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS

As a measure of understanding the existence and type of educational institutions in Canada, particularly in Quebec, and providing the context from which discussion will take place later in this chapter, an illustration has been attempted. Presented, are demographics from a global perspective identifying the Ethnic concentration of students enrolled in schools.

According to the data from the Ministere de l'Education Quebec annual report (1986-87), the total number of preschool, primary and secondary full time studints attending public and private schools in Quebec was 1,136,465 with 1,035,425 students attending public schools of the school boards, 96,981 attending private schools and 4,059 attending other established public schools.

It was reported that of the total population of full time students enrolled in Quebec secondary schools for the school year 1986-87, 415,936 were pursuing studies in the general academic option and 41,541 were pursuing studies in the vocational option.

French was the language of instruction for 1,015,634 students in preschool, primary, and secondary grades while 120,248 students were instructed in English, and 583 were instructed in the native Amerindian or Inuktitut languages.

The mother-tongue of students was listed in the 1986-87 report as French for 957,354 students, English for 100,751 students and Other for 78,360 students. Although the 1986-87 data indicates a general decline as compared to the data of 1981-82 that is proportional for 989,694 children whose mother-tongue is French and for 120,339 whose mother-tongue English there appears to be a general incline that similarly proportional for 73,518 children whose mothertongue is neither French nor English. Furthermore, the data suggests that there is approximately the same proportion of students whose mother-tongue is English as those students whose mother-tongue is other than French or English. well, there is indication that this student population characterized as Allophone, is growing significantly regardless of the public or private designation, the confessional status of the schools and the language of instruction.

In the province of Quebec, of the 217 school boards indicated in the 1986-87 report of the Ministere de l'Education, 185 were Catholic, 29 were Protestant, and 3 were Multiconfessional. Furthermore, 91 of these school boards were administering primary schools, 26 were administering secondary schools and 100 were administering both primary and secondary schools. French language instruction was provided by 138 school boards, French-English instruction, including Amerindian and Inuktitut languages was provided by 64 school boards.

In comparison to the 1981-82 data which indicated that

151 school boards provided French language instruction, a decline is apparent in the 1986-87 data as 138 school boards are providing French language instruction. A similar decline is suggested by the 1986-87 data as 64 school boards compared to 83 in 1981-82 are making provisions for French-English (including native languages) instruction. In contrast, there is an increase of one additional school board providing English as the language of instruction as the 1986-87 data show, from 14 school boards in 1981-82.

According to the data of the Ministere de l'Education de Quebec for 1986-87, 6.89% of the students enrolled in schools in the province of Quebec were of Ethnic origin indicating a relatively small proportion of students comparison to those enrolled in schools in the city of Montreal. Within the jurisdiction of the Conseil Scolaire de l'Isle de Montreal administering Montreal school boards the data for 1988 show that 24.29% of the students were of Ethnic origin, a relatively significant proportion compatible to the reported proportion within Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal school board for 1988, as 28.28% of the students enrolled were Ethnic. At William Hingston high school of the CECM 63.27% of the students enrolled in 1988 were of Ethnic origin, surpassing the estimated proportion of Ethnic concentration for CECM schools. For the previous school year, 1986-87 the CSIM data show that 24.29% of the students registered within the eight school boards under its jurisdiction were Ethnic including 2.38% who were Greek, with 1.19% enrolled in pre-primary grades, 1.80% in primary grades and 3.30% in secondary grades. Within the CECM, for 1983, 21.3% of the students in primary school were Ethnic, as were 44% in secondary school, indicating perhaps that less of the younger students are eligible for English instruction due to the restrictions imposed with Bill 101, the French Language Charter. The figures for 1983 are compatible with those for the previous year, 1982, showing that 18.90% of the students in primary school were Ethnic, as were 52% in secondary school. At William Hingston high school 52.3% of the students enrolled in 1983 were Ethnic as were 57.3% of those enrolled in 1982, showing a larger proportion as compared to other secondary schools under the CECM but nevertheless appearing to decline with each year except for 1988. (see appendix B, for data)

The 127 memoir writers for this study were grade 11 students attending William Hingston high school, a Catholic, English language secondary school affiliated with the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal.

The participants from this high school reported the number of schools they had attended including the one they are presently attending to illustrate their school experience. The questionnaire data indicated that 21.26% of the participants had attended two schools, 46.45% had attended three schools, 22.83% had attended four schools, and 9.44% had attended more than four schools. In describing the school enrollment pattern, attendance of more than two schools suggests that participants have also experienced more than two changes of residence, from one neighbourhood

to another, comprising of a different school district in terms of jurisdiction: either the Catholic or Protestant school boards. Of those attending two schools, 22.22% were Greek, 0% were English, 3.07% were French, and 74.07% were other Ethnic children. Of those attending three schools, 11.86% were Greek, 1.69% were English, 0% were French and 86.44% were other Ethnic children. Of those attending four schools, 17.24% were Greek, 6.9% were English, 6.9% were French, and 68.96% were other Ethnic children. Apart from having had some experiences in a number of schools, according to the reports of the participants, they most frequently gained these experiences when attending English Catholic schools, which coincides with their religion, since 75.60% of them were of the Catholic faith.

The participants of this study, have not been affected by the law restrictions concerning enrollment in particular programs of instruction since they are legally eligible to receive instruction in the English language. Although the principle of freedom of choice for the language of education desired as outlined in Bill 63, came into effect in 1969, this freedom of choice became restricted in 1974 with Bill 22 as the Quebec Liberal government limits access to English schools to those who already have a working knowledge of English as determined by tests. Later, in 1977, the Quebec government further restricts access to English schools by directing newly arrived immigrants to French schools. As Bill 101 stipulates, children are not eligible for English instruction, unless those with roots in Quebec, that is, one

of the parents received their early education in English within Quebec, or as in the case of immigrants, one older sibling had completed elementary school in English within Quebec and who had met requirements for a certificate of eligibility for English instruction. The French program, and the French Immersion program are an optional choice for those children who are legally eligible for English instruction. Those children who do not meet eligibility requirements, or are children of French descent, are obliged by law to receive their education in French. In view of the language law, enrollment patterns indicate some degree of school population constancy as 81.89% of the participants who reached grade 11 at William Hingston, had attended this English Catholic high school since grade 7.

The participants reported on the elementary schools they had attended, by indicating the confessional status and the length of time spent there, generally illustrating the duration of their primary school experience. With regard to the first school, 63.78% of the participants recalled attending an English Catholic elementary school, and 7.87% attended an English Protestant elementary school for 6 years while 19.68% attended an English Catholic elementary school, and 7.87% attended an English Protestant elementary school for up to 4 years. For the second elementary school, 6.29% of the participants recalled attending an English Catholic school, and 1.57% attended an English Protestant school for up to 5 years, while 20.47% attended an English Protestant Catholic school, and 3.93% attended an English Protestant

school for up to 4 years. For the third school, 3.15% of the participants reported having attended an English Catholic elementary school, and 2.36% having attended an English Protestant elementary school for less than 4 years.

The participants also reported on the secondary schools they had attended, by indicating the confessional status and the length of time spent there, generally illustrating the duration of their secondary school experience. With regard to the first secondary school, 81.89% of the participants recalled having attended an English Catholic school, .78% attended an English Protestant school for 5 years, while 8.66% attended an English Catholic school, and 7.87% attended an English Protestant school for up to 2 years. For second secondary school, 8.66% of the participants the attended an English Catholic school for up to 4 years, while 50.39% attended an English Catholic school, and 3.15% attended an English Protestant school for up to 2 years. For third secondary school, 2.36% of the participants attended an English Catholic school for up to 3 years, while 7.08% attended an English Catholic school, and .78% attended an English Protestant school for less than 2 years.

All of the participants appear to have had school experiences in both the Catholic and the Protestant school systems at one time or another regardless of their religion with the exception of 1.57% of the participants who despite being Protestant, have attended Catholic schools at the primary and secondary level. Presently, 75.60% of the participants are of the Catholic faith, attending William

Hingston high school.

The majority of the participants have attended English Catholic elementary and secondary schools, that is, 70.07% attended Catholic elementary schools as opposed to 9.44% who attended Protestant elementary schools between 5 and 6 years and 40.15% attended Catholic elementary schools as opposed to 11.80% who attended Protestant elementary schools between 2 and 4 years. Comparably, 81.89% of the participants have attended Catholic secondary schools as opposed to .78% who attended Protestant secondary schools for 5 years and 70.07% attended a Catholic secondary school as opposed to 11.02% who attended Protestant secondary school as opposed to 11.02% who attended Protestant secondary school between 2 and 4 years.

It appears that the religion of the participants is not a primary consideration when attending a particular Catholic or Protestant school rather, the determinant for attendance is eligibility to attend a school in the designated district of the school board which coincides with the neighborhood in which the participants live. In this context, 75% of the Greek Orthodox participants have attended a Protestant elementary school in the past, and 15% have attended a Protestant secondary school, which is consistent with the enrollment patterns for this Ethnic group, and 100% of the Protestant participants have attended a Catholic elementary school and a Catholic secondary school in the past, which is not customary for this group, as it is not customary for 3.12% of the Catholic participants who have attended a Protestant elementary school and 4.16% who have attended a Protestant secondary school in the past few years.

The participants' younger siblings in elementary and secondary schools appear to have the same type of school experience in that the majority are attending Catholic schools. The reports on the confessional status of the school attended by the participants' siblings illustrate the proportion of siblings participating at all levels of education.

Reports on the participants' first brother indicate that 6.29% attend an English Catholic elementary school, .78% attend an English Protestant elementary school, 16.53% attend an English Catholic secondary school, 1.57% attend an English Protestant secondary school, 6.29% attend CEGEP, and 9.44% attend University. Reports for the second brother indicate that 2.36% attend an English Catholic elementary school, 1.57% attend an English Catholic secondary school, .78% an English Protestant secondary school, and 1.57% attend CEGEP. Reports for the third brother indicate that 2.36% attend an English Catholic elementary school. Indications for the first sister suggest that 12.59% attend an English Catholic elementary school, 1.57% attend English Protestant elementary school, 16.53% attend English Catholic secondary school, 11.02% attend CEGEP, and 5.51% attend University. For the second sister, reports indicate that 5.51% attend an English Catholic elementary school, .78% attend an English Protestant elementary school, 2.36% attend an English Catholic secondary school, 3.15% attend CEGEP, and 1.57% attend University. The reports for

the third sister indicate that .78% attend an English Catholic elementary school, 2.36% attend an English Catholic secondary school, and .78% attend CEGEP.

In summary, 29.89% of the younger siblings attend a Catholic elementary school, and 3.13% attend a Protestant elementary school, while 39.35% of the siblings attend a Catholic secondary school, and 2.35% attend a Protestant secondary school. Furthermore, 22.03% of the older siblings are enrolled in CEGEP, and 17.30% are enrolled in University.

The large proportion of participants and their siblings having attended Catholic schools may be explained on the basis of religion since 75.60% are followers of the Catholic faith, but it also has to do with changes over the years on admission policies and outlook of the schools due to changes in the character of Quebec society. From a historical perspective, it was not until after 1960 that the English community became more accepting of Ethnic minority groups who sought admission to the financial and educational institutions under its stewardship.

Immigrants tended to integrate into the English community in recognition of its role and success in the province, and in the rest of Canada, and the importance of the English language in economic endeavors. By then, the provincial government imposed pluralism on the English community by passing a law changing the constitution of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal to guarantee the Jewish minority group a small representation. Later, other

minority groups which were largely ignored by the French community, were accepted by the PSBGM.

Immigrant children in the English school boards are an important contribution, in that higher government subsidies and the hiring of more anglophone teachers take place. It was not until 1968 that the provincial government took an official interest in immigrants who had not been encouraged into the French community as a measure of preserving homogeneity of the French culture. But by the time of Bill 101, immigrants became the center of conflict between the English and French communities in their struggle for power and self-interests. At issue, is the maintance of power in Quebec by the English minority group. Access to schools that offer the desired language of instruction is impeded only by Bill 101, the French Language Charter.

Each of the schools attended by the participants is regarded as a group social system. The teachers and students are social values for one another as discussed earlier, in Section I. Every school is a distinct and separate entity which differs due to such factors as the Ethnic background and personal cultural systems of the teachers and students. The participants' experience in Canadian schools in this study, is varied, in that adjustments and compromises are made with reference to the social context in which interactions take place. This accommodation is facilitated if they see themselves interacting in a predominantly Angloor-Franco Canadian social system which accepts them or interacting in a social system comprised of Ethnic-Canadian

children of different cultural backgrounds. Within either the Anglophone or Francophone social systems, Ethnic-Canadian children make up a substantial minority of the school's social values.

FIRST EXPERIENCES OF ETHNIC CHILDREN IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS

This section covers the first experiences of the writers in primary and secondary Canadian schools. The majority of students attending the schools of the memoir writers, were of the English and French dominant cultural groups.

Elementary school has had a positive influence on 68.50% of the participants who recall mainly good memories which included: learning the English language; learning to do homework; becoming disciplined; gaining maturity, and responsibility; making lasting friendships with children of the same or different Ethnic background; enjoying their participation in educational or liesure activities; recalling the warmth and security of the school; and the caring and attentive teachers. Participant No. 18 of Portuguese descent illustrated what was felt as a positive influence of the elementary school he attended and the good memories invoked.

In first grade I didn't know how to talk English...I learned slowly...I remember the hard homework but I enjoyed very much everything because I had a good teacher...I made lots of friends but most of them I

knew from before...sometimes I got into trouble because I didn't act my age...it was so much fun at school...playing games and stuff...it was like we was a big happy family...(Participant No. 18)

On the other hand, Elementary school for 26.77% of the participants presented memories of: past turbulent times; a period of adjustment; dealing with shyness and being bullied; learning to be assertive and to belong; overcoming family problems; rebelling against authority figures and receiving punishment for misbehaviour; having difficulty with school subjects; and being overwhelmed by unfavourable remarks referring to ethnicity, from teachers and students. Participant No. 62 of Italian descent indicated that elementary school had a negative effect and remembers uncomfortable experiences.

Teachers yelled at me because I was bad...used to fight everybody at lunchtime and after school...always got punishment to write lines like I will not do this or that...I didn't like elementary school because I don't understand to read too well...get my homework wrong all the time so I stopped...and I juked days off...more fun to ride my bike but then I in more hot water with everybody...(Participant No. 62)

With the transition to Secondary school, influences were viewed to be positive by 53.54% of the participants, as this was a period of: adjustment and adaptation, and a growing sense of accountability, responsibility and confidence in their abilities; realization, in that

education is important, and overwhelmed by what is yet to be learned; and the acknowledgement that attentiveness and effort would facilitate reaching their goals. Participant No. 55 of Greek descent explained this transition.

Going to seconday school made me feel grown up but very scared...not a baby anymore...I was glad that my friends went to the same school than me...did homework together because we knowed it was important to get good grades...keep doing homework and learn a lot...if I try hard at school and pay attention I can graduate and be a nurse...I'm happy at my high school because my teachers like me and I don't do trouble...I want to do good work at school to help at my job at nursing when I graduate...(Participant No. 55)

Other participants viewed Secondary school negatively, since 29.13% of the participants: were faced with making personal attitudinal adjustments; had difficulty maintaining student in securing and and relationships; were unable to belong in a school that was too large and too cold to allow the development of relationships and to encourage interactions; had experienced adversity towards authority figures fostering distrust, endured incidents of prejudice involving teachers and students; had a sense of alienation and helplessness that to delinquent acts and acts of aggression; were confronted with discipline problems of the school and the fear of being bullied; and had experienced self doubt uncertainty about their abilities to learn and to achieve,

and the difficulty of dealing with academic failure.

Participant No. 39 of Portuguese descent recounted her

negative experiences in secondary school.

I really don't remember anything good ... don't care about doing homework and it's very boring ... I like to shopping so I don't have to think school...sometimes I get into deep trouble...I get suspended so much...I want to quit school...the teachers don't care about me until I make trouble...I'm until Ι don't have to show up any waiting more...(Participant No. 39)

The influence of the Canadian school in general, appears to 55.90% of the participants to be positive as they are: greatful to take the school challenges and opportunities offered them; enjoying learning and achieving; trying to identify with Canadian culture and to tolerate other ethnicities; placing emphasis on pursuing their education; evaluating their maturity, as they have been learning to discipline themselves; and attributing their high self concept to caring teachers and friends. Participant No. 24 of Greek descent appeared to have high aspirations and to place high value on education.

I hope to learn everything about computers, you know like how they work...I practice using my friend's computer who is older...I want to go to university like him...to do my maths and pass them...no more time to hoarse around because I'm older now and I want to stay clean...it counts when I want to go and get my degree

for computers science...my maths teacher says I can do it so I will...I want to do better with my French to get to design computer programs in a big Canadian company like IBM and meet different experts even Japanese ones...I can't listen to my parents because they don't understand computers they understand accounting for me...I have to explain to them...I have to make my own choice like the Canadian kids do...(Participant No. 24)

Ambivalent feelings were expressed by 4.72% of the participants who perceived the Canadian school as having no direct influence, since they progressed due to their own motivations and made their own decisions in matters that concerned them. They were opposed to the idea of conforming to the regulations of the school and emulating their behaviour according to the beliefs and values of the school. Furthermore, the participants regarded the courses offered at the high school level as irrelevant and impractical for their purposes. In effect, they considered their friends, parents and relatives as having the most influence in their lives. Participant No. 31 of Italian descent presented his ambivalence to education as he evaluates the practicality of the process to reach his goal.

I'm not sure if school helps me...I do what I think is good for me...I don't get excited about the courses we have to take and anyway I don't think I will need them because I will do construction and make money...I want to be the foreman like my uncle so I can have the men

follow me...not like the Mikey mouse dumb rules like in school you know...(Participant No. 31)

10.76% Unfavourable comments made bу of the included the liberal attitude of the participants administration of the school in terms of regulations and policies and the bad experiences arising out of the indifference of the teachers and the bureaucracy involved. Generally, the Canadian school has failed to make an impression, due to preferential treatment towards certain hampers the self concept and potential students that achievements of those who are less favoured. Participant No. 70 of Chinese descent was not very pleased with school.

A lot of kids are doing drugs and I don't like that...makes everybody else nervous because there's always trouble that could get dangerous...the principal and teachers don't make enough of an effort to clean up this mess...(Participant No. 70)

Participant No. 98 of Italian descent illustrated his negative perceptions of education.

I try hard to do everything right but my teachers don't see...you know they have eyes only for their pets...they never get punished or anything like that...teachers are always nice to them and smile all lot...me I'm always make fun of because I say a wrong word when I talk or maybe give the answer wrong in class and I feel shamed because the teacher corrects me in a mean manner and the kids in the class make jokes like its the Italian stalone again...its not fare like

this to be joked...(Participant No. 98)

The sense of being different from the English and French Canadian majority, had hindered the formation of friendships, or they were forged very slowly. The nature and formation of friendships will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II of Section III although the following brief notes serve to illustrate the context of the participants' first experiences in Canadian schools. In the high Anglo-Franco Canadian environment of the past, but less so in the present, at school or elsewhere, the factors contributing to difficulties, are ethnicity, and social class.

Feelings of inferiority are ever-present for children who look different due to dress and sound different due to speech and are regarded as curiosities. At first, English and French children appear unfriendly, cold and unwelcoming. Ethnic children being unacceptable, remain withdrawn since they are uninvited to play or to participate in any activity. If Ethnic children find themselves in the company of classmates from their own or other Ethnic background, then lasting friendships are formed. Friendships with children from the dominant culture, are much slower, and may never be formed. If however, Ethnic children are admitted into the social group of the English or French children, then attempts to avoid speaking in the native language promotes a loss of the language of origin and their peers' acceptance gained. On the other hand, maintaining identification with the home culture usually provokes rejection and discrimination and feelings of alienation.

The slow formation of friendships was described by Participant No. 11 of Portuguese descent.

It was a time of much hurt...I didn't speak good enough...accent of Portuguese was funny to the kids in my French primary two class...they wouldn't be friend because I didn't have any jeans... I make mother sew some but they were not so good like the other ones... I was so happy when finally I was chose to play skipping rope with them... I speak ok French after long and I try hard so they will like me...another girl she speaks Greek come to my class the other year and I felt sorry for her because she was like me...I helped her with things but my other friends didn't like her too much...we are still friends now and we go to the same school now... I like to be myself not like I had to pretend in the other school...with my Greek Toula I am very close, like sisters and I'm friend glad...(Participant No. 11)

From the accounts of writers in the questionnaires and memoirs, and as could be seen in the examples given above, the schools described represent a social system that was affected by the Ethnic composition of the schools, that is, the Ethnic origin of students made up some of the social values of the school. The schools influenced the students, either positively or negatively, depending on whether there were sufficient numbers of children of their own or other Ethnic group with whom they could identify and prompted the participants' evaluation of their native ethnicity in

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relation to their acceptance in school.

TEACHERS IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

Teachers are participants in the social system of the schools. They have an influence on the intellectual and cultural development of students even though they emphasize a small number of social values of the total that may be formed. Participant No. 43 of Spanish descent indicated what he perceived his teacher was attributing to his school performance which appeared not to agree with his attributions.

My teacher treats me ok but I think my teacher doesn't like my school work because thinks I'm lazy...but I'm trying all the time...(Participant No. 43)

Participant No. 102 of Italian descent identified with her teacher and what she represents as a member the larger society in terms of qualities suitable for participation.

I hope to be like my teacher to know a lot of things...speak good like her...stand up and be somebody so people can listen to me not like now that I'm nobody and have to shut up...have to work hard to get the chance to get a good job...(Participant No. 102)

The cultural development of students is related to the curriculum and pedagogical philosophy and policies of the school and will be presented later in Chapter II of Section III.

With regard to the intellectual development of

students, the significance of teacher expectations and achievement motivation are discussed to provide an illustration of aspects of school experiences having to do with perceptions of academic performance. The results when compared, indicate that teachers' expectations have an impact, with regard to children's academic performance.

The unintended ways teachers might react to and influence the performance of students (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) are reflected in the responses of the participants of this study, when considering the reason their teachers like or dislike them. The participants appeared to evaluate themselves on the basis of what they perceived their teachers expectations of appropriate behaviour and personality traits or level of performance to be.

In this study, 57.48% of the participants providing short responses in the questionnaire had identified high achievement, explaining for example as did Participant No. 9 of Greek descent "I learn quickly and do very well in school...all my homework is on time..." while 17.32% of the participants had identified compliance and cooperation, as Participant No. 51 of Portuguese descent explains "I behave myself in class and listen to the teacher and never call out...she asks me to answer...when I get stuck she helps me...", as the factors which would effect high expectations from their teachers which are in agreement with those suggested in the observations of Brophy and Good (1974). Generally, teachers tend to respond more favourably to

children from higher socio-economic backgrounds, girls, high achievers, compliant and cooperative children, attractive students, those who sit in the front and center sections of the classroom and those with neat hand-writing and pleasant speech (Brophy and Good, 1974).

Teachers tend to form expectations about students just after a few days of contact with them but initial opinions tend to be revised with opportunities to interact with students and observe and evaluate evidence of their academic abilities. Although student characteristics may initially influence teacher perceptions, teachers may attempt to alter teaching and evaluation methods to help reduce the impact of subjectivity and negative expectations that affect students' academic performance and motivation for success.

The theory of achievement motivation suggests that differences in the strength of the need for achievement can be explained by the need to avoid failure (Atkinson Furthermore, success-oriented individuals are likely to set personal goals of intermediate difficulty whereas those who need to avoid failure set goals that are very high or very The tendency to achieve success is influenced by the low. probability of success and the attractiveness of achieving it. A strong need to avoid failure is likely to be developed individuals experience repeated failure and if they set accomplish. what they think they can goals beyond Attributions of ability, effort, task difficulty, and luck for success and for failure may explain the aspiration level and need for achievement of individuals (Atkinson and Litwin, 1960).

With reference to the theory of achievement motivation, the aspiration level and need for achievement are reflected in the questionnaire responses of participants when considering the reason their teachers like or dislike their school work. The participants evaluated themselves on the basis of what they perceived their teachers' attributions of their academic performance to be, as well as, suggesting their own attributions.

Interestingly, 53.54% of the children believed that teachers attributed their satisfactory academic their performance to effort while 17.32% stated this attribution for themselves, 3.93% of the children believed their teachers' attributions to be effort and ability for their performance while 50.39% stated so for themselves, 2.36% of the children believed their teachers attributed performance to ability while 5.51% stated for themselves, 29.92% of the children believed their teachers attributed their performance to ability but no effort while 13.38% stated so for themselves, and 3.93% of the children believe; their teachers attributed their performance to effort nor ability while 5.51% stated neither attribution for themselves. The data show that participants reported higher aspirations and need for achievement when reporting on their own perceptions and attributions for their performance than when reporting what they perceived to teachers' attributions for their their performance, having to do with ability and effort.

The high level of aspirations and need for achievement appears to be confirmed by 80.31% of the children who acknowledge that they are currently doing well in school and 46.45% who are attributing their success due to ability, 26.77% to ability and effort, 3.93% to ability but no effort, 3.93% to neither ability nor effort, and 3.15% attributing their success to good teachers. Although 17.32% of the participants acknowledge that they are currently not doing well in school, only 3.15% attribute their failure to ability, and 14.16% to no effort while 7.87% attribute their failure to bad teachers, bad instruction and family problems.

Ability is a stable internal attribution since the effect on achievement is the same from task to task, while task difficulty, a relatively stable but external attribution and luck an external unstable attribution have a variable effect on achievement since there is little control outcomes from task to task. Internal attributions like ability lead to expectations of success while internal unstable attributions like effort (effect on achievement varies from task to task) lead to pride in achievement and reward attractiveness. Students with histories of academic failures and a weak need achievement attribute their success to external stable factors like task difficulty or external unstable factors like luck and their failures to lack of ability. Rewards may not motivate low need achievers to succeed if they attribute success to unstable or external factors beyond their

control. On the other hand, success-oriented students with a high need to achieve attribute success to ability and effort, and failure to insufficient effort. Failure does not diminish expectancy to succeed, feelings of competence, or reward attractiveness.

According to the reports of the Ethnic students of this study, teacher expectations have an impact on student performance, as high aspirations for achievement noted above, are not recognized by the teachers even though students appear to be highly motivated, and appear to emphasize internal, success-oriented attributions.

THE SCHOOL'S TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL VALUES

Canadian schools have with few exceptions functioned to pass on the knowledge and cultural values regarded highly by the dominant English and French cultural group. At the time when the participants were being educated, the schools did not provide courses in the language, literature, history, geography, or art of Ethnic groups.

The concrete facts about the current occupations of the participants are an indication of the occupations to be had in the future, as well as, the success of the Canadian school in transmitting the culture of the dominant society. In the interests of Ethnic students, the Canadian school has been successful in transmitting those values necessary for academic achievement and occupational success. More specifically, the Canadian school has prepared the

participants for their chosen careers by ensuring that they have achieved functional literacy in one or both of the dominant languages in order to have earned the appropriate qualifications, and by this measure, encouraging their social and economic advancement in Canadian society.

Planning for the future, especially for adolescents, is a frightening and often intimidating experience in that they must prepare themselves to assume responsibility and their proper role in society. After high school graduation, 74.01% planned to attend CEGEP indicating a desire to further their education in the hopes of gaining the qualifications and experience required for professional occupations, and 18.89% intended to go to work and secure a foothold in the job market, while 6.29% had decided to go to trade school and refine a skill introduced in high school, that would ensure an adequate income, 4.72% had chosen to go to work and to school, partly to pay for expenses, and partly to secure a position while advancing in school to qualify for a job that promises economic stability and 1.57% of the participants had not yet formulated any plans.

When the participants finish their studies, 6.29% hope to hold a semi-skilled occupation, 10.23% are interested in a trade, 19.68% forecast a semi-professional occupation, 50.39% aspire to a professional occupation, and 7.08% are still uncertain of the type of occupation they would hold. In order to qualify for the requirements of the occupation they hope to secure, 4.72% of the participants believe they need to complete CEGEP, 35.43% would complete an

undergraduate university degree (Bachelor of Arts), 15.74% would complete a graduate university degree (Master of Arts), 7.87% would complete a doctorate (Ph.D.), while 14.17% would complete a trade or diploma certificate, 3.93% state they do not need certification, 1.57% are undecided on the occupation and could not therefore anticipate completing requirements, and 7.08% are uncertain what degree is needed for the occupation they have in mind.

Realistic occupational forecasts were reported by 49.60% of the participants who indicated semi-skilled employment if educational qualifications were not pursued beyond high school, 11.02% would be employed in a trade, while 7.08% were uncertain as to the type of employment available for a high school graduate and .78% claimed that there would be no employment opportunity. Unrealistic estimates were made by 11.81% of the participants who believed could secure a semi-professional occupation and 1.57% indicated a Professional occupation supported by a high school diploma.

At present, 46.45% were engaged in vart-time employment while in their last year of high school but only 24.40% actually needed to earn an income to cover expenses. Employment was maintained because 21.25% of the participants wished to increase the allowance received from their parents to allow them to pursue activities, 1.57% were interested in monetary security and hoped their present employment would become permanent, 3.15% found the challenge and experience a thrilling way to spend spare time, 3.15%

admitted to having to support the family financially, and 1.57% of the participants acknowledged that part-time employment would help prepare for higher education and the future.

On the one hand, 44.88% of the participants indicated that they enjoyed their present employment, because felt happy with fellow employees and meeting new people while on the job, 12.58% found that employment was useful, preparing for the future by providing good learning experiences, and enforcing a sense of responsibility, 4.72% admitted that employment gave them something to do in their spare time, 3.15% of the participants simply liked the duties and .78% enjoyed employment because money could be 3.93% of the participants On the other hand, made. complained that employment was confining, and preventing them from doing other things, apart from the intolerable working conditions of the place of employment.

It is important to note that the memoir writers are a select and a representative group of Ethnic children, all being secondary students at the time of the study. While a little less than half were employed part-time, there is some indication of the type of occupation they would secure in the future as demonstrated by their high aspirations for education and for employment.

Chapter II

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE ETHNIC FAMILY IN CANADA

In the lives of memoir writers, the family is the other group social system. Culture is transmitted and developed through the family because relationships are of a primary nature, close and lasting and hence having a major influence. Thus, we must understand the nature and patterns of family life which Greek immigrant parents and parents of other Ethnic minority groups are involved in and how the young who are predominantly Canadian born and educated, evaluate these bonds. (see appendix C & D, Greek community)

Mainly from the questionnaires, an understanding of the family life is derived. The data of each participant facilitated the compilation of concrete fact profiles, a sample of which has been made available in the appendix.

PARENTAL BACKGROUND

Almost all of the participants were children of immigrant parents, with the exception of 4 children of English descent and 4 children of French descent constituting 6% of the grade 11 students of this study. The high Ethnic composition of the high school was reflected in the classes involved, consisting of 21 (16.53%) Greek children, 38 (29.92%) Portuguese, 42 (33.07%) Italian, and 18 (14.17%) children of other European or Asian descent.

Although 102 (80.31%) of these children were born in Canada, 25 (19.68%) had been born elsewhere, including one child having been born in Greece before emmigrating. Some parents, because of displacement after WWII, married in other countries before immigrating to Canada while others were married in Canada between 1940-1960. As a result, children were born in Germany or other countries accepting guest workers, before these immigrant families came to settle in Canada. After fulfilling the required residency 69.29% of the parents have become Canadian citizens while 29.13% have Landed Immigrant status which would lead to citizenship and .78% hold a Visa that is renewable periodically to extend their stay in Canada.

Although the educational background of the parents varies, generally, it is reflective of the limited opportunities of the period during the second World War and subsequent immigration exodus from countries that were economically weakened. In this context, 83.46% of the parents generally had very little education except 9.44% who had completed their secondary education 1.57% of the mothers and 5.51% of the fathers who had arrived in Canada with a trade, having apprenticed in their native country or in the countries that had accepted guest workers while .78% of the mothers and 2.36% of the fathers had completed university. Given the circumstances and experiences prior to immigration, 83.46% of the and 80.31% of the fathers completed their mothers education or training in their native country or in the country where they had been guest workers while 15.74% of the mothers and 14.96% of the fathers completed their education or training in Canada.

Occupations held by parents in the native country or the country where they were guest workers were diverse including semi-professional, skilled and unskilled labouring positions. Many of the parents however, came from a mainly rural background with experiences in farm work. In Canada, parents accepted occupations primarily on the basis of available work that would sustain themselves and their families. Securing work on the basis of their training was impossible at first since parents were not yet familiar with the country's language(s) or knowledge of how to equate, or upgrade the qualifications needed in Canada for their skill, trade or profession.

After a period of time in Canada, .78% of the mothers and 1.57% of the fathers have attained the level of education reflective of the professional positions they now hold while semi-professional positions are being held by 5.51% of the mothers and 13.38% of the At present, 3.93% of the mothers and 28.34% fathers possess a trade they had apprenticed for before immigrating to Canada. Semi-skilled labourers remain a constant group, comprising of 33.85% of the mothers and 42.52% of the fathers who have acquired their skills Canada as industrial positions became available, since few of the parents were able to transfer the skills they had acquired elsewhere.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY IN THE NATIVE COUNTRY AND CANADA

The patterns of life known in the native country were different than those found and established in Canada. The three-generation family common in countries outside North America that persists in some form, is no longer evident in Canada to the same degree. In this regard, only 6.29% of the parents have been able to establish extended households in Canada. Participant No. 16 of Italian descent described his situation at home with new arrivals.

My aunt and uncle came to live with us from Italy...she baby sits to earn some money and sometimes she sews things and my uncle can't find a job yet...with a job they can live in another house...I don't mind for now because I get to play hockey and do things with my cousin...(Participant No. 16)

It was not uncommon for immigrants to have been separated from family following the war as they prepared for the process of immigration at a designated location in a city away from their home village or small town prior to their eventual departure from the homeland. This separation was also experienced by those who left their families to enter countries that accepted them as guest workers. Since guest workers were welcome only for a limited time in these countries, most eventually applied to immigrate to a country that would provide them with the opportunity to work and settle permanently, and to establish a new and meaningful life. Whenever possible, migrants entered Canada

as nuclear families, childless married couples or unmarried adults marrying later in the new country after joining family members already established in Canada. Otherwise, the head of the family would arrive in Canada first in order to make preparations for the sustainance of the family which was to follow at a later date. Participant No. 88 of Greek descent explained the process before she and her family were able to immigrate to Canada.

My father went for a better job in Athens and stayed there for about a year...he got the money to buy tickets for all of us to go to Canada...I cried because I missed him but he wrote letters saying to my mother that soon we leave Greece and meet my uncles and aunts and cousins and everybody in Montreal...(Participant No. 88)

Participant No. 49 of Greek descent explained that he and his family lived in another country before coming to Canada.

I was born in Germany...my parents were working for a while there before they took me to Canada when I was small...and my sister was big enough and she went to kindergarten...(Participant No. 49)

Although only (6.29%) of the children live in households which include other relatives reflecting three-generation families, the majority of children live some short distance away from their grandparents, and other relatives to maintain contact. Generally, the nuclear family remains economically unencumbered, and undisturbed from

sharing space and household resources with family members except when obligated to new arrivals who stay at least for a time, until they settle on their own, usually in close proximity for visits. Participant No. 66 of Portuguese descent appeared content in having family members living closeby.

I know everybody where I live...my uncles before they got married they lived at my house but now they live on the next street and next door is my grandmother...my uncles used to spoil me and my brothers more than now but they always remember to get us special things...my grandmother too...(Participant No. 66)

close link or close communication is usually established and maintained with relatives in the home country through letters, telephone calls, telegraphs, and occasional visits. When the families however, had no other relatives in Canada the link to the homeland was not enough to sustain cultural identity. If the nuclear family was restricted to the parents and children and if they settled due to employment opportunity, in a part of the city neighborhood that did not include people of their cultural group and which forbade travel on a regular basis due to distance or difficulty to the cultural center, their adjustment to the Canadian situation was difficult as they felt cut off from their fellow countrymen or as relationships with Anglo-Franco Canadians became unsatisfactory. In some instances, for these families there maintenance of the home culture. At present, low Was

families who are distanced from their community cultural center, the maintenance of home culture becomes more and more difficult. Although families leave behind relatives in their homeland, living in Canada imposes a narrowness of the family circle in comparison. This shift is evident of movement from one suburb to another and from one city to another. Participant No. 27 of Spanish descent explained that his family did not have contact with people of his own ethnic background until their move to the northwest area of Montreal.

Before we moved to Park Ex my parents and me did not have Spanish people to talk to because we lived in Lachine...we only had French people...my father had to move with the place he worked and I am happy to have friends...at this school some kids can speak Spanish to me also than just my parents...(Participant No. 27)

ETHNIC COLLECTIVIST FAMILY TRADITIONS IN CANADA

What is meant by "family" and the collectivist sentiment on the accepted patterns of family life in the Ethnic cultural tradition differs from the Canadian model and the norm among members of the dominant Anglo-Franco cultural group. Young adults are eager to leave the family home and live in an appartment or home so much so, that they are eager to earn money to do so. Although the desire to move out is present, consideration of the expense of renting is counterbalanced with the preference to save to buy their

own home while living with their parents. The consequence of this decision is the lack of privacy and the impediment of personal growth and development, especially for newly married couples who must contend on occasion with in-laws meddling into their affairs which induces hostility in family life. Otherwise, apart from economic necessity, life in close quarters for young adults, is comfortable in that a sense of belonging is reinforced by a shared warmth and closeness with other members of the family. A sense of economic and emotional stability is enjoyed for which gratitude is owed to their parents. Participant No. 120 of Portuguese descent was ambivalent about the arrangements after her sister's wedding although she concedes to the security that a family in close quarters offers.

My older sister is engaged and is going to get married soon...she is very happy but the guy she is marrying is not because they have to stay with us for a little while and he doesn't want to get on my father's nerves...they won't have much money for a place because he just started working in the restaurant with my father...I don't like this too much because I have to sleep in the same room with my brothers but I guess its ok...maybe we can have fun because we'll be together...(Participant No. 120)

The concept of "family" is regarded by members of Ethnic minority groups as a circle of relationships extending to grandparents and cousins within which benefits and responsibilities are shared and the individual feels

bound to it by ties of loyalty and affection, coinciding with commonalities in the findings of Ethnic family research. In comparison, the characteristic Anglo-Saxon pattern provided by the conjugal family, is limited parents and children which agrees with other research and shows that although a closed system of primary relations exists, the autonomy of the individual is particularly to growing children (Musgrave, 1972). Anglo-American tenet of family ethos is the unfettered freedom of the individual without personal demeaning dependence, atomistic individualism, unencumbered decisionmaking and individual rather than familial fulfillment (Simic, 1979). Anglo-Saxon and Ethnic values are opposition, with regard to family ideology. Family patterns according to this study, are governed by individualist patterns among Anglo-Canadians and by collectivist values by the Ethnic minority groups in Canada.

DIFFICULTIES OF FAMILY LIFE IN CANADA

As expected, marital or family problems due to numerous social variables, exist within Ethnic families as they do in others, which impede the emotional and psychological development of these children. The discord within the family hinders the potential progress that could be achieved at school.

The breakdown in family relations due to the separation or divorce of parents contributes to confusion of loyalty

toward the parent who was the dominant figure in the household but who is no longer present. The sense of stability no longer exists, confounded with the perceived lack of authority demonstrated by the remaining parent, contributing to the emergence of severe discipline problems that cannot be contained without assistance from social agencies. Participant No. 91 of Italian descent described the difficulties in his family.

My mother left us...my father and me and my sister are not happy...my father drinks a lot now...after they got divorced my older brother started acting funny and he got into big trouble a lot...doing drugs and stealing cars...I feel sad because he is in detention...I wish things were not like this...(Participant No. 91)

Other sources of tension have to do with rules of that leave very little room for conduct individual decisions and create a rift in family relations if family wishes are defied. Upbringing differences and values vary between Ethnic groups, as well as, within groups which may help or hinder the development of the young depending on the degree of conservative or liberal outlook of the family. Even if a family appears outwardly assimilated to the ways of life in dominant society, there exist remnants of Ethnic beliefs about religion, language, expressions of affection and ways of conduct which apply at least within the and are upheld and enforced by the head of the family. Such demonstrations of authority curried with cultural values and beliefs times, usually have to do with education, at

preparation for employment and with courtship and the selection of marriage partners for the young. Participant No. 34 of Italian descent felt that the choice of language was a source of tension at home.

At my house we have to speak Italian to my parents and my grandmother...they say they don't understand English so we have to say things again in Italian...sometimes I get angry because I think they do this on purpose...(Participant No. 34)

Participant No. 75 of Portuguese descent felt imposed upon when her mother insisted on religious observances.

My mother is very religious and we have to go with her to Sunday mass and do confession...sometimes I am embarassed and I didn't want to go all the time but she forced us...(Participant No. 75)

Participant No. 58 of Greek descent would like to make his own choices concerning courtship and marriage contrary to the wishes of his parents.

My parents don't let me go to the school dances or anything like that...I have a girlfriend but I can't let them find out...they don't understand about going on dates...they think good girls don't go out and when I'm older they will make me meet one to get married to her...I don't think I will follow their advice because I'll be older and more responsible...maybe things will change...(Participant No. 58)

MODIFICATION TO COLLECTIVIST FAMILY TRADITIONS IN CANADA

Ethnic children find that children of the English or French cultural group have more personal freedom than they themselves do. The sense of independence and responsibility appears to be encouraged at an early age for children from the dominant society as they are free to come and go without taking leave of their parents, and later as they grow older, use their home as lodgings and pay board before moving to live on their own, and otherwise dispense of their earnings as they please. Participant No. 10 of Portuguese descent evaluated his lack of personal freedom and stated his plans once he could live on his own.

I always have to ask my father if I can go on trips with the school or things like that...my friends make fun of me because they don't do this they just tell their parents they are going and to give them the money...when I'm older I want to live in my own place instead of paying my parents like my friend's sister does to stay home...she can do what she wants anyway but me I will be playing twenty questions with them if I stay home...(Participant No. 10)

Ethnic children generally become involved with their families in many activities most of which have to do with taking part in the social functions of their Ethnic community. A sense of sharing is instilled and interdependence of the family persists even as children grow older and begin to earn money. Parents are consulted for

advice when the children's own money is to be spent or of a purchase to be made, since the item will be shared with the family. Although the contributions to the family, including the running of errands becomes an imposition limiting personal freedom, and although friends from the dominant group point to this conduct as manipulations arising out of the interdependence of the family, it is a natural course of events from the point of view of Ethnic children. Participant No. 13 of Portuguese descent described the interdependence of her family and the importance of her contributions.

I stated working this summer and I gave some money to my parents and it made them proud...now I work weekends...it feels different to earn money...I can buy clothes for me and my sister borrows them because we can have more different clothes...she helps with the housework...(Participant No. 13)

Personal restrictions are outweighed by family relations which appear warmer and closer than the family relations of children of the dominant society. This contrast in family relations, on the whole, is perceived by Ethnic children and their families to arise from the basic individual selfishness of the family members of the dominant society. Participant No. 123 of Greek descent illustrated his sense of duty to his mother even though his leisure time was often cut short.

I always help my mother to do the groceries every week after Saturday school and I get tired because I do

homework until Sunday...I have to say no to my friends most of the time when they ask me to go for a movie...I don't want to let my mother down because she works hard...my friends don't understand this...(Participant No. 123)

The replacement of the collectivist values for personal autonomy eventually does take place, with marriage and the decision to set up a household away from parents even though the sharing of resources persists. At times even when having established a household, there is the tendency to share resources as if they were communal property, not individual. This might be advantageous especially to newly married couples in all aspects of living but disadvantageous in terms of privacy. Participant No. 22 of Italian descent described the sharing of resources in his family that has turned out to be disadvantageous.

I am going to get my driver's licence soon and maybe my father will buy a second-hand car because right now we have to share the one we have with his two brothers...its going to be a madhouse if we don't do something about it...(Participant No. 22)

Although the Ethnic cultural heritage passed on by parents continues as a tradition, changes occur which are directly related to the children's contacts with the more individualistic patterns of family life generally existing in Canadian society. Parents want to maintain Ethnic traditions of family life while children react in different ways, that is, by rejecting, embracing and maintaining,

remaining indifferent, or being critical but approving of the pattern of family life and wanting it preserved. Participant No. 116 of Greek descent illustrated the efforts of her family in preserving some cultural traditions while his sibling on the other hand is adopting a more independent way of life.

My brother and his French wife and baby sometimes have dinner with us after we come back Sunday church...my parents accepted his wife when they got married in the Greek church... my mother gets very happy about this and makes special food and tries to talk with my sister-in-law and she tries to understand Greek...I like to play with my niece Danielle...my father and brother talk about the business and about politics but they don't agree on anything...my brother makes suggestions about business that take my father a long time to accept even though my brother is accountant...my father wants Danielle to start learning Greek soon but my brother says he'll think about when it...anyway we are happy we get together...(Participant No. 116)

Perhaps, the cultural differences in family life and expectations between members of Ethnic groups and those of the dominant English and French groups in future, could evolve in the direction of a possible new synthesis where both heritages emerge as a new Canadian tradition.

STUDENTS' PERSONAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND CULTURAL MAINTENANCE

The memoir writers could draw from their experiences in school and in the family, the social systems of these groups to establish their personal social systems at the primary and secondary level. The kind of personal social system built up, indicates the extent of the maintenance of the culture of the Ethnic minority group they belong to and the degree of adaptation to life in a society dominated by the Anglo-Franco Canadian cultural groups.

The formation of friendships at school, that were longlasting or transient from year to year, is described mainly in the memoirs of writers although concrete facts are derived from the questionnaires. Some friendships limited to contact in school can be termed as secondary social systems while others that are prolonged and involving other areas of life at home or outside of school activities, are termed as primary social systems.

FRIENDS AND THE PRIMARY PERSONAL SYSTEM

In terms of social theory outlined above, identification with either Greek, English, French or other Ethnic friends indicates a pattern consisting of an ethnically diverse social system but an almost exclusive Greek primary social system for 100% of the Greek children in comparison to 56.19% of the children of other Ethnic minority backgrounds. When Greek children make contact with

fellow Greeks, the relationship usually leads to inclusion in the primary social system more often than when children of other Ethnic minority groups make contact with peers of their own Ethnic group.

The formation of friendships with peers that lead to inclusion in each participant's primary social system is dependent on the type and quality of the contacts made that develop into a relationship that becomes longlasting. The primary systems of 28.34% of the participants include two-three friends, 25.19% include four to five friends, 13.38% include a large number, 11.81% include the estimate of ten or more friends, 10.23% include six-nine friends, and 9.44% include only one friend, on the basis of particular qualities present in those whom participants wish to approach.

In assessing relationships with peers, 34.64% of the participants consider respectfulness as the endearing quality, 25.98% consider dependability, 19.68% consider reciprocity, and 14.17% consider trustworthiness as the quality from which the basis for friendships could be built.

In assessing their own relationships through the point of view of peers 26.77% of the participants indicated respectfulness as the endearing quality, 25.98% indicated reciprocity, 22.04% indicated dependability, and 11.81% indicated trustworthiness for relationships that could lead towards inclusion into the primary personal system. The participants appear to consider the qualities indicated above in a different order of importance when considering

friendships with peers and when considering their own qualities through the point of view of peers as bases to formulate relationships.

The primary social system of an individual can be built upon depending on the type of friendships formed. Notably, 40.15% of the participants maintain friendships with peers from the English, French, Greek, Other, and their Own cultural group, from an ethnically diverse social system for consideration in the primary social system, 33.07% of the participants maintain friendships from one other Ethnic minority group excluding one's own because of unsatisfactory attempts to make contacts that lead to inclusion in the primary social system, 16.53% maintain friendships from the English cultural group outside of school while rejecting their own cultural group's social primary system and 7.87% maintain friendships from the Greek cultural group which lead to exclusive primary social systems.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONGST ETHNIC-CANADIANS

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When the memoir writers could not establish sufficient or satisfactory contacts with members of their own Ethnic group, 32.28% chose to include peers of other Ethnic backgrounds in their primary social system than Anglo-Franco Canadians. The reasons for this preference were warmth, approachability, and similar upbringing. Feelings of being different, impeded on the initial attempt to form friendships with English or French Canadian peers for

62.99% of the children and the secondary social system appears limited by the participant's own avoidance of friends and sense of rejection. A facilitating factor for associating with other Ethnic children is the neighborhood composition where the participants live. The Ethnic concentration of the neighborhood appears comparable to that of the school. Ethnic clusters develop at school, as they contain members of the same group but may also contain members of other Ethnic groups and are mainly reinforced by their presence in the same neighborhood.

The cultural consequences for Ethnic children are the language used for communication and the behavioural norms adopted. Interestingly, 32.23% of the children adopted the English language and cultural patterns of this dominant group, helping to form friendships that were primary social systems of a hybrid kind accentuating conformism to the dominant English cultural group in other areas of life. Opportunities for activating and developing Ethnic cultural values are lessened by such relationships as if the writers' friendships were entirely of the dominant English Canadian group. There are no such cultural consequences noted for Greek children when developing friendships.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH ENGLISH OR FRENCH-CANADIANS

It seems that immigrant students stay aloof, disinterested and reserved but the reason this appears so, is that they are not always welcome by the dominant group.

Sometimes by their own attitude, and partly learned from the recounted experiences of hardships suffered by their parents, immigrant children develop a distrust and an enduring prejudice against Canadians. Furthermore, the popular teenage culture of Canadian peers is unacceptable to both the participants and their parents since it does not relate to the sense of responsibility and prudence of their cultural group and is consequently rejected. Participant No. 36 of Portuguese descent explained her preference for friends of her own ethnic background.

I hang around my Portuguese friends because I trust them...we understand each other...they're not like those English snobs that always show off their things and have their special club...my gang do other things...we speak Portuguese so they don't understand what we are saying...(Participant No. 36)

Participant No. 85 of Italian descent stated his reasons for keeping friendships to English kids limited.

There are some guys in my school that take drugs and they try to push it on people...I don't like that...always making trouble...they think they are smart but they are just bums...I try to keep out of their way like my parents say because they are bad apples...(Participant No. 85)

The distance developing between children of Ethnic minority groups and children of the dominant cultures could be due to their involvement in social and cultural activities open exclusively to Ethnic children at clubs and

associations or organizations that involve educational, as well as, recreational programs. Maintaining a membership at sports arenas however provides closer contact with members of the dominant group, as well as, others, and a chance to in different activities. participate Such encounters increase the range of the participants' secondary social systems without leading to primary relationships through the social activities taking place at the sports field. from the dominant group in Ethnic inclusion of peers functions that can be mutually satisfying has served as a means by which understanding and tolerance is developed. Participant No. 63 of Greek descent recounted the pleasure of coming in contact with friends from her own ethnic background that she doesn't otherwise see at her regular school.

I'm learning how to do Greek dances at our association and we will get to do a few shows at the Greek center at the holidays...most of my friends who are Greek go to Greek school full-time...I can't wait to see them after I finish Saturday school when we start the dancing...I really like the costume I'll have soon for the shows...(Participant No. 63)

Participant No. 2 of Italian descent found that he enjoyed the friendship that developed between himself and a group of French boys he met at periodic hockey games.

I go to the sports arena with my cousins to play hockey with teams with guys from other schools...we play hard

with the guys and we win a lot of games for championship time...we met some really cool French dudes and we get along...after games we choose to do things together like go for hamburgers or something...(Participant No. 2)

FRIENDSHIPS BASED ON MEMBERSHIP OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

An Ethnic group in a Canadian city or Canada as a whole, could be regarded as a primary group system since it provides the primary social values. The Ethnic cultural organizations provide friends and other contacts that extend to other areas of life. These attachments help keep up the way of life of the Ethnic member, and the customs, as a cultural consequence of these friendships. Cultural associations and organizations also help the building up of Ethnic pride as a social and cultural consequence. Centering social life and interests around Ethnic social functions and other activities can include participation in committees and cultural pursuits. Social functions bring together people of Ethnic background with the generations that will soon be replacing them in the future.

Memoir writers belong to one or more Ethnic organizations, such as Saturday or afternoon schools, boy scouts, girl guides, folk dancing and singing groups and sports clubs. Ethnic associations formed by members originally of the same geographic region of the native country to maintain interactions and to promote social and

cultural activities are usually frequented by the parents but are also open to children who wish to partake of the available programs and to expand their circle of friends and acquintances. Given that children are occupied with many other activities that are extensions of the activities offered at school 12.59% of the children reported membership in an Ethnic association 5% of whom were of Greek origin 6% were of Portuguese origin and 1.57% were of Italian origin. Folkloric singing and dancing were the primary pastimes of 6% of the children, 3.14% engaged in sports and liesure activities and 2.36% were elected representatives of the youth contingency of the association.

Other activities engaging 48.81% of the participants included sports which 18.11% of the participants played at private arenas requiring membership and 12.59% played sports only at school while 3.93% divided the playing between home and the school gymn and 3.93% played near home on their own. The private sports clubs offered the participants more opportunities to widen their circle of friends to include children from other cultural groups whereas this was unlikely when participants concentrated on school friends both inside and outside of school.

Extra-curricular activities occupied 38.58% of the participants, 18.89% of whom played sports, 11.02% served on student government, 3.93% belonged to the art club, 5.51% engaged in leisurely activities and .78% belonged to the business club interested in the stock market. Since these activities are sponsored by the school

for its students, the possibility of encountering new peers in order to form new relationships, is minimal. Similarly, peers from school shared some of the hobbies listed by 87.40% of the participants including 24.40% who were involved in sports activity, 22.83% who did art, 20.47% who engaged in liesurely activities, 16.53% who pursued academic activities and 2.36% who played chess.

Acquaintanceship and friendships are more likely within the Ethnic communities which are formed when an adequate of people of the same group settle within a number neighbourhood or a larger area of the city. These which vary in size and could be lccated settlements different areas of Montreal, function as a large village. For example, everyone seems to know or have heard or seen almost everyone else within the neighbourhood and even of other neighborhoods inhabited by the same Ethnic group. Gossip flows freely between individuals, even about people one doesn't know personally. Through different functions such as sporting and social events and religious observances people meet each other and engage in pleasantries, trading confidences and offering opinions. Under these conditions, as interest is piqued, people become friends.

By claiming dissatisfaction 85.82% of the participants do not partake in the activities offered at Ethnic organizations. Breaking away from the Ethnic group, leads to meeting other Ethnic or Anglo-Franco friends and the construction of informal primary relationships. It is felt that having mainly European friends denotes an "inter-

Ethnic social grouping" that is unappealing both to Ethnic children and children of the dominant group because it limits the participants from being acceptable to those in the dominant society. Participation in clubs, or organizations frequented by children of English descent do not lead to friends being included in their primary personal system. In a formal organization with a specific purpose such as a chess club or a tennis team, the Ethnic origin of members is usually ignored.

PRIMARY PERSONAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND RETENTION OF ETHNICITY

The relationship between Ethnic identity and primary personal systems could be illustrated with reference to potential marriage partners for children of immigrant parents having grown up in the country their parents chose to immigrate to and obtain citizenship.

Mixed marriages auger a difficulty to maintain the Ethnic culture due to the discontinuity of language and customs, limiting the offspring who may be willing to develop the Ethnic culture but the opportunity to do so is minimal. Mixed marriages also create problems if one partner may be doing things in a different manner than the other partner would, becoming points of contention.

Ethnic cultural maintenance in families or in some cases being competent bilinguals and biculturals, Ethnic at home, and English in the presence of members of the dominant group, are possibilities. The rejection however, of Ethnic

culture, Ethnic school, religious observances and cultural functions by the offspring who may have participated for a time, in the past, is a likely consequence even if they recognize that this may be important to the parents. Participant No. 94 of Portuguese descent indicated that his sibling is no longer activating elements of her primary personal system or identifying with the Portuguese cultural group regardless of the family's a sense of betrayal over this undesirable outcome.

Her husband that is French and my sister don't come to visit us anymore because my father wants her to speak Portuguese...her husband doesn't want her to do things at the association...he doesn't want her to go church like she used to with my mother...always they have to yell at each other my father and her husband calling him names like Pepsi and calls my father old man drinking too much for seeing double and singing...my sister cries from this but her boss now is her husband...(Participant No. 94)

Acceptance of the rejected Ethnic culture may occur if marriage is to a partner who is highly motivated to maintain the Ethnic culture. The negative force shaping Ethnic identity is due to the transmitted values of the Canadian school and the personal attitudes of the offspring toward the language and the cultural knowledge of the Ethnic group. In other instances, the offspring who may begin with high motivation to activate language and be observant of culture, may become alienated from fellow Ethnic friends and

cultural functions to develop close relationships with members of the dominant cultural group. This change in primary social system, language and cultural activation, could be replaced with Anglo-Franco Canadian based cultural values shared with friends who also reject their Ethnic identity. Participant No. 53 of Italian descent would like to replace his Italian cultural values with those from dominant society in an attempt to integrate for the purpose of maintaining employment in what he perceives to be a respectable profession.

I want to succeed in life and get a good job so I can hold my head high...I have to learn French and English good for respect so that I can show I can be good at my job of Engineer...no place to be Italian in a big company with important jobs...I want to be called smart and good at what I do not joking around and be loudmouth or play cards...doing Italian things you know like crossing myself, treating the women rough...important to fit in when I graduate after studying for my degree...(Participant No. 53)

The importance of having a marriage partner of the same Ethnic group in order to maintain the Ethnic culture as a living tradition may be acknowledged and emphasized by some while others may disregard the significance or place less emphasis on this matter. Participant No. 29 of Italian descent emphasized his personal choice of marriage partner despite opposition from his family who hope that he maintain cultural traditions.

I'm going to marry a Greek girl and I don't care what my parents say about it...we are in Canada now not Italy so we are just people...when we have a job Italian or Greek just English and can't speak French...we have to be Canadian...they want me to my brother and get married with a girl from Italy did...I don't want to like he that...(Participant No. 29)

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND CULTURAL MAINTENANCE

The participants' primary relationships involving family and Ethnic friends made through clubs, organizations or other social activities, help promote Ethnic maintenance. Within the family, there is usually a willingness to transmit Ethnic culture despite the educational impediments of parents or limitations in the provision of experiences conducive to cultural maintenance. Parents attempt to pass values to their children by providing the family environment with the essential elements and materials that would promote and ensure the development of Ethnic cultural systems to a reasonably satisfactory level, as well as, augmenting their children's experiences by way of extended participation in cultural functions taking place outside the home. indifference towards maintaining Ethnic culture other hand, largely related to lack of opportunities, formation of primary relations predominantly with people of Anglo-Franco Canadian background, or with people of

Ethnic Canadian background different from their own.

Participation solely in local social functions is not sufficient to maintain Ethnic culture. A close relationship between parents and children, with regard to sharing basic social values and ideas also involves motivation towards the maintenance of culture and identity since:

the inculcation of filial values is inseparably tied to the perpetuation of ethnic sentiment, and those who are most alienated from their parents are also likely to be those most estranged from their national origins. (Simic, 1979, p. 262)

The memoirs show a measure of Ethnic cohesion at the primary level. The Ethnic family and other formal or informal groupings, through the maintenance of primary bonds, have prolonged the survival of Ethnic cultural systems even if in minimal form. For many memoir writers, there is no conflict between doing well at school and in the professional occupations they aspire to while at the same time remaining strongly Ethnic, when participating in activities in the home shared with family, and outside the home with friends who have been included in their primary personal systems. Participant No. 7 of Portuguese descent described his participation in Ethnic activities even outside the home that do not take away from his performance at school or the way of life he aspires to in the future.

I know myself that I'm Portuguese and nothing changes that...I like to meet my Portuguese friends at the association on weekends for dances and trips that we organize...all of us are doing ok at school and want to study business maybe get the MBA to work for a big company...if I learn enough from there I want to open a computer company or something...maybe later my best friends could be partners in business and compete with other companies...(Participant No. 7)

Chapter III

LANGUAGE USAGE AT HOME AND SCHOOL

The participants of this study are all potentially bilingual due to the linguistic and cultural situation of their family and due to the language(s) of instruction received at their Canadian school and the social interchange within that milieu. Bilingualism has come about as a result the opportunity for exposure into essentially two different linguistic systems, that is, the linguistic activation in the Ethnic home, and the predominance of English and French language instruction and the use of these languages in social interactions at the participants' regular school. This particular experience is familiar for children whose linguistic background is neither English nor French. According to the most recent data made available by the Ministere de l'Education de Quebec, for 1986-87, Allophones were found to constitute 6.89% of the children enrolled in primary and secondary schools in Quebec, and according to the 1988 data of the Conseil Scolaire de l'Isle de Montreal, administering Montreal school boards, 24.29% of the students attended schools under its jurisdiction.

In the course of experiencing a social and linguistic context different from their own, children from Ethnic backgrounds, tend to lose their Ethnic language, as suggested by Smolicz and Harris (1977), and Smolicz (1979),

as they progress, in this case, through their Englishspeaking Canadian public school. In this chapter, an attempt
has been made to analyze what primary factors are
contributing to the decline of Ethnic language maintenance.

The purpose of this investigation is to understand the linguistic experience of Ethnic children since they are participants in a bilingual environment where the home language competes with either or both English and French, the official languages of the country. Perhaps, the factors that encourage the maintenance of the Ethnic language, and those situations which contribute to its dissipation related to the influences of schools, peer groups, mass media and other overwhelming pressures of the environment, could be analyzed by considering the importance of concrete facts the questionnaires which point to information from concerning the nature and extent of the participants' Ethnic and English (French) linguistic systems and of cultural facts expressed in the memoirs, reflecting attitudes toward the two, that is, the home language and the languages of the dominant society.

The memoirs may also provide concrete facts about language acquisition, usage, and preference. More specifically, memoirs could indicate the language spoken by the participants prior to starting school, when they first learned to speak English, what language they used when speaking with family members, if they learned to read and write in their Ethnic language, how they acquired these skills, and how much they used them in their lives.

Although the concrete facts found in the memoirs of writers are also interconnected with the accompanying explanations and assessments, these facts present the context within which the expressed attitudes will be addressed. Discussion of the cultural facts which pertain to the participants' attitudes toward their Ethnic language will subsequently take place.

PRE-SCHOOL LANGUAGE USAGE

Prior to starting school, 93.70% of the memoir writers possessed a language that was other than English or French which served as their means of communication in their social contexts. Within their families and the Ethnic cultural group to which the participants belonged, the Ethnic language was appropriate and acceptable. In the attempt to participate fully in their social community, participants used their Ethnic language exclusively. Although their experience with language was not extensive, communications took place primarily in the Ethnic language with reasonable competence and ease. The mother-tongue for the majority of children, was the only language which they had had experience with and knew how to use with confidence.

Although children grew up in areas of Montreal where they did not have the opportunity to activate the Ethnic language during the social exchanges occuring in the neighborhood with children of English or French descent, the Ethnic language was reinforced at home, and consequently

limiting the children from learning English before they entered school. Few of the children could speak even a few words of one of the school languages with friends at play, and were ill-prepared when meeting with the requirements of student life, at the pre-primary level. The inadequate command of the English language held many disappointments for the participants and resulted in outcomes that would normally not have occured or have applied if English or French language facility was present early on, perhaps in the social exchanges taking place in neighborhood play with peers of the dominant society. Persistant use of the Ethnic language, negated potential friends, and introduced difficulties in participation in school and playground activities.

For 88.18% of the memoir writers the continued use of their Ethnic language in their pre-school years encouraged an increase in proficiency in that language and conversely, encouraged a decrease in proficiency in English and contributing to a relative lack of preparedness with regard to school participation. There had been no reason up until this time, to participate outside the social milieu of their family, friends and neighborhood. The presence of relatives and grandparents were a large influence on the participants' acquisition of the Ethnic language. Participant No. 14 of Chinese descent recounted that her lack of proficiency in English adversely affected her school performance.

I went to school for the first time for grade one...when I went to school I already know Chinese and

talk very good...I find friends at school to talk Chinese to...I went to Chinese class to learn to write and I like that...I remember some now...English was very bad...I did not do good at school in primary grades and made me sad...I want to talk English like everybody but it is still hard I get mistakes with work in class and homework...(Participant No. 14)

Participant No. 71 of Yugoslavian descent illustrated his initial experience in pre-kindergarten. His inadequate English language skills hindered his participation in school activities in the early years.

The first day of junior kindergarten I cried because I didn't know what the teacher was saying and I even know how to tell her that ... I got punished for not doing what she said ... slowly I learned to wait and see what the other kids did so I could copy them... I had to catch on fast so the teacher did not see that I did not do what she said right away ... I was not listening just looking... I never said anything just said my name even when the teacher asked for something else... I moved my head yes or no and hoped it was the ok answer and when it was not I looked at the floor or somewhere in back her until she thought I was too dumb to answer and she picked another kid . . . in kindergarten it was only a little bit better and it took a long time to catch up and it was hard to learn things because I didn't know English good enough to ask questions and to spell...my parents found out I was doing bad in school but they could not help me because they did not know English and did not tell the teacher...they just said I should try hard...I think I tried hard every year and now I am ready to graduate and it was not easy...(Participant No. 71)

The possibility for exposure to a different language other than the Ethnic tongue for memoir writers before entering school, was through older siblings, English-speaking peers willing enough to accept them into their circle of friends and include them in their play activities, or neighbors, enabling them to learn to communicate if only minimally in English. Active preparation for 71.65% of the writers for promoting proficiency in the English language and participation in school activities, included attendance of a pre-school kindergarten. This option was looked upon by parents as a concrete measure of familiarization for their children prior to the course of their primary education.

FIRST EXPERIENCES OF THE CANADIAN SCHOOL

The writers' first encounter with the English-French speaking milieu of the Canadian school was disconcerting in that they were confronted with new faces, new events, and a different language for the first time.

The first experiences in Elementary and Secondary schools included important general impressions centered on the school environment, the teachers, the acquisition of the English language, the acquisition of new friends, the

encounter of other Ethnic children and the maturity involved in completing homework, and remaining fairly disciplined during school hours.

The school environment in general, was assessed as good by 14.17% of those recalling Elementary school experiences and 25.19% of those recalling Secondary school experiences, in terms of being accepted by teachers and students, and being comfortable enough to participate in school activities. Participant No. 20 of Italian descent indicated that the school environment was generally good and that her experiences in elementary grades were pleasant.

Elementary school was fun for me because we got to do a lot of things like play games and go on trips...there were many friends to joke with and everybody knew everybody else because it was a small school...my teachers were nice and I thought they were so smart I wanted to be like them...I liked it that we had things to do in school and busy with homework...I liked library time and reading time in class because we got to choose the readers but we had to do the questions the teacher gave us...I was always excited about going to my school every day...(Participant No. 20)

Participant No. 45 of East Indian descent remembered positive experiences and was content with the school environment of her secondary school.

By the time I got to secondary school I was a little scared because everything would be new and I knew that everything would be harder...I was always encouraged by

my mother to do my homework and to learn... I met friends because my old ones didn't come with me elementary school and mostly we have good times they ask me to do things with them like go to movies I think they like me because I'm a brain and help them out sometimes...I'm not popular like some of the beauty queens here but at least I have some respect from most in my school and especially my teachers who think that I should go to university... I like to encouraged by my teachers because it's a change from elementary school where they didn't think I was smart...I am pleased with how things have turned I want to go on with my education and my parents be happy for me if I get to have a good job soon...(Participant No. 45)

On the other hand, 7.08% of the writers referring to Elementary school experiences made negative assessments on the school environment as did 7.87% of those recalling Secondary school experiences, since difficulties were not alleviated, a prejudiced view of their presence persisted, and a sense of alienation was prevalent. Participant No. 78 of Portuguese descent recounted negative experiences in the early grades and was not happy about his school environment.

It was such a big school... with not many windows so it was always dark and cold...I remember that I was always sad because the kids laughed about how I talk English and the teachers called me a new student in a mean way because I was not good with English or anything like

the rest of the class...the mean kids always beat me up after school and my nose broke every year that I went to that school...I was slow to do things that the teacher told us to do...I did not know too much so I didn't get it right...and with homework so the teachers always stayed mad with me...my parents did not know what to do with me almost failing every year and because I had to do grade one again they did not like that I got into fights so much they told me to eat so I could get strong to pay attention to school and stay away from trouble...(Participant No. 78)

Participant No. 61 of Lebanese descent described his negative experiences in secondary school and the unsatisfactory school environment.

My secondary school is terrible...most of the kids always getting into trouble not just inside the school but outside too with the police...too much is going with drugs and fights and breaking things at school and of the time troublemakers get suspended...when Ι to this school in grade nine I got beat up by gang with chains after school in the parking lot and nobody got punished...my father got angry but couldn't do anything else...last year I got suspended because got blamed for stealing something from the office which didn't...I shamed my parents and the principal apologized later for this mistake... I want to get this school...my parents say to be patient because of immigrants... I hope I can make friends I we

trust when I go to CEGEP and meet teachers that don't have pets like they do here...my marks are not great but I think I can graduate and move on I hope to something better than this...(Participant No. 61)

With regard to school experiences, the impression of good teachers, was the primary focus of 34.64% of the writers' assessments when referring to their Elementary school experiences compared to only 11.02% of the writers referring to their Secondary school experiences having to do with being aided by the presentation of lessons and being able to learn.

Learning the English language for 11.02% of the memoir writers referring to Elementary school experiences was the major preoccupation, in that this acquisition would allow fascile communication with teachers and peers, for participation in activities inside and ouside of school and a chance to expand on their social network outside of their Ethnic community. On the contrary, 0% of those referring to Secondary school experiences were concerned about proficiency in English as it did not hinder communication or participation within the school context or outside, in the exchanges taking place in dominant society. Participant No. 101 of East Indian descent indicated that learning the English language in elementary school allowed him to talk to more people and to help out his parents as best he when they needed him to translate.

It is very very important to me to learn English because before going to primary school I always was

speaking Hindi to everybody with no chance to hear or use English...at school there was many so many different kids to talk English with...English friends like me better when I talked English and picked me for sport games...I wanted to do good in school and for my teachers to like me...I was feeling proud when I talk English and help my mother when I go to stores with her and I ask questions at the bank for my father so they don't have to ask other friends for that any more so now they have me...(Participant No. 101)

Another important aspect of participation in the educational process, was the ability of making and sustaining friendships conducive to feelings of belonging in the school context, and serving as a means of increasing their social network. Friendships were fascile and important to 18.11% of the writers referring to Elementary school experiences compared to 26.77% of the writers referring to Secondary school experiences.

It was comforting to 4.42% of the writers referring to Elementary school experiences, to meet other Ethnic children of their own culture and of other cultures since they had commonalities on various measures. Meeting Ethnic peers was not viewed as important, or an aspect of impact for 0% of the writers referring to Secondary school experiences.

Interestingly, 7.08% of the writers referring to Elementary school experiences were overwhelmed by the level of maturity and amount of responsibility required at school with regard to homework and general conduct, in comparison

to 15.74% of those referring to Secondary school experiences who by their estimates, were met with the challenge of preparing for higher education and their subsequent career. Participant No. 6 of Portuguese descent referred to her elementary school experiences and concerns.

When I got to primary school I had to act my age and be good not talking back or anything...listen with big ears to the teacher...so slow to learn to do homework and make it ready for my teachers...I had to forget playing so much all the time like I used to...very important to be good at school until I finish...(Participant No. 6)

Participant No. 32 of Italian descent described his secondary school experiences and major preoccupation.

Secondary school means a lot to me because from the first day I feel bigger and important and also that I had to behave myself...not act rough because I should pay attention with learning my subjects to get my diploma...think about the job I want to do...I make sure I have my maths and my history and English and French and science...to pass all the courses I need for when first I need to go to CEGEP after that I have to be careful again and choose courses for my university and to pass everything...(Participant No. 32)

The general assessments of the memoir writers' Elementary and Secondary school experiences point to a different level of confidence, and a different range of concerns as they progressed through school. The participants

more concerned about the school environment when they Secondary school yet teachers made a impression on participants when they were in Elementary school. Learning the English language was considered more important by participants when they were in Elementary school than when they were in Secondary school. Friendships were more important to participants when they were Secondary school, while meeting other Ethnic children was of a relief to participants when they were more Elementary school. An overwhelming sense of maturity responsibility was experienced by participants when Secondary school than when in Elementary school. In essence, experiences in Elementary school centered around participants' teachers, their attempts to learn English and the comfort of being in the company of other Ethnic children while experiences in Secondary school had more to do with the school environment, the importance of friendships and the responsibility and maturity required for future plans.

With respect to the influence of the Canadian school on educational development, 48.81% of the writers agreed that the school culture mirrors that of the larger society and has had a positive impact but 18.11% of the writers disagreed while 4.72% indicated that their development was influenced largely by their home culture. Of those who reported a positive impact, 33.07% attributed challenging opportunities which require maturity, 12 59% indicated the tolerance of Ethnic children, 3.15% believed that the values of society are successfully transmitted, and .78% credited

caring teachers. Participant No. 125 of Armenian descent explained th + school had a positive influence on her educational development and personal maturity.

School was very important because it helps to get me ready for the job I will have when I finish...to speak and write well and be responsible...in school I also learn to be on time for things like my homework and to do good work...to think about things not just to listen and copy from the blackboard... I learn to make an opinion and say it not like at home when you say anything it's like talking back and my parents get mad...I learn to make promises I can keep and to get things ready when I have to...it's the same way for when I start working full-time at my good job ... I can't be old-fashioned like my parents they think girls need to get ready and be married early and let the man make his decisions good for the wife...at school I learned that everybody is a person and can do many things if they want to...(Participant No. 125)

Of those memoir writers who reported a negative impact, 8.66% referred to the lack of relevant courses offered, 6.29% were disturbed by the lack of discipline in the schools and 3.15% were disillusioned by the teachers' show of favouritism towards particular schoolmates. Participant No. 3 of Polish descent contrasted his home situation with that of school.

My family gives good examples for how to live my life...my parents work at their job very hard and they

make prayers to God when they go to church for keeping the family good ... they have many friends from the old country and we go for visits and we have parties at the Polish club...everybody cares very much about everybody at school they don't care about you because everybody wants to be first and they don't care if they push you around and make fun of you...teachers pay attention to who they like... I don't trust nobody... I'm not learning how to do something for when I start working...anyway I won't have a chance to get a top job because they will take somebody English or French than me...so I think I will stay with my father and paint houses with his work with money until I have NWO family...(Participant No. 3)

It appears that the experiences of almost half of the writers point to adjustment and success in Canadian schools and adequate preparation for participation in society while 22.83% of the writers question the aims of schooling and view the inconsistencies with disdain and are doubtful about future opportunities to participate in society.

THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH, FRENCH

Initial problems in acquiring the English or French language were overcome quickly by most of the participants while for some these problems are still prevalent. Experiencing distress and difficulties in learning the language, has lead to other learning difficulties at school

for the participants.

The participants' performance at school was affected by the lack of facility in the English language at least temporarily. Of greater consequence however, was the socioeconomic background of the participants and their close association with other members of their Ethnic group. specifically, weakness in English, or low academic performance was largely due to the high incidence of Ethnic language usage in social interactions with immigrant friends. In addition, the inability of the parents to help their children with learning the language or with completing their school work stemmed from their unfamiliarity with the English language prior to emmigrating, and their incomplete educational background.

Participants having been born in Canada, or in their country of origin did not differ with respect to relative ease or difficulty in learning English or French. The problems they had in common, were related to grammatical rules that were inconsistent with those of their Ethnic language, and to mispronounciation of words that were incompatible with the sounds that they were accustomed to using. Eventually, having some knowledge of the English language and speaking it without a peculiar facilitated learning at school and promoted confidence the participants. Overcoming embarassment over blunders with the English language, was a major accomplishment, especially when participants not only experienced the teasing of English-speaking schoolmates, but also the rigidity of

monolingual teachers who could not recognize the difficulties experienced in reading in a language for which they had no oral background. Participant No. 82 of Italian descent illustrated his experience at school shortly after his arrival from Italy and his attempts to use the English language there.

When I come from Italy in grade 10 English was bad but ok now...I try hard all time very much to know English good but the guys in classes laugh too much and make me feel too bad and I am doing my best and I get for that... I speak in my head Italian and after I mad say in English for when I write it is better speaking but is not the same words and I get mixed up...my teacher tell me to stop that and think I do not try when I am in grade 10... I get better now... they all the time ask me to give answers after they make me read for class loud to make practice...it take long time and make mistakes and laugh everybody and teacher get mad...my brother finish school here but he move Toronto when get married that's when I come to Montreal...I have to try and practice with English more to get better for later...(Participant No. 82)

The relative ease of acquiring the English language, has to do with opportunities to practice the language orally, as well as, opportunities with instructional material designed for children learning English as a second language. Once facility in the language has been achieved, then performance in other subjects at school is enhanced.

In this respect, although there was no mention of provisions to teach English as a second language at their school, 80.31% of the participants reported that remedial help was available. However, 100% of the participants reported that they did not have problems with the English language and that their proficiency in the language did not impede with their progress in school. In contrast, 51.54% admitted to problems with the subjects they were studying and 68.50% indicated that the problems they were having with subjects were impeding with their progress at school.

Given that 80.31% of the participants reported the availability of remediation for English, and 96.06% reported the availability of remediation for subjects, only 77.16% would accept remediation for English compared to 83.46% who would accept remediation for subjects. Based on the condition of usefulness, 65.35% of the participants would accept English remediation compared to 60.62% who would accept subject remediation. Otherwise, 5.51% would accept English remediation solely to promote grades compared to 17.32% of the participants who would accept subject remediation.

The type of remedial help for English and for subjects being studied appears similar, in that 9.44% of the participants would be attending special classes for English outside of their regular class, and 6.29% reported so for subjects, 4.72% reported that they would be having teacher tutorials after school for English and 8.66% reported so for subjects, and 5.51% reported that they would be attending

in-class tutorials for English and 1.57% reported so for subjects. Surprisingly however, 62.29% of the participants would be obliged to pay for private tutorials outside of school for subjects they were weak in, while there appear to be more resources for English remediation at school since 51.96% of the participants reported that they would benefit from tutorials at school, as well as, private sessions.

Availability for English remediation although confirmed by the reports of the participants, is regarded as unacceptable while there appears a willingness to consider subject remediation to ensure success. Undoubtedly, proficiency in English has a direct effect on the subject work that must be carried out. The language skills required when studying other subjects at school, aid in comprehension of the content, as well as, the development and completion of projects. The reluctance towards English remediation is perhaps, an attempt on the part of the participants to suggest that aside from having mastered the language, they consider themselves equal to their anglophone counterparts, in establishing their identity and assuming their role in society.

With respect to education, 77.16% of the participants believed that schooling was relevant although, 19.68% reported that they had better things to do than attend school. In place of school, 10.23% of the participants preferred to be working, while 4.71% would be enjoying hobbies and 2.36% would be undertaking academic pursuits away from school. In assessing the relevance of schooling,

70.07% of the participants agreed it was beneficial, while 15.73% indicated that school was impractical, and 3.15% reported that school activities were not stimulating. Participant No. 68 of Italian descent indicated that school was relevant because it would allow her to qualify for future work in accountancy.

School is very important because I will keep learning what I need to know to be an accountant...I'm going to go to CEGEP and to university and get to write the exam for chartered accountants just like one of my cousins...I want to be proud of myself and I will be happy to make my parents and my cousin happy too...(Participant No. £8)

Participant No. 107 of Portuguese descent explained that school was not relevant for what he planned to do after high school because it was not practical.

I have a chance to work with my uncle and I'm his favourite and he is going to give the business of dry cleaning and make money...I'm ready to go right now that I'm almost finished high school with my diploma but I don't think I need it...I don't want to waste any more time in school...I can make money now instead of trying to get a diploma because I want to enjoy things that's important and I want to buy a sports car...If I wait for a university diploma I don't know if I can get a better job than what I have now...I am still thinking about it but I know I will take the business...(Participant No. 107)

Participant No. 69 of Portuguese descent claimed that school was irrelevant in that he lacked enthusiasm due to activities that were not stimulating.

am bored at school because everything is Ι SO boring...there is nothing interesting there for me...I don't know what I want to do with my life when I finally finish with high school...my father forced me to stay and get the diploma... I keep flunking because I don't do the work and I'm older than the other guys at school and they tell me I should retire and maybe I will... I feel like a robot and I sleep in class with my eyes open... I don't care if the teachers get mad when they find out and scream at me... I need space to breathe...I want to make choices myself when I'm ready...(Participant No. 69)

In view of the relevance of school, 62.99% of the participants reported that they enjoyed doing their homework and 20.47% indicated it was beneficial in preparing for their career, 18.89% indicated that it was interesting enough to lead towards a career choice, and 10.23% enjoyed the activity for its own sake. Comparably, 74.80% of the participants appeared to be satisfied with the subjects they were studying and 18.11% viewed them as beneficial for the career in mind, 32.27% viewed them as interesting enough to lead towards a career choice, and 20.47% viewed the subjects as enjoyable. On the other hand, 13.38% of the participants viewed them as impractical, 5.51% as too difficult to pursue and 2.36% as not stimulating enough for pursuit.

Interestingly, since 81.10% of the participants were following the academic option at their school and only 18.11% were registered in the vocational option, 37.04% of the participants reported that they would prefer practical subjects to study, 9.44% would prefer science courses, 6.29% would prefer learning other languages, 6.29% would prefer sports and 5.51% would prefer commerce courses because 25.98% of the participants considered them beneficial in preparing them for their career, 19.68% considered them interesting and perhaps leading towards a career choice, and 14.96% considered the enjoyment of these courses for their own sake.

Generally, the participants expressed a preference for practical courses that would teach them appropriate skills required in the workplace once they leave school, reflecting a desire to ensure opportunity for participating in society.

EXPERIENCES OF THE EUROPEAN-BORN PARTICIPANTS

In the past, there was little consideration given to children who had not been born in an English-speaking country and who had attended school elsewhere before coming to Canada. The experiences were mostly negative, in that there were inappropriate placements for immigrant children in Canadian schools. The dilemma of where to place immigrant children upon their arrival was solved by way of determining their knowledge of English or the level of their schooling in the country of origin. The placement of immigrant

children in low grades attended by younger children was not uncommon, nor was it uncommon for these children to be placed in classes reserved for children with learning disabilities or with mild retardation.

Recently, more positive measures have been taken to facilitate the transition into regular grades. "Welcome Classes" have become available to help immigrant children understand a little of the educational process and to familiarize them with the language and culture of the society. In addition, special instructional materials have been developed for use in these classrooms. After a short period, the acculturation process is completed and immigrant children get ready to participate in regular classes by using their new language skills and to become involved in school activities.

Although immigrant children had problems adjusting to the country, their inadequate command of the English language hindered the expected progress at school. The apparent language problem was ignored and immigrant children were expected to work at the same level as their anglophone counterparts. Adjustment to the new country and educational system was easier for those children entering Canada and school at a young age, who eventually gained command of the English language and performed reasonably well at school without special help. Although some children failed in their attempt to adjust and to perform, other children succeeded due to their determination in overcoming difficulties, hard work, and encouragement from their parents. Occasionally,

there were teachers who took an interest in the children and encouraged them to develop academically. Some of the problems encountered by immigrant children include, speaking and thinking in one or another language, or both when trying to express themselves. A balanced bilingualism came much later in their school stay.

Most of the participants were born in Canada as only 19.68% were born elsewhere, and acquired English relatively easily. However, those who knew no English at all had difficulties adjusting in their new school and became overwhelmed by the demands made on them. In a relatively short time, they overcame their language problems and began to make progress in school. Adolescents arriving in Canada had a harder time than younger children, needing to work hard and be determined to master the language in order to be successful in the Canadian school system.

MAINTENANCE OF THE ETHNIC LANGUAGE AT HOME

The acquisition of English for 30.57% of the participants who were of Ethnic descent but who claimed an English identity, appears to be at the expense of their Ethnic language. More specifically, 25% of the Spanish participants, 34.21% of the Portuguese, 38.09% of the Italian, 50% of the French, and 100% of the Trinidadian, the Indian, and the Polish participants have reported that they identify with the English cultural group, and as a consequence, have suffered a loss of their Ethnic language

and culture. In all of the cases where the home language was predominantly Greek, the Greek identity has been maintained since there appears to be no loss of the Ethnic language and culture.

The shift in identity and the loss of the Ethnic language for the other cultural groups represented in this study, agrees somewhat with the findings of Fishman (1966), and Dil (1972), which suggest that the loss of Ethnic languages in the U.S. was due to the failure of Ethnic-Americans to keep the mother-tongue as the language of the home and family. By way of comparison, the French cultural group although enjoying a majority status in Quebec, in the it has rest of Canada, as a minority group, unchallenged from outside in preserving their language and The Ethnic groups of Canada however, culture at home. attempt to augment their minority status by considering integration into either of the dominant cutural groups to ensure for opportunities.

Although the Ethnic language has been maintained exclusively at home, parents give way to dominant society so that their children may enjoy success without being hampered by their Ethnic identity. Perhaps, it is this perceived consequence, which possibly explains why formal education according to the reports of the participants, in the Ethnic language, and membership in Ethnic associations has declined for all groups. The Ethnic language continues to be a part of the family and spoken by the members however, activation opportunities for the language depend on the interactions of

the participants. The Ethnic language is used by 51.96% of the participants with their parents, and 1.57% with their siblings, while 26.77% of the participants use both English and their Ethnic language with their parents and 20.47% with their siblings, compared to 10.23% of the participants who speak English with their parents and 61.41% who speak English with their siblings. Participants are maintaining their Ethnic language at home by way of participating in communication exchanges with their parents in that language, more often than when communicating with their siblings, although allowances are made within the family for activation of the English language.

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For immigrants, Ethnic culture and language and identity has no place in Canada, and certainly not Quebec, if these families wish to gain admission and maintain access to the social, economic and political structures of the country. Immigrants recognize that education is the vehicle towards economic success and certainly aided by the acquisition of the language(s) of the dominant society. Thus, parents urge their children to learn English or French as a means to see them integrate into the group they feel closest to in order to alleviate the fear of consequences for the future, and to ensure equality of opportunity without having their children being treated "different" by members of the dominant society. Being perceived as "different" is an unfavourable outcome in that this perception carries the stigma of not quite measuring up to the members of dominant society, and leading to

repercussions, when in the pursuit of success. Participant No. 40 of Italian descent described her parents' encouragement to learn English for the purpose of future economic opportunity and acceptance by the dominant society they identified with.

My parents still don't know good English and don't have much education so they work very hard at their jobs which they are happy to have ... I don't want to be like my parents always trying to work better because they don't want to lose their job ... my mother cleans buildings at night and my father works in factory...they say they want me to get a better job for good pay so I won't be afraid lay offs... I must do well in school and learn English very well and do my best with French...they want me to respect from everybody and to stand up for myself and be nothing like them...they are happy that I in Canada and to have the opportunity to get an education and to plan for a career...I don't people to see me as a dumb and loud Italian because am a Canadian with a Canadian education and I can do as as anybody else... I want to study commerce maybe work up to an executive position ... I'm glad I'm doing well in school now and hope to continue doing so...it will mean a lot to me if I could parents' dream come true with my success...my think I will do very well and they encourage me as much as my parents do...(Participant No. 40)

The participants of this study, showed a move English once it was acquired, some speaking mainly English at home because the parents urged this thinking that it will enable them to progress at school and be accepted into Canadian society, generally implying that the Ethnic language deteriorated as a consequence. Participants who were maintaining their Ethnic language at home according to rules set out by their parents who made allowances for the use of English under certain situations. Otherwise, the Ethnic language was the unquestioned language of the home. Speaking the Ethnic language with parents, for some participants, was a matter of course, and considered to a normal response, while speaking English with parents seemed strange and considered unnatural. This was due mainly to the parents' lack of knowledge of the English language. The parents' insistence on the Ethnic language alone at home is an attempt to preserve what little remains of their culture and way of life, but this condition isn't successful. There is however, the matter of pleasing the parents when children speak the Ethnic language at and this might have a value in itself. The pattern emerging, shows that children speak their Ethnic language with their parents but speak English with their siblings. Occasionally, participants use a mixture of English and the language at home with parents and siblings.

It becomes difficult to speak the Ethnic language once a child is in an English environment at school all day, where speaking English has become much easier. Although when

in an environment with peers of the same Ethnic group, children naturally form social groups and speak the native tongue. At times the Ethnic language is used to ensure that whomever overhears does not understand the conversation. Otherwise, the ability to speak the Ethnic language is of no use outside of this circumstance, especially when speaking English or French is more acceptable in society.

The presence of relatives and particularly grandparents at home or nearby is a positive influence on the lives of the participants and in maintaining the Ethnic language. Without these relatives and the interactions sustained between them, the participants Ethnic language would be lost along with the culture. Another possibility for Ethnic language and cultural maintainance would be strongly Ethnic marriage partners who could help maintain the Ethnic language and culture whereas mixed marriages encourage a compromise for English in the home and at family gatherings.

The opportunities to speak the Ethnic language are becoming limited. Participants voluntarily speak their Ethnic Language with relatives and with parents and occasionally with siblings and friends although the English language is used most often when participants speak with siblings and friends, in accordance to what is an acceptable means of communication in society.

USE OF THE ETHNIC LANGUAGE OUTSIDE THE HOME

Ethnic language maintenance has generally been

attributed to efforts within the home than in clubs and organizations or among the Ethnic friends of the childrens' own age group and consequently, has had a greater impact on their lives. The decline in Ethnic language maintenance to date, has been due to the limited opportunities to preserve the Ethnic language outside the home, even though it has been common for Ethnic children to participate in cultural activities at Ethnic associations and sustain friendships with peers using the Ethnic language in some instances, as an accepted means of communication.

is not to say that the churches, and parishes Ethnic concentration, have not endeavored to maintain the Ethnic language of a group as the means of communication, or that the organizations established for the teaching of Ethnic language have not been successful in view of perceived pressures from dominant society which Ethnic groups must cope with. Parents have urged their children to attend their Ethnic schools if only to improve their command of the Ethnic language since the academic learning of the language remains separate from the children's actual use. Generally, when children attend their Ethnic school, comply with the conditions of the classroom and communicate in the Ethnic language however, once outside, children revert to speaking English with classmates. Perhaps, course content of the Ethnic schools may hold the of the children as they explore the history, geography or literature of the country of origin, but the language itself remains underdeveloped.

Although social organizations and activities, such as girl guide and boy scout groups formed within Ethnic communities exist in a less formal way than Ethnic schools, the purpose of these organizations is to augment the use of the Ethnic language. The very informality of the Ethnic social organizations however, impedes on the progress of Ethnic language usage since communication exchanges among children take place in English despite the fact that instruction takes place in the Ethnic language. There appears to be a preference for English as it is reserved for discussing serious business, over the Ethnic language, with the exception perhaps of instances where the Ethnic language serves the children better in telling jokes or stories that might lose in translation, or fail to make the point that the children wish to express.

The Ethnic language is preferred when it is thought appropriate by the children and relative to their mood. Often the Ethnic language is used to confuse or to prevent others from understanding, when discussing a personal matter. Children however, are most reluctant to use the Ethnic language when forced to speak to new arrivals or visitors, essentially leading to one-sided conversations, because they are aware of their poor command of the Ethnic language and the possibilities of making embarassing grammatical errors.

The frequency of Ethnic language usage at social organizations, clubs and associations depends upon the type of activity, and the composition of the group which dictates

the language preference. When convenient, members of social organizations act as translators if a group is composed of individuals from other Ethnic groups. In the case of sports, members choose a common language as a means of communication order to proceed with the activity, when even in sponsorship comes from a particular Ethnic association. Since membership in some social organizations is open to whoever wishes to participate regardless of ethnicity, then the maintenance of a particular Ethnic language becomes difficult when language preference based on accommodation becomes the overriding factor. At other social organizations when language is dictated by significant others, the language preference of individuals or groups is discouraged various situations, although on occasion, in prohibitions cease to be effective.

The Ethnic language appears to be maintained at but does not carry over outside, even though Ethnic social organizations exist for the purpose of fulfilling the mandate of effecting continuity for the language and cultural heritage of the group. Although children live in neighborhoods with large Ethnic concentrations, the Ethnic language appears to be maintained mainly by parents. The younger generation does not lack the knowledge but necessity and confidence to use the Ethnic the language dominant society places less emphasis on cultural since inheritance and more emphasis on integration.

READING AND WRITING IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGE

In general, most Ethnic children born in Canada could speak their Ethnic language even if their oral proficiency less than adequate. Of those who eventually master language, the enhanced capacity for reading spoken writing will have been contingent on the amount of exposure and the quality of experiences provided towards proficiency. largely The Ethnic language is first introduced and emphasized at home to convey continuity within the and later the Ethnic community. Apart from communication exchanges taking place between parents and children, other participation opportunities provided include folkloric tales and songs, and play activities to develop the children's oral language skills.

Ethnic language proficiency is further enhanced with instruction received at Ethnic schools. The attendance of Ethnic school and length of study which invariably promotes oral and written expression is reinforced by instruction taking place at home, provided that parents are competent in grammar, and other components of the language, and have an appreciation of the history and literature of the country of origin. Home lessons as an additional resource, prove to be beneficial, complementing the formal lessons at the Ethnic school as interest and understanding increases towards maintenance of the language and culture in later years. As children gain confidence in using the Ethnic language, they engage in reading and writing pursuits for themselves, and

exchange oral and written communications with friends and relatives.

VISITS TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Other opportunities which provide exposure and experiences towards Ethnic language proficiency include receiving visitors, paying visits, or attending school in the country of origin. Canadian or native-born Ethnic children gain or regain an appreciation of the customs and traditions, the values, the speech patterns, and the general way of life of the people of their Ethnic group. The authenticity of activities and prevalence of Ethnic expression and thought lend to the development of language, the embracing of culture and the affirmation of identity.

SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC USAGE

The type of linguistic systems which were developed by the participants of this study, depended on the means by which language was transmitted and acquired and the frequency of current usage. The Ethnic language involved oral proficiency in the pre-school years and was later enhanced to some degree with home lessons or Ethnic school although reading and writing, and the frequency of activation was negligible due to the perceived lack of necessity and limited opportunities. The written and oral components of the English language were acquired at their

regular school and eventually, the English linguistic systems of most children included greater facility in expression, resulting in more frequent usage than the Ethnic linguistic systems they had first developed in pre-school years.

ATTITUDES TO ETHNIC LANGUAGE

The concrete facts derived from the questionnaires about language usage do not fully explain why the Ethnic linguistic systems of the participants failed to develop in the same way as the English linguistic systems, which comprise their second language. The attitudes of the participants in the bilingual and sometimes in the trilingual setting or situation revealed that the preference for English for everyday communication was based on the availability of numerous opportunities to develop and to activate the language, whereas the opportunities to use and develop their Ethnic linguistic systems were far more limited.

The cultural facts from the memoirs concerning attitudes to the Ethnic language were sometimes indirectly revealed in the writers' assessment of their command of the Ethnic language, the effectiveness of Ethnic school curriculum and Ethnic language instruction, opinions about the Canadian school and its curriculum and teachers, and their hopes and aspirations for the future. Attitudes directly derived from memoirs point to the feelings

expressed by writers about the Ethnic language and its importance in their lives. This detailed investigation of attitudes is essential in order to understand the concrete facts found in the questionnaires about linguistic usage.

ASSESSMENT OF ETHNIC SCHOOL

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The Ethnic school provided opportunities and access language and culture and facilitated formal linguistic activation among the writers participating in the activities available both at the Ethnic school and at the Ethnic organizations. Although 8.26% of the Ethnic participants of study attended Ethnic school at the time investigation, 90% of those having attended made a positive assessment concerning instruction in that 60% perceived merits of understanding the language and culture for purpose of gaining an appreciation of the Ethnic community, 20% conceded to the enjoyment of receiving instruction participating in activities that allowed for the development of an enhanced awareness of the Ethnic community and a sense continuity, and 10% acknowledged the social and of individual benefits of attending the Ethnic school in that reinforced membership to the Ethnic group along with a sense of identity, while 5% made a negative assessment referring to the personal imposition experienced as a direct result of attending Ethnic school and 5% who were unhappy about the practical aspects of Ethnic lessons referred to their unimpressive academic performance and the basic lack of preparation in facing the challenges presented.

The majority of those participants who had attended Ethnic school, that is, 40% were members of the Portuguese social group, followed by 20% who were members of the Italian social group, 10% who were of the Greek social group, and 10% who were of the Chinese social group, suggesting a link to the Ethnic community and a recognition of their Ethnic identity.

experience of attending Ethnic school for the The participants was irregular in that grade placements did not coincide with those of the Canadian school, and there were instances where participants were obliged to repeat grades in order to achieve mastery. With consideration to the number of years attended and the actual grade in Ethnic school, it appears that of the 10% of those children who were enrolled in grade 3 at their Ethnic school, 50% attended their Ethnic school for 3 years, of the 50% of those enrolled in grade 5, 80% attended for 5 years, of the 10% enrolled in grade 9, 50% attended for 9 years, and of the 20% enrolled in grade 11, 100% attended their Ethnic school for 11 years. Furthermore, the number of additional years spent in each grade attended to repeat material their Ethnic school appear to decrease as the participants gain expertise in their studies.

Participation in Ethnic organizations appears to be moderately higher than participation in Ethnic school, in that 13.22% of the participants engaged in these social and

cultural activities. In effect, Ethnic organizations are in direct competition in terms of time management, with other activities taking place at the Canadian school, the Ethnic school, at home, within the community, at the work place, other social organizations providing leisure and at activities. However, of the participants involved with activities at Ethnic associations, 50% were of Portuguese descent, 40% were of Greek descent, and 10% were of Italian descent. Moreover, even though the participants were members of Ethnic associations, very few endeavored in scholarly who benefitted most from pursuits. Of those their involvement at Ethnic associations only 10% indicated that their activities were academic, while 40% indicated leisure, and 50% indicated sports, as a means by which to complement the social aspect of their lives.

Indirect statements of attitude were often revealed in the memoirs concerning Ethnic schools that were set up in different locals of the Ethnic communities, affiliated either to churches or various social organizations. The writers presented negative evaluations, for reasons having to do with poor management in Ethnic schools, peer pressure and personal imposition. Participant No. 17 of Portuguese descent noted her disappointment in her Ethnic school.

My friends made fun of me because I went to Portuguese school so I don't go anymore...we used to have classes in the basement of our church that was so small for us...we didn't have desks only chairs and we could write only on our laps...we never had the same teacher

because somebody's mother or whatever came for a while and then somebody else came...we did our homework but it wasn't checked on time or the new teacher didn't know we had it and she gave us new homework...everybody was so mixed up from this...(Participant No. 17)

On the other hand, positive evaluations related to parental involvement, peer approval and personal benefit. Participant No. 12 of Greek descent evaluated his Ethnic school positively.

am so happy I go to Greek school... I am doing very well...after each lesson my mother helps me at home if dcn't understand something... I can read more things in Greek...I like the stories called myths and I one day to visit the places where some of these myths took place, like the Minotaur's cave and around the Parthenon and things like that...me and my friends enjoy Greek school because it's fun and we get to learn so many different things... I get to draw things that go with my homework and the teacher knows I draw well so he lets me do it, he is good to us in many ways...me and my friends try to do better than each other you know and see who gets better grades for things because the end of the year we get prizes and a special certificate ... I already have a few and now I think I'm good as my cousins in Greece that I write to...(Participant No. 12)

These comments referred to the effectiveness of the Ethnic school as an institution than to the Ethnic language.

The Ethnic school system was perceived to be inefficient in transmitting knowledge chiefly because the teachers themselves were often members of the community who did not have special training for taking on the duty of teaching. Being inexperienced with teaching, the instructors had trouble maintaining class order long enough to impart knowledge. Participant No. 83 of Portuguese descent described his Ethnic school system and of the problems within.

I remember I wasted my time in my Portuguese school because some kids treated the teacher like they do with subs in our every day school...make noises and jokes...even put crazy glue to the teacher's chair and she didn't come back...that year almost all the time went to take attendance and then it was recess and then we came back late to settle down...after that she just give homework to start at school until it was time to go...she didn't explain good so we couldn't do it...(Participant No. 83)

This outcome was related to the classes being operated on the basis of ability as determined by the knowledge children already possessed before joining, rather than age. Despite this arrangement, difficulties arose impeding the progress of children since teachers could not present material appropriate for each designated grade, without considering those who lacked basic knowledge in the areas that were being studied. The children's lack of basic preparation was blamed on their upbringing, that is, the

familialization of language before exposure to the components of culture and identity, since the school could only reinforce that which the parents have initiated at home. Participant No. 57 of Italian descent noted the situation concerning his Ethnic school.

In my school we had grade one to grade six all in the same room...even if there was four of us in grade six we couldn't do all of us the same thing...I was more expert so I had to wait a long time so that the teacher can finish with the others so he can teach me something I don't already know...so I was bored most of the time or I laughed with myself at the first and second graders who was older like me that made so many mistakes they should have already learnt it at home like how they spell their name or write the date in Italian...they made like almost as many mistakes when they were talking Italian...(Participant No. 57)

Furthermore, activities taking place at the Ethnic school became boring, stupid, or horrible, contributing to the failure of the school to fulfill its function of teaching the Ethnic language and culture since the significance of the course of study was not impressed upon the children, as it bore no consequences on future outlook on life in Canada in comparison to their studies at their Canadian school. Participant No. 41 of Portuguese descent provided her evaluation of the Portuguese school she had attended.

When I went to my Portuguese school I should have used

the time to do better in my homework from my English school, that was more important...should have given myself the chance and get good grades I need to graduate...Portuguese school won't help me get to CEGEP...(Participant No. 41)

The preference to be with friends or to please them by not attending Ethnic school was a major point of conflict between parents and children. Peer pressure justified discontinuation of studies, since the fear of being left out by their peer group was greater than the pressure exerted by the parents. As a consequence, children remained unconvinced of the benefits of learning the Ethnic language, and the identity shared by the Ethnic group. Participant No. 73 of Italian descent explained how peer pressure convinced parents that their children could not be forced to attend their Ethnic school.

A lot of us ganged up on our parents and said NO to Italian school...I said that my friends didn't go to my parents and my friends told their parents the same thing...our parents didn't really want to force us when nobody was doing it...we thought it just wasn't cool and they give up because they didn't want to throw away money for this if you know we didn't want it...(Participant No. 73)

Participation in activities suggested by friends were more appealing than engaging in scholarly endeavors outside of regular school time. It was felt that time was better spent engaging in liesurely activities that were personally

satisfying. There was an unwillingness to invest time on studying lessons at the Ethnic school which were in addition to those of their Canadian school because this was perceived as a personal imposition and a disregard of their right to plan for and profit from their free time. Participant No. 25 of Italian descent described her reluctance to go to her Ethnic school.

I would rather spend some free time with my friends doing other things to relax...I work so hard at school work...it's not fair for me to spend time after school to go to my Italian school and then do that homework on top of that...it's too much...I don't want to have to work twice more than the rest of the other kids who don't have to go...they are not so special...they don't have to bust themselves like I do now at my Italian school...(Participant No. 25)

In summary, the children who received Ethnic language at home before attending Ethnic instruction school. evaluated activities as boring because they had to until peers caught up with the lessons. Activities were equally boring for those whose parents were not interested not insist that their children remain in Ethnic school. As a consequence, the writers did not remain long at their Ethnic school, to benefit from mastering language and culture, and worse, developed a distaste for the language and culture. The apparent distate for language and culture was directly related to the activities taking at their Ethnic school and not to the rejection of place

the language and culture. At issue were the disagreeable conditions within which teaching and learning took place, and the dictates of peer pressure relating to perceptions of the insignificance of attending Ethnic school and the insignificance of its reflections of identity. Participant No. 86 of Italian descent commented on the organization of her Ethnic school.

There has to be a better way for me and other kids that go to Italian school...they have to make our Italian school like our English school because now I don't think the teacher knows what he's doing and I'm turned off with Italian school...I'm not learning anything because I don't understand what he is explaining and I have to wait to ask questions...anyway I think I'm turning off Italian school because it is not really helping me with my high school diploma...maybe I should quit like my friends did a long time ago...if it was more organized it would be so much better to do things...(Participant No. 86)

Positive evaluations of the Ethnic school had to do with parental involvement, personal benefit and peer approval to attend school. The writers had a high regard for their Ethnic school and learned to enjoy attending even though they had been forced to do so by their parents. The parents stressed the significance of the Ethnic school and its teachings which were not unfamiliar to the writers given the strong base formed at home that facilitated and reinforced their preparation and participation in activities

taking place at the Ethnic school. Participant No. 28 of Portuguese descent indicated her approval of her Ethnic school and her pleasure in learning about her heritage.

I'm so happy that I get a different kind of learning in Portuguese school because I'm learning about myself and about the Portuguese people...before I didn't like it so much because my father forced me but now it is getting interesting and I have even more friends from this school...I'm doing well because my father helps me, he got me ready before I went to Portuguese school...now I get help from my father when I ask with a smile but I like to do most of this by my self...(Participant No. 28)

The writers conceded that the Ethnic school lessons had reaching effects in their lives, that is, Ethnic far language instruction made an improvement on speech, and their communications and awareness of the people of their own Ethnic group, as well as, having helped with realizing their Ethnic identity and re-evaluating their outlook on life in Canada. In hindsight, regrets were expressed for not having had the chance to attend the Ethnic school, using the opportunities they were presented with better than they had for learning the Ethnic language, or for not having continued attendance for a longer length of time than Most appealing would have invested. opportunity to have studied the Ethnic language at regular school within normal school hours, had it been offered. Participant No. 95 of Italian descent noted that her Ethnic school allowed her to better understand her cultural heritage although she would have preferred to receive this instruction sometime during the day at her regular school.

I got better and better in Italian school and now I understand a little bit more about the religion, and the history, and about the ideas that most of the older people have that I thought were just old-fashioned and didn't want to hear about...maybe they are but now I can understand... I wish that I had still gone to Italian school but I stopped because homework was too much and I didn't want to fail English school...maybe it would have been much better if my school gave Italian instead of projects in social studies or something so that I wouldn't have to go to school for longer like weekends on and sometimes after school...maybe in English school if I learned Italian then everyone can see it is important not just me saying I want to be Italian and Canadian and I want other people to have some respect for me like I do for them...everybody is important no matter what...(Participant No. 95)

Ethnic school was appealing and attended for a longer length of time than writers would have otherwise done because most of their friends were also attending. Peer approval was a greater influence on the writers' planning and maintenance attempts on activities than their parents' wishes or the writers' personal academic eagerness to pursue learning to read and to write in the Ethnic

language. Sharing the Ethnic language along with the various other activities at Ethnic school with peers inadvertently had a positive impact not only on community life but on Ethnic identity as well. Participant No. 23 of Portuguese descent indicated that he attended his Ethnic school mostly because his friends did.

I didn't really want to go to Portuguese school but most of my friends were going...they thought it was really neat...it turns out that we always have fun and we do so many things together...we even signed up the Portuguese folkloric dance group and we do shows for important holidays...I feel I belong more and I think I need that...(Participant No. 23)

The writers who benefitted the most from school, came from families that were highly interested in preserving Ethnic culture and whose parents remained active in community organizations. Although the parents themselves did not have sufficient time nor the necessary skills or knowledge for transmitting the Ethnic group's language and culture, they supported, and stressed the significance of the school's teaching and insisted on the attendance of Ethnic school for their children in the hopes of language and cultural continuity. The writers evaluated Ethnic school positively as it had to do with their friends' attendance there, forging a sense of community both within the Ethnic school and within the Ethnic community milieu. Participant No. 59 of Italian descent explained his sense of community as a result of his parents' enthusiasm and devoted service

to various associations and Ethnic social projects.

My mother and father are members of everything in the Italian community which makes them very busy and also have respect from a lot of their friends...they want to keep the Italian spirit in Canada by doing so many projects...they want me and my sisters to experience many things and to appreciate our culture...we have to show respect to my parents so people won't say we shame them and we have joined the association and do many activities...ofcourse we go to Italian school and make an example to the other kids...we don't have to do this but I think we like it because we have a chance for so much...many of our friends are also there and it pleases them...we learn so much and it brings everybody closer...(Participant No. 59)

ASSESSMENT OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE

The writers made direct statements in their memoirs concerning their feelings, opinions and ideas on the Ethric language without opposing the use of the language in Canada in principle, or refusing to speak it once having learned it. The critisism directed toward the Ethnic school did not signify that the writers were opposed to the language or culture, it was rather, an expressed discontent and rejection of the timing of classes, the organization, and the boredom involved in enduring the school's teaching of Ethnic language and culture. Participant No. 52 of Italian

descent commented on the inadequacy of her Ethnic school to teach the language and culture.

I don't mind so much about learning Italian or the Italian way of life at our Italian school, it's just that it's not like our regular school...there's so much distraction and the teachers can't get the lessons right for so many of us...we feel weird being with kids in a grade that are younger or older or who know more or less than us...it's not really enough time to teach us enough just on Saturdays because we forget things when we get back the next week...I would like it better if we could do a little bit during our school time every day...so we don't have to feel like we are going to school six days a week instead of five like everybody else...I want to learn about Italian and about my culture but it doesn't feel right the way it is now...(Participant No. 52)

The comments on the usefulness of knowing the Ethnic language, reflected the general transference of elements within the language to other languages and subjects learned in school. The Ethnic language also permitted exploration in written expression once orderly grammar was achieved, and the adventurous perusal of literary works. Overall, the ability to speak two or three languages was generally regarded an achievement, and an asset to their education. Of particular importance, was the facility of communication among friends and relations both in Canada and in the homeland. Moreover, the Ethnic language was considered as

the primary means of ensuring identity in that it enabled understanding the components of culture by way of shared experiences with idioms, expressions, and oral traditions which characterize a group and reinforce membership. Participant No. 64 of Greek descent indicated that she was content with the Greek language in that it allowed her to explore Greek literature.

I could never believe that I could get interested the Greek language never mind the literature... I have been able to read a few books by some pretty famous writers and I have found that they try to describe the character of Greeks but it's really not that easy, character descriptions we do in English class from our English short stories seem to be easier... I find that knowing Greek is useful to me not only because I can learn about my identity but because it also helps with my biology class where some of the words have Greek roots for example and I can't get mixed up because I can reason about what the meaning is ... I feel lucky that I can learn so much more...it helps to have a lot under your belt because you never know when you will need it... If I just keep speaking Greek every chance I get then I can improve on a lot of things and it will keep me feeling good about myself, about who I am...(Participant No. 64)

The expression of positive feelings towards the Ethnic language, related to a sense of thankfulness, and appreciation of being competent in more than one language.

Although there were regrets in not learning sufficiently more of the language, and in not being able to study the Ethnic language further either in Ethnic school or as part of the Canadian school curriculum, the positive attitudes expressed by writers indicated a continuity of their language and of their heritage. Participant No. 35 of Portuguese descent noted positive feelings toward the Portuguese language and culture.

I feel really sorry that I didn't go to Portuguese school for longer to learn how to write good...I think knowing many languages makes people special but its even more special when one of them is your own language...I will keep speaking Portuguese at least and I hope to get better in reading and writing...I wish I wasn't stupid to drop out of Portuguese school but I will make my children go because I know it is important and they better listen to me not like I did with my parents...(Participant No. 35)

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO ETHNIC LANGUAGE

There were indications in the writers' memoirs of their e aluation of the Ethnic language having undergone a change in attitude during the course of their studies. At first, home lessons in the Ethnic language were regarded with disdain, prompting the participants to expend little effort as they were experiencing a growing resentment toward mastery of reading and enhancement of writing skills since

these lessons were perceived to impose a futile endeavor to learn in a language that was of no use to the writers Canada. Eventually however, a genuine concern and delight for work done in the Ethnic language developed as the writers became engrossed in the history and the literature of the homeland and engaged in its richness of folklore and culture that they would otherwise not have known. Attitudes language change was affected by friendships formed with those who were more strongly Ethnic than the writers themselves. The influence was pronounced and deepened, allowing the writers the opportunity to rekindle their interest in the Ethnic language after their introduction and experiences at home and to continuity after the primary school years into adulthood. Participant No. 38 of Italian descent described his changing attitude toward the Italian language and culture.

I started learning Italian at home...I didn't like it when I was younger because I wanted to do other things...when I went to Italian school I saw that it was more fun than I thought...I made friends with these guys who already went for a visit to Italy and they could speak Italian to their grandmother and the rest of the family...I want to be good enough in Italian for when I go this summer for a visit and to see the museums of classical stuff and read some of the stories on the Roman empire in Italian from the library when I go to Rome...I am Italian no matter what so I will try to understand even more...if I have children I will

want to show them what it is to be Italian but first they have to learn how to talk then we go for the hard stuff like Michealangelo the painter and Mussolini the soldier before he turned bad like my father says...it doesn't hurt anyone to know a lot of things because then you can talk about more things like my mother says...(Participant No. 38)

On the basis of positive influences, the memoir writers also indicated indirectly that they would be agreeable to the idea of transmitting the Ethnic language and the culture to future generations by maintaining the Ethnic language at home within the family. This strong positive attitude however, might be difficult to realize, given the probability of marriages to partners outside of one's Ethnic group. Participant No. 44 of Portuguese descent indicated that she was looking forward to observing a continuity of her heritage.

I know I want to make my children know Portuguese...so they know they have a past and to be proud like I am of this...maybe it won't be easy because things change in the world...if I get married with another Portuguese it will be easy...I don't know yet because I will have to try...even if I get married with somebody who is not Portuguese I think I have to respect what he wants to do with himself but I want for our children to know that they have more than anyone else in this way because the more they know it is better...anyway I am happy that my parents did this for me and I hope I can

do like my parents did for me and my brothers and at least keep talking Portuguese...(Participant No. 44)

FACTORS IN THE MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE

The linguistic experience of the participants comprised of the development of Ethnic linguistic systems at home which became their dominant and exclusive language during the pre-school years and was replaced with English linguistic systems at the oral and literary level once attendance at the Canadian schools had begun.

Although the parents had been able to promote Ethnic language usage in the home and competence of Ethnic literary forms by providing opportunities for home lessons, Ethnic school, and membership to Ethnic organizations for children, the viability of Ethnic language maintenance impeded by the English-speaking forces reflected in school, peer group, mass media, and society at large which resisted by the parents and could not bе organizations as they lacked time, resources or influence to control them. The parents were resigned to accept the decline in their children's command and usage of the Ethnic language and relied on the home situation and relatives bring about activation. friends to influence and Regretfully, the participants themselves, failed to strong their oral Ethnic linguistic systems or master the literary forms of the language.

As discussed previously, the personal linguistic

systems of Ethnic individuals in a plural society are contingent on the quality and accessibility of the group linguistic system available and the willingness or tendency to use the group linguistic system (Smolicz 1979). Concrete facts from the memoirs show the limitations of the Ethnic language available to most of the participants. Many parents were not educated above primary school level and less had tertiary education. The language proficiency of Ethnic parents uneducated beyond grade school was limited to domestic, work and general social areas of life and did not include intellectual, abstract areas of cultural knowledge. Access to Ethnic-stock included a little time after school for engagement in activities at home and a few hours a week some Ethnic function once participants had at attending their Canadian school.

When compared to the situation of English-Canadian peers, access for Ethnic-Canadian children to group stock appears more restricted. The exposure to an English-speaking environment at Canadian schools for the better part of the day gave Ethnic participants greater access to English oral and literary forms. The Canadian school reinforces and extends the home language of its English pupils, whereas this provision is absent for Ethnic pupils who may wish to develop and keep the Ethnic linguistic systems they had first acquired at home.

Given that cultural facts showed an ongoing tendency to maintain the Ethnic language by way of the participants' evaluation of the language itself, assessment of experiences

with the language and future hopes and aspirations for its continuity, the infrequent activation of the Ethnic linguistic systems cannot be due to purposeful rejection or indifference towards maintenance (Johnston, 1974).

The infrequent activation of Ethnic linguistic systems perhaps has to do with the assumption that in Canadian society, knowing a language other than English or French, is unecessary and odd, if not a handicap, whereas using English or French in all areas except the home appears as a proper, natural and inevitable course of events. This ideological value has influenced the tendencies of Ethnic children to the extent that they use English in situations where they could have activated the Ethnic linguistic systems with siblings or Ethnic friends their own age more often than they do.

The preference for the English language and ethos be related to the need for avoidance of attention themselves appearing as different from their Canadian peers. Perhaps, this was a passive submission to the status quo in society as it was easier for participants to use the English linguistic system since it was better developed and activated more often, than making the effort to speak the language in contexts where it was not necessary or Ethnic perceived to be less valued. At home, the ideological commitment to maintain the Ethnic language and the parents' inability to speak English took over the assumption of English monolingualism being dominant in society at Thus, the participants continued to activate the Ethnic

language as they could with their parents. If pluralism was well established in Canada, then the Ethnic-Canadian participants would have better Ethnic linguistic systems and use them in many more contexts than they do at present.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN LINGUISTIC USAGE

In the linguistic experience of the Ethnic-Canadian participants of this study, the Canadian school has ensured the transmission and emphasized the importance of one of the dominant languages, that is, the English language, while making no provisions for Ethnic language instruction. The provision of Ethnic language instruction in Canadian public schools may lend support to the Ethnic linguistic resources available to children at home since it is unlikely that the home alone can assure religious instruction, Ethnic linguistic transmission and Ethnic literacy (Galush, 1977).

The problematic condition of Ethnic language activation has arisen out of the indirect transmission of the ideological value of monolingualism, that is, identification with one of the dominant cultural groups of Canada. Language competence in either English or French is viewed as essential for progress at school, and later, for economic and social success. The Ethnic language background of children is generally ignored since schools assume they acquire language competence in the same manner as children from English-speaking backgrounds. When difficulties are experienced, teacher attitudes and methodologies developed

for special English classes are reflective of the view that Ethnic children are educationally disadvantaged as a consequence of their first language.

The Canadian school has been responsible emphasizing the dominant role of the English language in the lives of the Ethnic-Canadian participants of this study, although it has not dissipated the continuity of the mothertongue regardless of limited activation. The maintenance of Ethnic linguistic systems depend upon opportunities and of activation by the present and future frequency generations and recognition and acceptance by dominant society of an ideological view that encourages linguistic diversity.

Chapter IV

ETHNIC AND CANADIAN?

The activation of linguistic and other Ethnic cultural values and the ideological attitudes and self-identity were considered as criteria in evaluating the participants' views and hence facilitating the analysis of identity. The views concerning their identity were revealed by way of cultural facts in memoirs and concrete facts in questionnaires. analysis of identity is comparable to the undertaken for language usage and attitudes expressed by the participants of this study, towards Ethnic language activation as discussed previously with regard to linguistic systems. The participants' linguistic and cultural experience showed a basic connection when compared, to the prevalent ideological values generally inherent in society, and the ideological values inherent particularly in the school and in the home.

IDEAL_TYPES_OF_CULTURAL_ACTIVATION_AND_SENSE_OF_IDENTITY

The ensuing evaluation of cultural values activated by the participants and influenced by society, the school, and the home, was based on earlier discussions preceding this chapter, on concrete facts found in the memoirs and in the questionnaires and cultural facts found in the memoirs which included data that focused on: elements associated with

family beliefs and interactions demonstrating collectivity and cohesion; the formation of friendships with other Ethnic children; the maintainance of membership in Ethnic organizations; oral usage of the Ethnic language; and the mastery of Ethnic language skills.

In the first phase of the analysis of identity, with reference to the concrete and cultural facts found in the memoirs and in the questionnaires, the participants indicated a wide range of activation of cultural values which were classified into five ideal types (Smolicz and 1981), including the category of Insecure Secombe Bicultural, a term first suggested by Clyne (1969) in relation to language, representing an extension of the classifications developed in earlier investigations (Smolicz 1976. 1979: Harris 1977). Apart from this difference from former classification, identity was not included as a component in the representation of ideal types of cultural activation but used separately to compare with cultural activation.

With regard to this study, under the first representation of ideal types of cultural activation, 18.48% of the participants of Ethnic descent activated mainly Ethnic values classified as High Ethnic cultural activation. A wide range of Ethnic and Anglo-Franco Canadian cultural values were activated by 19.32% of the Ethnic participants and classified as Secure Bicultural cultural activation. Alongside well-developed Anglo-Franco Canadian cultural systems 31.09% of the Ethnic participants

fewer Ethnic cultural systems and classified as activated Bicultural cultural activation. Insecure Anglo-Franco Assimilate cultural activation applied to 27.73% of the participants who activated mainly Anglo-Franco Ethnic Canadian cultural values under this classification. The lack of commitment to either the Ethnic or the Anglo-Franco values of these communities was classified as Marginal 3.36% of activation involving the Ethnic cultural participants. The ideal type of identity has been set alongside self-identity in order to understand adaptation to Canadian society. Participants had drawn cultural values from the Ethnic and the Canadian community which enhance the development of personal ideological systems and hence, a sense of identity.

The discussion of the participants' cultural identity, and the exploration of the possible factors involved in the development of personal ideological systems constitute the second part of the analysis of identity. More specifically, the participants' expressions of beliefs and hopes for the future of their Ethnic culture in Canada and the formulated impressions of the foreseen impact on the society and its potential transformation were identified. These expressions, with reference to humanistic sociological theory of culture, could indicate the type of personal ideological systems being developed by the participants.

In view of the participants' cultural activation, ideological orientation appears to be based on perceptions of themselves and their identity that would complement and

enhance their participation in society and would ensure opportunities for future success. Self-Identity takes reference from the cultural values which have been activated and have had an impact on the participants' attitudes and actions so as to influence the future development of personal ideological systems. The participants of this study, developed personal ideological systems from a wide range of types of cultural activation expressing their sense of identity. This development will be discussed in more detail below. In Table IV, ideal types of Cultural Activation are juxtaposed with Self-Identity, illustrating adaptation to Canadian society.

TABLE IV

Juxtaposition of Cultural Activation and Self Identity*

		Self Ident	tity		
	Dual Identity (Ethnic and Canadian)				
Cultural Activation					
	Ethnic	Ethnic- weighted	Balanced	Canadian- weighted	Identity unclear
High Ethnic	21 Greek				1 Armenian
Bicultural	2 Italian 2 Portuguese	1 Armenian 3 Italian 6 Portuguese 1 Spanish 1 Yugoslavian	6 Italian 1 Portugue:	se	
Insecure Bicultural	12	1 Italian 2 Portuguese	1 Italian 2 Portugue	5e	4 Chinese
Anglo- Assimilate	16 Italian 13 Portuguese			1 Lebanese 2 Polish 1 Trinida- dian	
Marginal	1 East Indian 1 Spanish				2 East Indian

^{*} Adapted from Smolicz J. J., & Secombe M. J. (1981). The Australian school through children's eyes: A Polish-Australian view. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

ETHNIC IDENTITY

Self-Identity for 21 participants who were of Greek descent was developed with reference to high cultural activation of Ethnic cultural systems, that is, the Ethnic cultural systems matched the Ethnic ideological personal systems for identity. The Ethnic cultural systems were dominant, as the participants felt more Greek than Canadian in most areas of life in spite of well-developed Anglo-Canadian personal ideological systems. The personal ideological system remained uninfluenced by the ideological values transmitted by the Canadian school, although not exclusively monistic, since there was an awareness of possible assimilation in the future, and of Ethnic identity being absorbed into Canadian identity. Participants remained optimistic, however, about effort in maintaining Ethnic culture in Canada. Participant No. 81 of Greek descent referred to high activation of Ethnic cultural systems.

I feel very Greek even though I was born in Canada and went to school here...I feel an outsider and not Canadian in any way but I work ok in school and don't have problems in English...I feel Greek all the way because I feel I belong more...I am finishing grade 11 in Greek school soon and I am proud because now I can learn about more things...I am a member of the Cretan association that lets us guys do all sorts of activities and even get to hear the different way we speak in Crete...At the Hellenic community I meet with

more friends and we get to learn history and religion and sometimes we have shows and people that talk to us about Creece...For our holidays we have big parties and Greek dancing and theatre that we kids do for the parents...Me and my friends are proud to be Greek it makes our parents very happy... I feel I belong to Greece and I like that it is a country that is not afraid to fight and be free ... I feel Greek maybe because with Greek friends I feel welcome and when we talk to each other we know what each other means...we think the same way but at school it is different I have to find out what the teacher really means... I hope that I will keep Greek but I think things will change like they do in the U.S. where everybody is American and it is sad already when my cousins are like that...When we get together we can't speak Greek and they don't want be with me when they visit because I am too Greek for them...(Participant No. 81)

Although 4 of the participants, that is, 2 of Italian and 2 of Portuguese descent, had effective Ethnic cultural systems, opportunities for activation became fewer as a result ofthe formation of primary and secondary relationships with Canadian peers. The participants' ideological personal system drew cultural values from the Ethnic community, as well as, the Canadian community to remain active in Ethnic organizations while also pursuing other activities in Canadian society. This group participants was classified as Ethnic in self-identity and

Bicultural in activation. Participant No. 26 of Italian descent described his sense of identity.

I am always Italian in my heart...My family is from Italy but I am from Canada...We have a lot of fun with Italian friends but my brothers and me have lots of English friends and do lots of activities at school too with them...I am more Italian than my brothers maybe because I am the older one and my friends always say I am so Italian...My grandmother can't believe I am Canadese because I speak Italian so good and she likes me because I get along good with her...I like getting along with everybody because it is a big country Canada and I can be Italian sometimes and Canadian sometimes with some of the people and with some of the places...(Participant No. 26)

The limited Ethnic cultural systems of 27 of the participants represented by 13 Italian, 12 Portuguese, and 2 of Spanish descent, resulted from basic dislikes of some things having to do with conduct within the home, and the uninventiveness of Ethnic friends at Ethnic organizations which were evaluated negatively. The Ethnic linguistic and social systems were well-developed, however activation had become more limited. The participants identified themselves as Ethnic with no mention of regarding themselves as Canadian and reinforced this identification by expressing pride in their identity and hope that the oral and literary form of their Ethnic language would be available to future generations. The type of cultural activation for this group

of participants is compatible with the classification of Insecure Bicultural but have been considered as Ethnic according to statements referring to self-identity. Participant No. 77 of Portuguese descent outlined her cultural activation.

I used to go to Portuguese school and I used to go to the association for parties and dances and stuff like that all the time... I got bored after a while and the kids can have a hard head sometimes that I feel we are still in my mother's village or something...So close together and not looking away from our noses...So I only go to the big parties now and I quit Portuguese school after seventh grade because I had more homework in English school ... I know I am Portuguese and we have to stick together because if we don't do this then Portuguese is not going to be here for our kids...I want my kids to have what I have and to use Portuguese and bе proud of Portuguese in Canada like I am...(Participant No. 77)

Ethnic identity for 29 participants of this study, reflected by 16 Italian and 13 of Portuguese descent, involved the sentiment of being pleased with their Ethnic origin, but this pointed merely to an ideological attitude about ethnicity since few Ethnic values were being activated. In effect, due to lack of opportunity to speak and write, these participants did not possess Ethnic cultural systems for activation. The deficit in Ethnic cultural systems did not imply rejection since the

participants hoped to visit and learn more about the country of origin, and felt strongly about having the Ethnic culture activated by children in future, recommending that Ethnic language and heritage courses would become available as subjects in schools. Although these participants identified themselves as Ethnic, the predominate values correspond to Anglo-assimilate cultural activation. Participant No. 104 of Portuguese descent indicated her sentiments concerning her identity.

I am happy that I am part of a Portuguese family...I never went to Portugal but one day I want to go for a visit... I am beginning to like everything about being Portuguese especially now that I made some friends from sister's family that just came here... I am getting at speaking Portuguese but I wish I better better...I am sorry I did not go to Portuguese school for very long ... It would be easier if we had Portuguese classes in my high school... Maybe by the time I kids and I am still here this will happen... Maybe I will marry a Portuguese guy from Portugal and live there like my sister is going to do... Anyway I want to all the give kids chances Ι didn't mу have...(Participant No. 104)

In the past, Ethnic cultural systems were constructed through attendance of Ethnic school and Ethnic social functions at a variety of organizations however, 2 of the participants, 1 of East Indian and 1 of Spanish descent, rejected the cultural heritage as they matured in favor of

associating with peers of English descent or with other Ethnic Canadians. Despite the withdrawl from their own Ethnic social group, the participants still claimed an Ethnic identity. The ideological system which drew from the Ethnic cultural values remains contrary to the actual cultural values being activated. The participants have demonstrated Marginal cultural activation in face of Ethnic self-identity. Participant No. 33 of Spanish descent explained about his activation of cultural values and sense of identity.

I was born in Canada and I used to be very busy with my Spanish friends at school and at our club doing so many things but that was the easy time still in elementary school...I was very happy to always be with people who understand me and speak the same language... It was a big family with everyone and we always did things together...When I got to high school there was no time for these things because I had many things to do and I was also with new people and different friends that speak other languages but together we speak English ... I had to clean up my act and not have my accent and to think in another way... Now most of the time I speak English to everybody even my parents and I don't mind they get angry and don't understand... I have to be responsible now and be like a Canadian you know get along with everybody and play by the rules so I can get a chance for a diploma and maybe a good job... I know I Spanish but I think I have to be Canadian am

first...(Participant No. 33)

ETHNIC-WEIGHTED DUAL IDENTITY

participants acknowledged a dual identity but the Ethnic component of the ideological system was stronger than the Canadian component. This bias applied to 12 of participants, specifically 1 Armenian, 3 Italian, Portuguese, 1 Spanish and 1 of Yugoslavian descent, without pejudice to things Canadian. The Canadian school had little influence on their Ethnic identity, although the participants felt allied to Canada, being especially thankful for educational opportunities. The Ethnic community on the other hand, played a role on the development of their personalities, and ways of thinking. The feeling of having benefitted from both cultures has carried over to Bicultural activation, the values of the Ethnic, as well as, the Canadian communities yet these participants have retained an Ethnic-weighted identity. Participant No. 42 of Italian descent outlined his sense of identity.

I feel lucky that I am a Canadian you know to be able to go to school here and everything and to be part of North America like to be more modern with everything...This way I know I have a better chance with everything for what I want to do with my life but I can't stop feeling Italian because that's really my group of people...It is a good feeling to have a balance and I hope that Canadian and Italian will mix

well in the future so everyone can be happy...(Participant No. 42)

The activation of values from both cultural communities 3 of the participants, that is, 1 of Italian and 2 of Portuguese descent, is a source of conflict since they feel they must contend with opposite lifestyles, cultures attitudes to find a suitable solution for participation society. If the decision is to assimilate then the Ethnic culture and identity would be overidden since integration would make it impossible to retain Ethnic values. dilemma appears insurmountable in face of the heterogeneity society, where one cannot be simply Ethnic or simply Canadian. Perhaps, the degree of exposure to either the Ethnic or Canadian communities determines the proportion of the combination of values to be activated. Activating Ethnic cultural values would be more satisfying if all Canadians shared in the rich and distinctive heritages and accepted this social interaction. In view of the discord between lifestyles, carrying on Ethnic traditions in artificial situations in Canada has become a priority especially since they are real and relevant to their parents. Participants have developed personal ideological systems that are Insecure Bicultural in activation, but have retained a duality of identity that is Ethnic-weighted identity. Participant No. 54 of Portuguese descent related her sense of identity.

It is very hard for me to be Portuguese and Canadian at the same time...At home and with Portuguese people we

do things differently than when I am at school with teachers and friends and at my job ... I don't know what to do with myself... If I become a part of everybody else outside my home and my people then I'm going to be able to finally get a good job because of what I can do without seeing me as a Portuguese and the kinds of things people think about us but I'm going to lose everything that I learned because I come from a Portuguese family... This is hard to separate like that because always something stands out that doesn't go with the group of people I am with and what I am doing with them...It is like being two people and always being on guard to change into the right person at the right time... I wish that people can realize that almost everybody in Canada now is Canadian and something else...I think that us kids try to be Portuguese at least around our parents because it makes them happy is what they understand and because this more...(Participant No. 54)

BALANCED DUAL IDENTITY

There appears to be no conflict between the Ethnic and Canadian cultures for 7 of the participants, 6 of whom are of Italian descent, and 1 is of Portuguese descent. The personal ideological systems of these participants have developed a Balanced dual identity that is secure in that they have drawn from and activated Bicultural values. The

participants expressed pride in activating Ethnic values, as well as, Canadian values since this suggests advantage over the cultural resources of their Anglo-Canadian friends. Should there be a conflict, the participants feel that of the cultures would submerge the other, but in all probability, the Canadian culture would dominate given enough force from members of society. Ethnic identity and culture were recognized by the participants as the elements in the development of their personal ideological systems, but which have been complemented by other elements that were equally important from Canadian society. Participants feel that the country of origin denoted the heritage of their parents and their ancestors before them as a basis from which identity develops and for this reason have had high regard for their Ethnic culture. Heeding the request of their parents to activate their Ethnic values has had an important influence on the participants' development, an approach that has been evaluated positively and seen as part of a healthy development of the individual. These participants were placed under the classification of Bicultural in activation with a Balanced dual identity. Participant No. 115 of Italian descent noted her sense of identity based on activation of Ethnic and Canadian values.

I always felt good about where my parents come from and about me born in Canada...I think I have more than my English friends because I can speak three languages and I can write in almost all of them and I can be comfortable with more people and do more

activities... Now I am listening to new Italian and I go to Italian movies... I want someday to be a travel agent with trips to Italy or be in the Italian television to announce things or something...I extra good when my aunt sends me things from Italy like clothes or shoes from designers even...I don't about the future but because this is Canada then Italian could take second place and I don't think it would be the other way around ... I am with my Italian family and from there I have to grow to join the rest of the people... I know I have inside me certain things that make things better with my friends and other people because they see me as loud but warm and happy and a hard worker and I like that... It is important to stay happy and be comfortable with who you are and work from there...For me I want to continue to be Italian and Canadian...(Participant No. 115)

The 3 participants, 1 of Italian descent and 2 of Portuguese descent, who were considered as Insecure Biculturals in activation with Balanced dual self-identity activated few Ethnic cultural systems, implying incompleteness in activation of Ethnic and Canadian values since participants are familiar with a little of both cultures but do not feel as true members of their Ethnic social group from the country of origin, despite their heritage, Ethnic language, and their knowledge of the culture, nor Canadian, despite their upbringing and schooling in Canada. Ideologically they are committed to

both Ethnic and Canadian values, are comfortable in both milieux, and are able to participate in both communities. Participant No. 121 of Portuguese descent illustrated his sense of identity.

I am not sure I feel Canadian or Portuguese but I go to school and do many things that are different than when I am with my Portuguese friends and my family and have our games and dances and things like that...I feel ok when I am with one or the other group...I was born in Canada but I cannot stop being Portuguese...The problem of this is that I am not like my cousins from Portugal and I am no way like my English friends...I'm part of both kinds of people but I am not really like one or the other and that is why I cannot say I am really Canadian or really Portuguese...(Participant No. 121)

CANADIAN-WEIGHTED IDENTITY

At some stage, early in their lives, 4 of the participants, represented by 1 Lebanese, 2 Polish and 1 of Trinidadian descent, felt that their personal ideological systems had been derived from Canadian values due to difficulties experienced in the past in adjusting at school and learning the English language. They became immersed in things Canadian by activating Canadian linguistic systems more often and seeking friendships with Anglo-Franco Canadian peers to overcome impediments and conform to the dictates of dominant society. This preoccupation ameliorated

relationships with peers and augmented their language skills, as well as, promoting their acceptance in society. Once these goals were achieved, participants reverted back things Ethnic, by seeking to re-establish former to friendships, participate in activities, and re-activate linguistic systems in order to feel at ease with their Ethnic community. At certain times participants admitted to feeling more Canadian than Ethnic although there is a vague indication offeeling Ethnic in some ways. These participants were regarded as having a Canadian-weighted activating Anglo-assimilate self-identity and values. Participant No. 61 of Lebanese descent described his sense of identity and cultural activation.

I like to think I am Canadian because it is the best way if I want to make it in the future... I learned be Canadian and not immigrant like my parents think...I tried even harder to learn English so I can speak good enough because most of the guys I hang around with when I was younger were English so they can let me be in the group and to do my work in school . . . I had a tough time but it's a little bit better now...I feel more Canadian than Lebanese even if my parents are immigrant...To be Canadian most all the time is the way to go...(Participant No. 61)

IDENTITY NOT CLEARLY DEFINED

The Ethnic cultural systems of 1 Armenian participant

seem to be more developed and extensive although Canadian cultural systems are also activated in order function in the Anglo-Franco community. The Ethnic culture emphasized at home and the Canadian culture emphasized in conflict. disturbing the school appear to Ъe participant's sense of identity. It was believed that the will eventually be resolved if one conflict overrides the other. The participant preferred to activate Ethnic cultural systems but was able to see the good in both cultures and to concede to gains from exposure. Furthermore, the participant pointed out that there were no regrets Ethnic upbringing and that it would be a shame to deny the richness of Ethnic culture to future generations. The participant's personal ideological systems have drawn from Ethnic cultural values indicating the classification of High Ethnic in activation and undefined self identity, which reflects the lack of commitment to either of the cultural groups. Participant No. 46 of Armenian descent indicated her sense of conflict with regard to self-identity.

Coming from an Armenian family and background I don't think I feel welcome in groups with English friends but I was born here and go to school here so I am not like the Armenians like my parents...I hope in the future that my kids don't feel mixed up and not really welcome like I feel now...I know that there are many things that are good from where I come from and maybe it would be ok for my kids to know them maybe a little bit better than me because I have never even visited my

country...It is hard to choose between Armenian and Canadian but I see I want to keep some things from both sides...I don't know about the future but I think I will have to choose and then see what happens for me then...(Participant No. 46)

personal ideological systems of 4 Chinese participants draw upon Canadian cultural stock and from an awareness of the heritage shared by their people, the arts, literature and science contributions, and the excellence of the national athletes, as well as, the emphasis at home on Ethnic culture. However, the participants felt they didn't know enough of the history, geography, or other elements of the country of origin necessary for commitment to their cultural group but on the other hand, the participants Canadian cultural activated few values. Instead. participants took on a general Asian perspective, since they felt neither Ethnic, nor Canadian. The unfamiliarity of the Ethnic language and culture and the infrequent activation of Ethnic cultural systems, placed them under the category of Insecure Bicultural in terms of activation with an identity that is not clearly defined even though the participants had developed Ethnic cultural systems during the years they were growing up. The Ethnic cultural systems were no longer frequently activated once the participants began attending their Canadian school. Participant No. 118 of Chinese descent evaluated his sense of identity.

I cannot say that I am Canadian but I was born in this country...I can say I am Chinese by the way I look but

I don't feel I am Chinese...I celebrate Chinese New Year and I am in the parade of the dragons and I go to Chinese movies and things like that...I have lots of family in China and we have lots of news and I am proud of my cousins that go to university there and I think it's nice when I see once in a while Chinese leaders on television welcoming government people from the States and from Canada...That's about it that I'm interested in Chinese things because at home when my parents speak to us in Chinese we answer in English and they get mad...China is a big country with beautiful things and good people but I have to see them so I can know if I can feel really Chinese because right now I don't think I really am...(Participant No. 118)

The feeling of not quite belonging to neither Ethnic nor the Canadian community suggests Marginality in activation for 2 East Indian participants since they had limited language skills and activated few social cultural systems from either the Ethnic or the Canadian communities. The sense of alienation experienced by the participants stemmed from problems of compatibility with the Ethnic and Canadian groups, particularly the unacceptability of their accents acquired in their country of origin before emmigrating and attending school in Canada. Not being able to speak either the English or the Ethnic language well, promoted general insecurities towards maintaining social interactions with peers at school and in the community. The lack of commitment to either the Ethnic or Canadian

communities and the infrequent activation of cultural stocks due to limitations in linguistic social and other cultural systems, suggested that the participants were Marginal in cultural activation with no defined sense of identity. Participant No. 72 of East Indian descent related his sense of incompatibility with the Indian and Canadian social groups and consequential identity.

It is so difficult when first of all you don't speak English right to fit in...I wish that my family stayed in India to where I can get along better and feel more Indian than I do here...In Canada I can't feel that I belong and I feel bad about this but I can't even feel Indian either because it is not like we were in India and the way we do things there...(Participant No. 72)

In 24.36% of the Ethnic summary, participants considered themselves both Ethnic and Canadian possessing a dual identity. Generally, of those possessing a dual identity, 8.40% of the Ethnic participants displayed equal commitment towards both cultural groups and were regarded as having a balanced identity whereas. showed a stronger commitment toward the Ethnic cultural group and were classified as having an Ethnic-weighted identity, but only 3.36% of the Ethnic participants were committed to the Canadian cultural group and had a Canadianidentity. Moreover, 5.88% weighted of the participants were classified as having an undefined identity because they felt they didn't belong, and lacked commitment to either the Ethnic or Canadian cultural group. Most of the Ethnic participants, that is, 69.74% considered themselves Ethnic and showed a strong commitment to their Ethnic cultural group while none of the Ethnic participants claimed to be simply Canadian.

THE RETENTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

observations and outcomes of the analysis of The identity indicated that the Canadian school has had little personal ideological systems for the influence on participants' Ethnic identification. The Ethnic values transmitted in the home had a greater effect than other Ethnic cultural values, and social retention of these values based on the family was greater than the retention of language. The social structure of the family helped maintain Ethnic identity. Most of the Ethnic participants were classified as Insecure Biculturals, based on the cultural criteria discussed earlier. The participants' sense of Ethnic identity revealed a positive attitude toward their Ethnic background and a willingness to acquire Ethnic cultural systems. The ambivalence experienced by participants over their Ethnic values did not imply outright rejection of their parents' cultural heritage, but rather careful consideration and acknowledgement in face of the inability to develop Ethnic cultural systems society that did not provide Ethnic stocks for personal use nor let them activate the few cultural their Ethnic homes and organizations resources that

supplied.

Section IV

Chapter I

Conclusion

THE SCHOOL AND THE EXPECTATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS

In analyzing the educational experiences of the Ethnic participants of this study attending a Canadian high school, the general provisions made by the Canadian school for their social mobility and access to Ethnic culture were considered for discussion.

THE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Generally, the Canadian school could be regarded as a means of fulfilling the aspirations of the participants and of their parents for the future, by way of upward social mobility. However, academic performance through the abilities and perseverence of the participants and the encouragement of their parents is also of significance toward this end. In this study, social mobility has been found to be contingent on: the provisions made by the Canadian school through the curriculum with an emphasis on English language proficiency, and the contexts for social interactions reinforcing the values of dominant society; and the relatively satisfactory academic performance of the participants, even though the social and educational

background of their parents was with few exceptions, limited.

With respect to social mobility, the participants of this study although not representative of all Ethnic-Canadian children, have assessed that within Canadian society, individuals can maintain an Ethnic consciousness, that is, primary social relationships and relationships within the family while achieving at school for the purpose of preparing for future professional occupations and full participation in society. There appears to be no conflict between the retention of ethnicity and aspirations for upward socio-economic mobility, contrary to the position of Kringas and Lewins (1979). In essence, Kringas (1980) suggests that ethnicity and equality of opportunity appear to be mutually exclusive in face of control exerted by dominant groups over the major institutions of society. The loss of ethnicity however, does not assure equality of opportunity since prejudice and discrimination Ethnic or minority groups occur despite the fact that they remain fully bicultural, and retain very few elements of their origins (Smolicz and Secombe 1981).

Ethnicity was not perceived by the participants as a negative factor in their lives or as an element that may affect educational and occupational aspirations. There were no indications that the participants felt their chances for upward social mobility were reduced by the dominant group on account of their Ethnic identity, their attachment to Ethnic primary relations or use of the Ethnic language. On the

contrary, Ethnic identity appeared to be held in high regard by the participants, in that suggestions were made towards bestowing significance on ethnicity, perhaps in view of the multicultural character of Canada, without appearing politically motivated, by way of introducing the teaching of Ethnic languages and cultures in Canadian schools. This alternative, in aiming to recognize the viability of ethnicity in a plural society, however disagrees with the views of Kringas (1980), who claims that it may not necessarily promote social equality or equality of opportunity.

THE SCHOOL AND ACCESS TO ETHNIC CULTURE

The participants of this study, expressed a collective sentiment regarding the Canadian school system and its failure to fulfill its cultural function in a multicultural society. The school did not provide the participants of Ethnic origin with the opportunity to develop their linguistic skills and their knowledge of culture to full potential even though this outcome appeared to be desirable.

The obstacles encountered in the development of more comprehensive Ethnic cultural systems are reflective of the ideological values present in society. As early studies show, dominant groups were generally prepared to allow minority groups to maintain their cultures in private or in peripheral areas like food and folklore, but to impose public activation of the values of dominant society by way

of language and formal social structures (Harris and Smolicz 1976; Smolicz 1979). One of the later studies however, showed a shift towards public recognition of Ethnic cultures, in that children of Ethnic background be taught their mother-tongue at home, and at public school (Smolicz and Lean 1979). This accommodating view could not be regarded as an indicator of pluralism within schools or within society since multicultural education was accepted by members of the majority group as appropriate for children who were recent arrivals only until they grew accustomed to the new country (Marjoribanks 1980). With regard to this end, it would be difficult to put to practice effective bilingual education programs in plural countries for older schoolchildren.

The future character of Canadian society depends on whether the wishes of young Ethnic-Canadians are met by the existing political and educational systems. Perhaps leaders and policy makers may respect the positive attitudes toward ethnicity, for the purpose of preventing disillusionment in the young with regard to the fairness of Canadian society; and of the demand as Kringas (1980) has suggested, for a radical re-structuring of the social order. Furthermore, without the existence of balanced biculturals, there can be little hope of cultural exchanges taking place, and of people from Ethnic backgrounds to participate fully in Canadian society without losing the cultural elements of their identity.

PLURALISM OF IDENTITY

Given that the concept of pluralism of identity, that allows for Ethnic minority groups to keep their sense of being Ethnic by way of personal ideological systems, while conforming to Anglo-Australian cultural systems outward actions, is congruent to the ideas of Gollnick (1980) on the American situation, who advocates that is translated into cultural pluralism the right individuals to maintain their Ethnic identity, while sharing a common culture with Americans from many different national origins suggests for the present study, some questionable assumptions underlying this definition. The implications point to confusion as to how personal ideological systems may develop, or be maintained and the hybrid nature of the Anglo-American culture defined by all the Ethnic linguistic elements as a result of aggressive assimilation suggested by the "melting pot" paradigm.

The cultural activation and attitudes of the participants of this study, point to a pluralism of identity when separated from all cultural sources, that is likely to represent a transitional stage on the way to assimilation. If the Ethnic ties to identity remain at the attitudinal level for every aspect of culture, there can be no transmission of other cultural values to the generation, nor can there be interactions among Canadians of different Ethnic origins leading to cultural interchange. In effect, any plurality of identity would have little in

common with cultural pluralism, especially if individuals ponder about their ancestral identity, since the outcome would be compatible with cultural monism, and a society dominated by the culture of the majority group. If this happens, then Ethnic identity would be in jeopardy given that continual dilution would lead to the dissipation of its cultural structures.

Ethnicity for the past thirty years or so, has gained prominence, in recognition of the perpetuation of elements other than language that may affect Ethnic identity. The loss of language, does not cause the disappearance of identity since identity is reinforced by the collectivist ideals of Ethnic family and other primary relationships and by other aspects of heritage, namely folklore and the church, which have kept the Ethnic groups' characteristic "national" flavour in Ethnic parishes (Smolicz and Secombe 1981). If a culture loses its language, then the culture becomes symbolic or residual that it may hold Ethnic identity for a time but in effect, remaining incomplete or Fishman (1966) suggested, "non-authentic". participants knew of this incompleteness in their personal cultural systems and blamed this failure on their parents, and on the Canadian school for failing to provide them with Ethnic literary values and showed an eagerness to become Secure Biculturals by using available materials strengthen their Ethnic systems.

Chapter II

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The participants' discontent stemming largely from the failure of the Canadian school to provide opportunities to experience the cultural heritage and to acquire the literary skills of their homeland, resulted in a sense of frustration and vulnerability on their part with regard to identity. This state of disequilibrium represents perhaps a much graver conflict if viewed globally, with the focus on Ethnic groups in Canada, of social cohesion not attributed to the country's characteristic diversity, but to the need of its diverse people to maintain an identity that is both recognized and respected.

In view of the participants' expressed desire to maintain an Ethnic identity, as well as, to integrate fully into the mainstream of Canadian life, a balance between cultural diversity and the social cohesion of Canada may be required. The implementation of such a balance, and the avoidance of a sense of deprivation on the part of the minority of Canada which retain its Ethnic identity, call for the recognition of core and linguistic values of Ethnic cultures. The maintenance and transmission of core and linguistic values of Ethnic groups, although being primarily the responsibility of the home and of the social organizations within the Ethnic communities may also be facilitated by other instrumental agencies outside the home,

including the Canadian schools and tertiary institutions.

The teaching of languages and culture for all Ethnic minority groups in Canada implies cultural interaction in a plural society between people, including those of the majority group, that are at a comparable level of cultural and intellectual development. In this respect, Ethnic literacy up to the university and scholarly level would make it possible at least for some members of each group. The achievement of a level of proficiency and qualification would be contingent on the development and implementation of linguistic and cultural programs based upon the criteria of demand or popularity for the subject, and representation of membership.

In Canadian society, the introduction of languages and cultures in schools may present certain implications particularly with the view of assimilation. The intention to assimilate the members of minority groups assumes the development of the monistic identity of majority group without consideration of the possibility of integration and the retention of Ethnic identity, or the retention of Ethnic identity coupled with resentment expressed against the majority for the deprivation of literacy in the mother-tongue. Similarly, the introduction Ethnic languages and cultures in schools assumes the development of the monistic identity of the particular minority group without consideration Ethnic possibility of integration and the retention of Ethnic identity. Thus, the choice between assimilation and teaching Ethnic languages and cultures is not a simple one, since it involves complex processes and differing responses. In terms of expected outcomes, assimilation may succeed or fail with the introduction of language and culture in school curriculum to benefit children of Ethnic descent but this provision in turn may or may not take away from the intended assimilation to the Canadian way of life.

With reference to the findings of this study, efforts on the development of policy towards maintaining cultural pluralism in Canada will require the application of principles based on collective rights that incorporate those values relevant in establishing a secure identity and in ensuring equality of opportunity and access to the social, economic, and political structures of society. Canadian society in this respect, must ensure that the school and other educational institutions assist the transmission of the literary and intellectual heritage not just of the English and French Canadian children but of the children of other Ethnic origins.

The socialization process which lends to a sense of identity and educational and occupational aspirations for the future inherent in schools, requires directives for change both in policy and in attitude towards Ethnic children that include instituting values that complement those of the home and providing cultural awareness for all, given the prevalent multi-Ethnic character of the Canadian classroom. A harmonious outcome of these directives would entail the adoption of a balanced dual identity as Smolicz

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and Secombe (1981) suggest, between dominant and minority cultural stocks, so that children of Ethnic descent, might become secure Biculturals, being both Ethnic and Canadian in the pursuit of educational attainment and of full participation in society.

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APPENDIX A

Examples of Memoir Analysis

Examples of Memoir Analysis

Examples of memoirs are summarized below for the purposes of better understanding the process of analysis. The researcher is able to determine from the memoirs, cultural facts (attitudes and assessments), concrete facts (apart from the questionnaire), and ideological orientation that the writer reveals directly or indirectly from his point of view of social reality and, is able to form an evaluation.

Example 1. Participant No. 65 of Greek descent (Female). "At home with the family I speak only Greek" is a statement that provides concrete information about language usage. This is confirmed, when the writer indicates that she refers to Greek books and by the fact that she interacts and corresponds with relatives in Greek. Mastery of the language was established from her questionnaire along with other concrete facts, where the writer also indicated that she was an only child, her mother was a tertiary-educated nurse and that she kept in close touch with her grandparents and other relatives living in Greece.

Her statement "I would like to be able to keep speaking and writing Greek in Canada" is a positive expression of her attitude toward the Greek language and elaborates the cultural data by the evaluation: "Greek and Canadian culture can be side by side for Greek children in Canadian schools, if they also want to keep being able to speak and think in Greek and think it is the most important way to be".

Given this evaluation, of the importance of language for cultural survival and her positive attitude toward her mother-tongue (indirect evidence) it is possible along with the concrete facts to believe that this girl had developed her Greek linguistic system to a literary level, activated it at home, and committed to maintaining it in Canada. However, she is pessimistic about the maintenance of the Greek language in Canada since in her opinion, "People don't see the Greek culture as important in the Canadian way of life" and that "only a small number would still be really Greek." In a closing remark, she reaffirms her positive attitude where she wishes "to see Greek culture stay strong with the children of the Greek people living in Canada."

Example 2. Participant No. 112 of Italian descent (Male). An older Canadian-born boy whose father was Italian and mother Franco-Canadian (derived from questionnaire, concrete facts) gave other concrete facts about language usage: that Italian was not normally spoken at home; and that Italian was used during his brief attendance of Italian Saturday school only, as a child.

Assessment of language fluency was expressed as "only a few words", "not very good", and "might pick up some idea from when my father talks". At Italian school he "learned to write a little" and to pronounce rather than read properly.

He reveals that he is "sorry about not talking Italian" and that he would have "really studied Italian at regular school if we had courses there" which could be taken as a statement expressing a positive attitude to Italian. It is

assumed that he has not had a chance to construct an Italian linguistic system and that his interest has remained at the level of an attitude. If this was the situation of the memoir writers, then the Italian language would not exist in Canada a generation later, due to the fact that Italian-Canadian children were given little opportunity and not to lack of interest. The absence of Italian language courses indicates Anglo-conformist ideology adhered to by the educational system in Canada.

Example 3. Participant No. 37 of Portuguese descent (Male). A student born in Portugal of parents who had only completed primary school gave concrete facts in his memoir, based on social systems by listing the Portuguese organizations he belonged to. His assessment "I found them very boring after a while" was directed at the activities and suggests a negative attitude towards some Portuguese cultural values. This attitude was stated when he explained why he no longer participates, "I would not go now because they don't really mean anything for me anymore".

Future intentions expressed a positive attitude to a pattern of family life that resembles that of Anglo-Canadians "I probably would not stay at home after getting married. I prefer to live in my own place with my wife and I don't want to be sharing anything". This comment indicates that the accepted pattern of Portuguese family is something other than nuclear. This can be taken as evidence of the collectivist values that are a part of Portuguese families.

The attitudes directly stated and indirectly deduced,

placed together with other concrete facts found in this memoir, indicate a rejection of the Portuguese cultural values and the acceptance of Anglo-Canadian cultural values. If these attitudes were widely held among Portuguese-Canadian children, the Portuguese cultural value systems would disappear with the first generation.

APPENDIX B

School Demographic Data Compiled: CSIM, CECM

Special compilation of data was effected for the school planification program of the Conseil Scolaire de l'Isle de Montreal (CSIM) in 1988, by the aid of postal codes for the identification of schools and school boards within the Montreal area. in reconsidering future budjetary allocations. This recent reference (February 25. 1988). shows that there are 8 school boards in Montreal, under the jurisdiction of the CSIM and are listed as follows, in terms of total number of schools affiliated with each school board and the number of students within, by declared mothertongue, illustrating the Anglophone or Francophone Allophone (Ethnic) concentration.

The Jerome Le Royer school board has 41 schools and 20,167 students, 15,112 (74.93%) of which caters to English or French and 5,055 (25.07%) are Allophones. Lakeshore school board operates 25 schools serving 11,977 students where 10,866 (90.72%) are English or French 1,111 (9.28%) are Allophones. There are 34 schools under the Baldwin Cartier school board with 17,251 students, 15,606 (90.46%) of which are English or French and 1,645 (9.54%)are said to be Allophone. For the Sault St Louis school board there are 11,843 students for its 23 schools, where 9,898 (83.58%) are English or French and 1,945 (16.42%) claim to be Allophone. Under the St Croix school board, 19 schools are operating, serving 8,876 students where 6,151 (69.30%) are English or French and 2,725 (30.70%) are Allophone. The 11 schools of the Verdun school board serve 5,381 students of whom 5,245 (97.47%) are English or French and 136 (2.53%) are Allophone. The CEPGM school board operates 86 schools for a student population of 31,571 where 22,451 (71.11%) claim English or French as their mothertongue and 9,120 (28.89%) claim to be Allophone. The 223 schools operated by the CECM serve 97,738 students of which 69,711 (71.32%) are English or French and 28,027 (28.68%) are Allophone.

According to the report indicating the number of Allophones by school board and by school provided by the CSIM demographic team February 25, 1988 there were 1,236 students attending William Hingston high school, a secondary school in the English sector of the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal (CECM), where 454 (36.73%) of the students declared their mother-tongue as either French or English and 782 (63.27%) declared themselves Allophone when indicating their mother-tongue.

With reference to the data provided by the Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal (CECM) from the Service de L'informatique and presented to the Conseil Scolaire de l'Ile de Montreal (CSIM) on February 24, 1988, (initial directive September 30, 1986) the compilation indicated the frequency distribution of Allophone students defined as such, by the mother-tongue declared by the parents, from schools within the jurisdiction of the CSIM.

This data was utilized by incorporating the information in the planification system of the CSIM which consisted of the repartitioning of students for each district of each school commission by religion, by grade or

degree, and by mother-tongue for the school year 1986-87. The global summary includes the regular and special status of classes for pre-primary, primary, and secondary education, as well as special school status, of students listed by mother-tongue.

The estimates indicate that there were 16,736 children registered at the pre-primary level, 100,878 registered at the primary level, and 84,094 were registered at the secondary level making a total of 201,708 attending regular schools but which also provide special classes. There were 3,096 children attending special schools or programs operating outside of the regular schools and curriculum but are affiliated with the school boards and under the jurisdiction of the CSIM. The grand total of students enrolled in schools from all school boards within the district designated as the responsibility of the CSIM, was 204,804.

With regard to the student population of interest in this study, there were 4,796 Greek students in regular schools that may offer special classes when necessary, and 79 were attending special schools making a grand total of 4,875 Greek children representing 2.38% of the total student population for the school year 1986-87. In comparison, there were 46,871 (22.88%) English children and 108,169 (52.81%) French children comprising 155,040 (75.70%) of the children attending schools of the CISM while only 49,764 (24.29%) were Ethnic children.

At the pre-primary level, a total of 16,736 children

were attending classes for the year 1986-87. There were no children attending daycare, 1,554 were in pre-kindergarten, 15,182 in kindergarten, and none in kindergarten special classes within the schools of the CECM and within the jurisdiction of the CSIM. In comparison to these figures, there were no Greek children in daycare, 53 were in pre-kindergarten, 146 in kindergarten and none in kindergarten special classes making a total of 199 (1.19%) Greek children receiving pre-primary education.

There were a total of 100,878 children at the primary level for the school year 1986-87, where 16,136 were in grade one, 15,137 in grade two, 14,609 in grade three, 14,880 in grade four, 14,608 in grade five, 14,316 in grade six and 11,192 were in primary special classes. Greek children made up 1.80% (1,819) of the total population of children attending at the primary level. In grade one there were 199 Greek children, 224 in grade two, 229 in grade three, 250 in grade four, 344 in grade five, 340 in grade six and 233 were enrolled in special primary classes.

A total of 84,094 children were enrolled at the secondary level where 13,927 were in grade seven, 13,361 in grade eight, 14,571 in grade nine, 15,017 were in grade ten, 16,231 were in grade eleven, and 10,987 attended special secondary classes. Attending grade seven were 431 Greek children, grade eight 434, grade nine 435, grade ten 414, grade eleven 428, and attending special secondary classes were 636 Greek children. These figures represent 3.30% (2,778) of the total student population enrolled at the

secondary level.

The CECM services for students of the Bureau L'acceuil et de L'admission released relative statistics September 30, 1982 and 1983 of non-anglophone students who frequent the schools of the English sector of the CECM which were based on the language spoken at home as indicated on student records. The total number of students at the primary level 8,744 (18.9%) from the September 30, 1982 period and (21.3%) from the 1983 period indicate 7,736 a weak concentration (index 15-24%) of non-anglophone students. The total number of students at the secondary level 11,893 (52%) from the September 30, 1982 period and 10,872 (44.2%) from the 1983 period show a strong concentration (index 50-60%) and an average concentration (index 25-49%) respectively, of non-anglophone students. The grand total of primary and secondary students combined for 1982 is 20,637 (38%) and for 1983 is 18,608 (34.7%) representing an average concentration (index 25-49%) of non-anglophone students. These figures do not represent the students who attend special schools at the primary and secondary level in the English sector of the CECM of the September 30, 1982-83 data collection period.

For the high school in question, William Hingston, there appears what is considered to be a strong concentration (index 50-60%) of Allophone students for 1982 and 1983. The precise figures are 1,666 (57.3%) of the total student population for 1982 and 1,501 (52.3%) for 1983. The linguistic groups within the school are listed in order of numeric importance and represent the established percentage

with regard to the total number of students of the school. At William Hingston, the student population distribution reflected 25.2% Italian, 12% Greek, 9.9% Portuguese, 4.9% French, 3.5% Other, 0.7% Spanish, 0.6% Polish, and 0.1% German ethnic cultures according to the 1982 report. For the following year 1983, the student population distribution included 20.7% Italian, 11.7% Greek, 10% Portuguese, 4.4% French 3.38% Other 0.9% Spanish, 0.3% Polish and 0.2% German ethnic origins.

APPENDIX C

Greek Immigration To Canada And Community Development

GREEK IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

Greek immigration to Canada had begun late in the 19th century, following at the heels of the larger immigration movement to the United States. There were a number of Greeks settling in Montreal between 1895 and 1900 and by 1906, Nagata (1970) reports, there were at least 1,000 Greeks in Montreal which represented a larger concentration than Toronto boasting 200 at this time. Gavaki (1981) indicates, that the early immigrants were largely from Arcadia, and Macedonia who have remained a significant, representative body of Greek migrants today. immigrants joined the work force and established themselves in factories, the fur trade, small stores and businesses, restaurants, and the taxi industry. The immigration phenomenon pointed to trends that rose steadily until immigration created a flux during the decades between 1940 and 1960 only to taper off in the mid 1970's.

After the second World War, and the Civil War (1950) came to an end, immigration was at its peak, with Greeks coming mainly from rural areas and settling primarily in urban sectors of Montreal and Toronto. The 1976 Statistics Canada report indicates that there were 91,530 Greeks in Canada registered by mother-tongue, where 90,440 (78%) settled in urban areas. Of the 34,655 settling in the province of Quebec, (98.2%) lived in Montreal. Estimates of 60,000 to 80,000 Greeks living in Montreal were made in 1981

(Statistics Canada). Presently, there are at least 39,550 Greeks living in the Montreal area, according to the 1986 listing by mother-tongue of the Census of Canada.

SETTLEMENT OF GREEKS IN MONTREAL

Life for the early Greek immigrants, was difficult in Montreal as they were faced with a strange urban culture, with no means of communication, little or no skills or education, and no religious institutions to perform the rites of marriage, baptism basic and burial. The disagreeable climate and social isolation interfered with social and psychological adjustments necessary to the new land. In recognition of these difficulties, organization was attempted in the early 1900's by way of establishing associations, as Patris (Fatherland), Anagenisis (Ressurection) and Panhellinios Enosis (Panhellenic Union) for the purposes of maintaining the culture, and the social and economic aspect of the Ethnic group. However, these associations did not last long within the community (Petritis 1973).

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMPLETENESS

In terms of institutional development, the establishment of Ethnic organizations rose from the desire of Greeks in Diaspora to maintain their "Hellenism", historical links and traditions, cultural customs, language

and religion. Culture and religion are interconnected in Hellenism, where being Greek means being Greek Orthodox Christian. Primarily, Greeks worry of maintaining and transmitting morals and customs as a way of protecting the youth from foreign influences present in the host country and fear the consequences of the absence of the church which undoubtedly, affirms Greek identity and culture.

Of the 20 million Greeks in the world, only 9 million live in Greece proper, the others are scattered all over the world and are he least assimilated groups of host cultures (Gavaki 1961). Early and present life in Canada was and still is hard for many immigrants who have left property behind, as well as, the social, cultural, and social-psychological support systems that aided when experiencing adversity, and utilized to meet the needs or serve to maintain social control. Thus, in Canada, there was a need to reaffirm support systems resembling those of the homeland.

The first formal organizations centered around the church. As groups grew, so did the Ethnic organizations. Individual and sub-groups felt their needs were not met by existing organizations and the church, which lead to the formation of new ones. Differences in regionalism, special interests and political differences lead to conflict. Major interests in the homeland and in the community and less so in Canadian affairs made an impact, leading to the formation or dissolution of organizations. Greeks are a political and socially concious people (The Gazette, p.5, Oct. 15, 1980),

and the divisions among Greeks in Montreal are due to the Greek character, the cultural inability to cooperate with a preference to confront and the sense of individualism and dogmatism for dealing with personalities than issues. The disunity and conflict arise from disputes in the homeland, communal and provincial politics, and Greek character. When the conflicts are dissipated, then institutional growth for the group is observed. At times though, conflict has threatened the existence of basic institutions and has weakened the community's bargaining power with other groups and government institutions profiting from the discord, and has kept away the youth and the more educated and skilled Greeks from joining and participating in such organizations.

In Montreal, the early immigrants experienced the political effects of World War II and the Civil War, radical leftist and trade union movement orientations. Those arriving in the 70's from urban centers in Greece elsewhere in Europe were more skilled and educated than the early immigrants. They found themselves in a pluralistic society with two dominant and distinct cultural institutions, distinct governments, and charter groups in a continuous power struggle. It was perceived that any Ethnic organizational development could take place legally, and for cultural purposes as long as the social climate permitted. Other Ethnic groups with effective organizations (Jews) served as models and came into direct competition for resources and government funds.

The prejudice and discrimination of the host society

dictated the extent to which institutional membership was allowed, and directly influencing the presence or absence of Ethnic organizations. The French Quebecois institutions and culture were not open to newly arrived immigrants and English institutions only accepted them in the labour market. The threat of cultural extinction compelled Ethnic groups in Montreal to organize themselves. New waves of immigrants help rejuvinate the "Greekness" of the group when settling in mainly Greek areas of Montreal, reinforcing each others' cultural identity, values, customs and traditions. St. Lawrence Blvd., the street that ostensibly divides The English and French solitudes, was the area where the first Greek settlement was established, and extending west to Park Ave. and North to Park Extension. Families, friends and relatives from the old village tended to live in the same neighbourhood and when one family moved out to more urban areas of Montreal, others followed as soon as it was financially feasible. The residential concentration made contact and mobilization easier for Ethnic members.

Even though there are environmental and immigration processes in existence to aid the immigrants, the needs to be alleviated give rise to organize a collectivity into a community. The needs may unite all Ethnic members or divide them to subgroups according to needs defined as priority. Multiple Ethnic organizations lead to cooperation or competition for membership resources and status. These factors have lead to the organizational development of Greeks in Montreal.

The concerns and needs of Greeks, the establishment of organizations to satisfy them and the role that conflict and cooperation have played are illustrated below, (the Hellenic Community of Montreal, the Federation of Parents and Guardians, the Labour Association, the Cretan Association, Travel Agencies, the Hellenic-Canadian Trust, and the Media) which serve as the most prominent Greek institutions of Montreal.

THE HELLENIC COMMUNITY OF MONTREAL

The Hellenic Community of Montreal is one of the major institutions of the Ethnic group which is strengthened by its membership and its association with and ownership of four churches in Montreal and being most recognized by the Federal and Provincial governments as a communication link and entry point into the community or for the dissemination of funds. Legitimacy of this function has generated conflict at times.

In 1906, Montreal's entire Greek population of became the Greek Orthodox Community of Montreal to preserve Hellenism, the Greek Orthodox religion and the Greek language. The charter was received from Quebec city allowed the purchase of property on 735 St. Lawrence Blvd. for the construction of a church. Application for a priest was made to the Patriarch of Constantinople who directed the request to the Holy Synod of Greece on Oct. 25, 1906. The the community Agathodoros first priest of was

Papageorgopoulos. The cornerstone of the fist church built in Canada was laid May 5, 1910 at the St. Lawrence property and Greeks volunteering after work helped erect the church. A short time later, Divine Liturgy at the church Evagelismos (Annunciation) was celebrated. By 1911, a home at the back of the church was bought and converted to house the Greek parochial school Plato which was supported and sponsored by the church, having 35 students in the first year of operation. The school had adopted the curriculum of Montreal public schools, teaching Greek, English and French. The church however, dominated the community in decision-making, and the selection of programs and administration, as well as, the Greek curriculum.

CONTRACTOR OF

By 1925, the political partisanship that divided Greece created a rift in the community of Montreal. After World War II, Greece was split into rival camps, the Royalists under King Constantine in Athens and the Venizelists under Venizelcs in Salonica. This affair prompted the Greeks in Montreal to take sides, dividing the community and resulting in the establishment of a second Greek Orthodox Community in Venizelists of Montreal purchased The Montreal. chartered the Holy Trinity church and Socrates Anglo-Greek Inc. The school followed the curriculum of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and taught Greek, English and French. A short while later, the church and school were amalgamated by act of legislature of the Province of Quebec Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Congregation of into Montreal (18th Biennial Ecclesiastical Congress, 1966).

The pervading political conflict and the "Crash" of 1920 almost dissolved the two established communities. It was realized that the Greek membership could not financially support both of them and thus, through the Archidiocese and Archibishop of North America, Athenagoras on December 3, 1931 the two communities agreed to unite and form a new committee consisting of an equal number of members from the previous communities as administrative representatives and functionaries. The church Evagelismos, was sold and the Holy Trinity church and Socrates school remained and hereby was recognized as the Community establishment serving the Greeks of Montreal.

With the increase of immigration after World War II and the Civil War, the needs of the Greek community of Montreal grew as did its organizational structures. By 1956, the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Congregation of Montreal became the Hellenic-Canadian Community of the Island of Montreal and in October of that year purchased property for a church, school and community center that would fulfill the needs of the growing Greek community. Saint George's Cathedral was built in 1961 and a branch of the Socrates school was established in 1962. The building of the community center soon followed, and was completed in 1984.

In the late 60's and 70's the Hellenic Community experienced functional growth not directly attributed to low membership at the time, but to conflict with other community organizations and with Ethnic members. The 1967 military coup in Greece created political adversity for

Greeks there and those in Montreal. The clergy and many Hellenic Community leaders and members supported the Junta to the majority of Greek in opposition immigrants. Inevitably, new associations (Makrygiannis) were formed to oppose the Junta and to force the Canadian media and governments to censor or take punitive measures against the military government. Once again, the community Was threatened due to conflict. The 1974 Turkish invasion and occupation of Cyprus however, helped bring down the military government of Greece. The Cyprus problem helped unite the Greeks everywhere, as it has always done in the past, as any threat to the homeland and its holdings becomes a priority.

The functional growth for the Hellenic Community was owed to the restructuring and taking over of the ownership and administration of its four churches, restricting the power of the clergy to matters of religion only with consultative function on other issues. In 1980, the community was renamed, becoming the Hellenic Community Montreal in accordance to the wishes of the lay men. structure and administration of the church in Montreal is unique since membership is to the community and to individual parishes where services are received in any the four churches, and the non-religious matters are decided bу laity. Although the clergy is consulted in matters outside religion, as in education, it has no vote.

In the 70's, the Hellenic Community after its internal reorganization, succeeded to bring outside funds from the Federal and Provincial governments and attempted to unify

policy and activities with other community organizations. This strategy enabled the Greek community to present a unified front to outsiders and to increase its bargaining The Hellenic Community is recognized for power its provision of social services and its administration of the schools and churches by the ethnic community. The Federal and Provincial governments also recognize the Hellenic Community as a means by which the Ethnic community could be reached. Although the Hellenic Community has experienced turbulant periods during its growth, and has been associated with the "Greek Establishment" a point of contention with those organizations claiming to represent the masses of Greek immigrant workers, it remains the center of Ethnic community life.

As Greek immigrants began to settle outside of the city of Montreal, new communities, centers, and parishes were formed in Laval, the South Shore, Montreal North, Southwest, and the West Island where the church is at the heart of each community. Recently, unification of all communities under one administration was proposed as well as the re-erection of the Holy Trinity church which was gutted out by fire in 1986, with its own community center on Sherbrooke street.

Other major organizations in existence today, as illustrated below, were established with the mandate to help Greeks and Hellenism in Diaspora to continue to survive as they have done for centuries.

THE HELLENIC FEDERATION OF PARENTS AND GUARDIANS OF GREATER MONTREAL

The Hellenic Federation of Parents and Guardians Greater Montreal was established in 1969 to reach the children whose needs were not met due to the limited facilities of the Hellenic Community (less than 10% in 1970; and 15% in day schools and afternoon schools in 1981). goal was to unite the parents and guardians of Greek children in a common effort to better educate and to help them to better understand and adapt to Canadian society way of life and social development. The children were study the development of Hellenic culture and language, along with geography, history, and religion, and folk dances and songs. It has been a self-supporting organization since its inception, but has received funds from both the Federal and Provincial govenments during the late 1970's till presently. The promotion of Hellenism and provision of a smooth entry for children to the larger Montreal society has been aided by theatrical and dance performances, an annual gymnastics display and mini-olympics and exchanges of culture with French-Canadians at Complexe Desjardins take place by way of various school activities, exhibitions and competitions (Katma 1980).

The Federation is respected because of its functions, as well as, its opposition to the Greek military Junta, refusing to cooperate with its embassy and consulate. This stand was not acceptable at the time, to the Hellenic

Community which supported the Junta and its directives for education. After the fall of the Greek military government and the unifying effect of the Cyprus issue, the two organizations cooperated in internal policy, to gain a more powerful status in the acquisition of government funds when competing with other outside Ethnic group organizations. Funds are now sought by one organization at a time for the Greek afternoon schools to ensure that the status of the organization is preserved and that funds are received with minimum competition from organizations within the Greek community and those from outside.

THE GREEK CANADIAN LABOUR ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

To meet the needs of Greek immigrant workers with low education, working in factories and other services, and faced with a 25% unemployment rate, a labour organization was formed in Montreal. The Labour Association was formally established in March 1971, to help protect the rights and interests of its members who lacked the linguistic skills, the knowledge of social and labour legislature, and whose occupations afforded low quality environments, as well as, other social and personal problems of adaptation. Although its function was not that of a union, but acting in an advisory capacity, the Labour Association is instrumental with job-related adaptations and urges its members to unionize (The Greek-Canadian Labour Association of Montreal, Charter 1978). Its responsibility rests on public relations,

media, finance, syndicalism, programs, women's issues, and the association's center. It was duly recognized by the Federation and other regional associations' membership although it has a marxist political ideology, and known for its militancy in the Ethnic community.

COMPATRIOTIC_ASSOCIATIONS

Compatriots, when in sufficient numbers from the same geographical region of origin, they often settle in close proximity in residential neighbourhoods and form associations. There are approximately 50 such chartered associations in the Montreal area which bring together compatriots for social interaction and support, celebrations of regional holidays, and help maintain a link to the home region and offer occasional financial support to the region or village. The oldest, established in 1912, known as the Cretan's Brotherhood Association, "O Minos" then, and most important of associations is the Cretan's Association of Montreal as it is now known, because of its membership size, functions and influence in the community's development. Its objectives were to maintain Greek identity, especially the Cretan identity, brotherhood, the Greek language, the morals, and traditions of Crete, and transmission of the island's history to their youth. The association procured its building on Park Ave. which is open to members for social gatherings, discussions and meetings, and the operation of the school open to children of Cretan origin.

The school was later supported in the early 1970's by the Canadian government. The Cretan Association has provided on occasion financial support to its members and has sent aid to the island for a number of projects. Internal policies have been restructured concerning education and cooperation with the Hellenic Community and the Federation of Parents and Guardians.

TRAVEL_AGENCIES

Travel agencies as institutions, were useful important during the peak of Greek immigration to Montreal and functioned as mediators between the sponsors in Montreal and immigration authorities and transport companies. duties consisted of filling out applications, visiting immigration officials, translating, guaranteeing loans for the immigrants' fares, aiding with the job search, and orienting the new arrivals to the country. The head offices of the travel agencies took care of the screening process, passport acquisition, and embarkation. Presently, there are approximately 22 travel agencies which provide a link to the homeland, help reaffirm the Greek identity, issue visas, travel and citizenship documents, translate passports, government documents, answer queries, and prepare income tax reports. They have become the unofficial mediators between the immigrants and the new society.

THE HELLENIC CANADIAN TRUST

Greek immigrant remittances to the homeland is a commonplace practice and serve as an emotional and structural link to Greece and are evidence of success when the Greeks in Diaspora are able to fulfill their dream to return. The Greek government established in April 1972, the Hellenic-Canadian Trust, subsidiary of the National Bank of Greece, providing savings and investment services. These services are offered in Greek, and in addition to the formal services of a trust organization, it helps socialize the investors into a world of financial dealings of the Canadian and Greek societies.

NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER MEDIA

Currently newspapers serving Montreal, are the Hellenic Postman since 1958, the Hellenic-Canadian Tribune since 1964, Drasis since 1971 and the now defunct Greek News established in 1981, a joint New York-Montreal issue (Proini) distributed in 1981, circulating for a short time to fill gaps of existing publications, and O Metoikos, Le Meteque (1980) a monthly political review sympathetic to the Parti Quebecois. The Greek radio station CHCR (1965) and programs by CFMB (1962) and Centre Ville (1968) provide music, news and inform of events. The half hour Sunday television program on CFCF telecasts Greek news. documentaries and music. The experience of conflicts in the

media was due to lack of capital investment, and poor journalism. The media was often the instrument for political and personal confrontations and disputes. The poor quality was further emphasized and evident in comparison with the availability of Athen's newspapers and magazines flown in on the same day of publication. Ultimate importance is placed on Ethnic print and Greek language media which provide for much discussion of politics, and other issues, a favourite, commonplace preoccupation of Greeks.

Gavaki (1981), describes the institutional development the Greek community in Montreal, by way of its \mathbf{of} established and reorganized social support-systems and notes the socio-historical factors (political, economic and social events) that have rendered it institutionally complete, well as, its significance as a sociolological entity that exists within the Canadian milieu and certainly within the Quebec reality. The concept of institutional completeness, borrowed from Breton (1964), who speaks of the interpersonal relations of immigrants, takes into account organizations which enable individuals to function within their Ethnic communities and to act as a link between the individuals and the dominant society.

At present, although the Greek ethnic group of Montreal is recognized as being institutionally complete, its effectiveness and maturity is questioned (Gavaki 1981). The presence of a number of organizations which act as support mechanisms and serve the interests of the community are also seen to some extent as pivoting points allowing interaction

with Quebec society in the Canadian context. However, these organizations and the inherent processes concerned, have yet to develop as agencies that contribute to the exigencies of the community, and establish themselves in terms of functions and effectiveness. The organizational processes have evolved due to factors arising out of the sociocultural environment and structure of the receiving society, the migration and settlement process and the social, cultural and historical characterisitics of the Ethnic group. The interaction of these factors help illustrate and justify the Ethnic institutions enabling immigrant adjustment in terms of their existing degree of effectiveness.

institutional development process of the Ethnic group has been influenced by conflict and cooperation which have played a part in the changes occuring in community structures, and originating from the sociocultural environment of the Montreal society, Ethnic relations ideology, the dynamics of the immigration process and the needs and characteristics of the Ethnic institutions have maintained the cultural symbols. traditions, values and customs, language and religion and social support for cultural and social needs. The sense of brotherhood is reinforced, dictating culturally appropriate behaviour and the preservation of Greek identity.

The question of whether the structure and effectiveness of the institutions are able to help promote the Greek identity to the young without losing them to acculturation and membership to the larger society depend on changes in

the receiving society, Ethnic relations ideologies policies, the constitutional structure of Quebec and Canada and the evident decline of the English institutions and power. Other changes affecting the Greek community are changes in the immigration process and context, interruptions in the flow of immigrants, returning immigrants to their homeland, residential dispersion and changes in the presence and the structures of other Ethnic groups (Gavaki, 1981). The growth and institutional development of the Greek ethnic group will be affected by the linguistic decline, the church, language policies, links with Greece, upward mobility, perception of prejudice and discrimination, and the absence of desirable Greek role models.

In the past, immigrants have been acculturated by the English rather than the French community in Montreal. However, Bill 101, the Charter of the French language forces immigrant youth towards French educational institutions. The linguistic issue is dismissed by the Greek leadership and clergy in Montreal but the lay leaders see the necessity and usefulness of the French language. Changes in 1971 to the school curriculum of the Hellenic Community to French instruction was of primary concern although the members of the Greek community opposed the motion. In the future, it is likely that Montreal may consist of Greeks, Franco-Greeks and Anglo-Greeks despite the belief of the bishop clergy: who maintain that Greek is the language of church and thus shall remain, regardless of the degree of impact, whether the changes occur within the Greek community, or within the larger society. However, it must be recognized that the Greek Ethnic group cannot withstand further conflict and fragmentation with respect to identity, if the socio-linguistic divisions come about.

dynamic organization and institutional The effectiveness by way of interaction on meaningful functions rendered the completeness of the Greek community. Therefore, we can conclude that the Greek community of by having achieved an important degree Montreal of institutional completeness, should in some measure. facilitate the integration of many young Greeks into the Montreal community and their adaptation to the Quebec Canadian society at large. Realization of immigrants as political assets by politicians, has launched promises for cultural preservation, the dissemination of funds, political power in return for votes and mutual acceptance of policies and programs. By way of this recognition, the first member to the National Assembly, Christos Sirros, elected in 1981, to represent his constituents.

HOME AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS CONTRIBUTING TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In terms of aspirations, the Greek community is divided. There are those who consider aspirations in a general range, purporting to occupation, earning power, property holdings, assets and way of life, as well as,

dreams of returning to the homeland. Others place importance to aspirations that are a direct consequence of academic achievement which leads to a valued occupation where persons enjoy the amenities of life and may or may not endeavor to return to the homeland.

The former group which I will call the traditionalists. believe that whatever one may aspire to achieve, it is by way of economic means, and enjoyment of the fruits of such labor is secured and maintained. Community members toil as to achieve their end goal by performing jobs that, although are not stimulating or well-paying, are jobs left unscrutinized. Through these jobs, the vehicle to success is basically monetary, and is the means by which persons are accorded status within the community. Honesty, and a willingness to work hard is the motto of immigrant laborers which leads to ideal success in that it portrays them good providers, good citizens, and worthy members of the community in particular and of society in general. Once these ideal traits are adopted, then group members are assured to some degree that they might be able to succeed in improving their lot.

To know that one has a job and is earning his living while being frugal, is to know that one is esteemed in that one is a responsible member of the community and is capable of administering to his immediate needs, as well as, the needs of the community. Monetary success is seen as valuable and boasts a certain status in itself. A person who has some degree of financial success, is awarded proportional regard

and reverence in the community apart from other traits that are cultivated by the individual. Being frugal, friendly, caring, supportive, honest and honourable, secures for one a measure of the ideals of good citizenship. Such a member follows at the footsteps of other financially successful members who have proven their worth by way of hard work the job market, which is what counts and what will allow to apply themselves in the financial world commercial dealings and investment opportunities. Being property owner or business entrepreneur denotes a sort of prestige that is earned by hard labor and establishes such a person as one who is well-anchored and feels a kind security of interactions within one's own family and within one's community to a larger extent than in the society which one lives. This type of security cannot be found elsewhere, it goes deeper and is much more meaningful to the individual.

The function of putting down foundations, reassures one that one is a highly esteemed and worthy being, and an asset at least within the community. There is no political interest on the larger scale in any significant degree because of the prevalent mistrust of the host government. It would be naive to assume that such a government has the immigrant's best interests, if any, at heart. The interests of immigrants may be observed by governments in theoretical policy perhaps, but not in practice. There is disregard of political policies insofar as they do not threaten the fabric or character of the community. Investing time and

energy to the preoccupation of analyzing policies political questions and ventures is disregarded common communily member but is seen as the unquestionable duty of relegated leaders who excel in such matters and who interested unconditionally in the well-being of are the community. Those chosen by the community or those who volunteer their services, become recognized leaders whose function is to police the issues that affect the community as a whole in particular and in general, directly or indirectly, and address them as is appropriate. These leaders are the individuals who while representing hold and wield the power both within community, community as well as without, in the larger scope society, and the country in which the community is established.

Politics in Greece and their impact there and in Montreal, are scrutinized and considered more so, and avidly discussed than the political realities of the country in which they now reside. Greek immigrants are not comfortable to venture in Canadian or Quebec politics because they are unsure of their right to do so. Often, participation is hindered because they are unaware of Canadian history and political traditions and structures, or the ability to speak the official languages. They are reluctant because they fear that what they have to say is irrelevant and will not be taken into consideration because they are aliens to the country, and do not fit in the scheme of things. Greeks uphold suspicions and do not believe that the natives will

give them a chance to success. They feel helpless in instituting change and do not wish to initiate impotent attempts in face of the existence of prejudices that will never allow them to rise above their alien, minority status, which also carries with it the notion of insignificant economic and political power. Hard work and money they believe, is what counts, when they've earned enough to maintain a comfortable life-style. Beyond a basic existence, Canadian politics, and discourse and decision-making is left to the preoccupation of others, whose outcomes and conclusions they accept without question.

The latter group, which I will call the progressives, place emphasis on academic achievement not only as a means of self-fulfillment or self-actualization, but as a means of attaining a prestigious occupation, and a significant role both in the community and outside of it as self-proclaimed or appointed members in leadership roles which necessarily involve degrees of power and elitism. Academic achievement is the stepping stone towards success in all areas and is deemed valuable both for personal contentment and community benefit. The community holds such individuals in high regard, groomed as they are, as leaders. These leaders are viewed as liaison officers who keep open communications between the community and the larger society and are seen to be capable in serving the needs of either party especially where interests are concerned.

In essence, the community is organized in a way that the few are given the privilege to rule and the many to obey and follow. Education most of the time, is the vehicle which selects the individuals who become as leaders.

Other appointed leaders enjoy their positions of power not because they have achieved a high level of education or who have been particularly groomed for leadership. leaders are somewhat literate and are able to function satisfactorily according to the wishes of the community due to their ability to befriend, their personality, and their persistance to assist and the portrayal of genuine interest in the people who have appointed them. However, the host society does not recognize them as competent and disregards them at best or ridicules them publicly at worst. Insofar as leaders may be manipulated as puppets of government of the host society, and do not disturb fabric, they are tolerated because they serve as tokens of equal voice. In reality, an equal voice is not so, increases distrust within the community at large. there is no guarantee of esteemed awareness of the host society towards the community, individuals be they parents or be they students, do not uphold investment in education as a means to gain success, however it may be termed. Success in the eyes of some individuals could very well be gained through employment and application of perseverence to a living and to establish a financial make status. Otherwise, the leader has the same qualities as the common man in the community who gains success in much the same way, although employing a different vehicle, that of education, which espouses somewhat different values, judgements, selfconcepts, and social identity and the ability to assimilate to a greater degree.

Greeks are very much united with concerns affecting or having impact in their community and engage in works that bring about a change, to improve their status if not their existence in Canada and particularly in Quebec. It is inevitable however, in certain instances, for community members to come at odds with one another regarding an issue, a project, an idea, or mode of administration within the community itself. These disputes are at times vented publicly, and points of contention between community members are viewed by the larger society as weaknesses inherent in the community which delineates an impression that becomes permanent if not debilitating. This gives the government of the host society the impetus to tolerate if not disregard the demands of the community because of this lack of credibility as it is perceived. The Greek community must be unified or at least perceived as such in order to weild the power it possesses and gain what is projected. Proper administration would evidently lead to better standards and a recognized voice in politics. Equality of opportunity would have less of an impact if speaking as a unified community is not maintained.

It seems apparent that the Canadian government is satisfied to give with one hand and to retrieve with the other in terms of political power that is bestowed to the Greek community who in turn assign it to its recognized leaders. So long as the elected Greek members in political

representation conduct themselves in the proper fashion that is customary for non-Ethnic members who take part in that limited capacity, then that democratic act is a satisfactory gesture on the part of the government. As soon as there is an outcry or demands are voiced by Ethnic members of government, this destroys the equilibrium, what the government feels is an impeachment of their gratitude every force is employed in discrediting or silencing them. Ofcourse, Ethnic members elected into office act on impetus of their constituents and are compelled to according to their wishes but do so with diplomacy. At times however, diplomacy in sensitive matters is not reciprocated by the non-Ethnic elected members nor the media of the host society. Measures of discredit and defamation take effect via the press which shapes public opinion. The underlying message is that leaders of Ethnic communities in general should not be given the privilege of leading because they only botch things once too often and are ungrateful of such a generous gesture. More specifically, they are seen cunning and selfish, uneducated in the ways of politics or in expression in either of the official languages of Canada and, disreputable on any number of counts that are real or misinterpreted.

One particular elected Ethnic member of the past mayorlty in Montreal, had been subject to attacks via the city's daily "The Gazette" beginning from March 4, 1987 to March 11, 1988, with I. Peritz, R. MacDonnell and R. Laurent reporting. S. Rassoulis, was being accused of

misappropriating public funds for his own personal ends. The employment of his wife, and applications for reimbursement for operating costs, caused a public outcry put forth by the mayorlty via the reporters upon an ethnic member. This member, from his perspective, had been proceeding within his making claims and was following procedures What was questioned were the accurately. procedures themselves which were at that point in time perceived to be faulty, when the ethnic member was employing them. This affair helped instill negative impressions upon the Greek community for the general public, as well as, a major insult to the Greek people. What was intimated was that Greeks and their elected representatives take away more than they are entitled to when given the opportunity. It is unfortunate because this incident minor as it may seem, helped stoke the fires of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypes directed towards Ethnic minorities in general and Greek immigrants in particular. It is needless to say that restitution was not made to date towards personal defamation, via the media, nor there a follow-up of the affair to determine was disputed procedures to make reimbursement claims been revised, or whether Rassoulis was at fault or not. until a few years later. It is the public that forming misconceptions that could have been avoided.

HOME ATTITUDES AND REALITIES CONCERNING THE EDUCATION AND STUDY HABITS OF THE YOUNG

Generally, there is much apathy towards education on the part of the parents and the young alike, especially those from a low socio-economic background. As for the concerns of studying and completing assignments, after school hours, there are many. The following is a common scenario in the lives of the young. Greek school-children more often than not, go home and find no one awaiting them. Generally, they let themselves in with a key and proceed to amuse themselves until their parents come home from work. While waiting for their parents, children snack, help prepare supper, supervise younger siblings, watch television listen to the radio or play their records. In most households, the television is turned on the minute the children walk in and is left to drone on until late into the night. Many children do not have desks at home, or bookcases holding children's books which are conducive to environment for study. These children usually do their homework on the floor, in front of the television set in the livingroom, on the kitchen table, or in their bedrooms either on the floor or on their beds. No set amount of time is alloted for doing homework or watching television. Priorities in this matter are unclear. So long as their children do not engage in drastic acts, not much attention is payed to them, nor are they asked if they have homework to do or offered assistance. Often, when doing homework,

they are disrupted either to run errands or to help around the house. Because of this lack of attention, children either amuse themselves as best they could, or get into mischief. Many roam the streets or play outside until suppertime and resume their play until it is time to go to sleep.

Children often seek companionship with friends, often with the wrong kind of friends. This is when trouble begins at school, and in the home. But until this occurs, children plod along. When the family sits down to the evening meal, many subjects are discussed, but children take no part because they are not asked to participate. It likely that quarrels are continued from days before, that turn into heated arguements and at times grow violent at the dinner table while the children are present. This unsettling absorption further burdens children who may have problems of their own concerning their school work, their friends, or some learning disability. Sometimes it is disturbing that children find release at school, look to other activities to occupy their time. The problems of the home have an added negative effect on children terms of their development, almost invariably affecting their academic performance. At school, children behave in ways that confirm stereotypes, prejudices and bring on selffulfilling prophecies and negative expectations. This where they become alienated because they are different. Teachers neglect to teach or tutor them and they are constantly belittled. Other factors such as culture.

values and social history, also bring about this sense of alienation, or helplessness.

Children drop out of school as soon as they can for a number of reasons, and are further entited by the perceived rewards available in the job market. They do not realize the truth until they get there; of the prospect of earning a meagre living, of inhumane working conditions, the repetitious cycle which their parents had to contend with. In the job market, at an early age, they meet with further discrimination. This situation can be avoided when they can eventually open up their own business or take on the business of their fathers or uncles. When this occurs, they are seen as young entrepreneurs and are favoured by the banks and commercial community, as they show a promising return, for stimulating the economy. This is somewhat a relief, but they do not get involved in politics or possess political power on their own, or in their peer group at least for the time being. They do not have a large influence anywhere, apart from the affairs of the community in terms of contributions and plans to expand on social services and benefits with different social associations, recreational clubs, youth associations and the like. There are those who do not fit in with the Greek community and do not identify with it in many areas, avoid it, and adopt measures to survive outside of it. They or their children do not speak Greek, associating mainly with non-Greeks and only occasionally attend church. Some have even immigrated to the United States and have become Americans, melting into the pot completely. Many there marry non-Greeks, and heritage is vaguely remembered if not forgotten, which is unfortunate because their children are ignorant of their roots, or cease to acknowledge their origins save for a trace of identity present as suggested by their names, which nowadays could be legally changed. By the second generation, especially for females, whose family name changes with marriage, this last remnant that identifies them and reminds them of having been Greek, is no longer present.

FAMILY LIFE AND DECISIONS ABOUT UPBRINGING. EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE IN THE GREEK HOME: MATURITY OF YOUTH AND PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

DISCIPLINE

Usually, in the Greek home, the father is the head of the household. It is he who decides on his family's welfare, its conduct, and way of life which encompasses religion, social life, employment, education, and the prospective marriage of his children. Due to the fact that the father is looked upon as the family's head, he is given the ultimate right to make decisions on everyone's behalf; until the children become of age as in the case of boys, or until they are married as in the case of girls. There are variations about who is the family head depending on the situation. On occasion, one adult marriage partner takes over when the other is deceased, ill, or has become an undesirable and

shares the disciplining duties of the younger ones with the eldest of the children. Usually, the father is responsible for the discipline of the children and punishes them according to their wrongdoings. Discipline almost always has to do with family honor which must be kept impeccable. Respect also, is expected unconditionally of children for their elders, who are to be dealt with reverence. It follows that children are to be seen and not heard.

EDUCATION

Decisions about pursuing higher education are not made lightly. Usually conferences take place within the home, where the child makes his request to the father who in turn, weighs the advantages and disadvantages of such a pursuit and makes suggestions that are biased to the sex of child. In the case of young males, given that the family's economic situation is stable, the father might give his blessings along with the warning that he must succeed in his venture so as to save the family's honour. If the family's economic situation is unstable, then the male child is requested to help out by seeking employment instead. case of young females, it is entirely different. Often, it is assumed that females do not need to pursue their studies, because their ultimate vocation is wifehood and until such time, she is to remain under her father's authority. If however, she is to pursue anything, she is allowed to seek employment either to help support her family, arising out of

a need to do so, or as a gesture of responsibility and gratitude, otherwise it is to help assemble for her dowery which is seen as a necessary tradition, regardless of its worth in absolute terms. Only on rare instances are females persistant in pursuing their interests in terms of higher education and eventual career. Some have been successful in their endeavors because they have followed through with their ambitions, at a price. Even then, they are encouraged to pursue careers that do not call for a lengthy amount of time to complete for qualification. This is usually coupled with a prospective marriage in the not too distant future. On even rarer occasions are females able to throw off pressures of marriage and work towards an education career without restrictions except for the taboo of marriage or no marriage at all. It is believed that females lose their desirability as marriage partners after a certain age and must therefore make plans to see to it that the community does not shun them for remaining unmarried. Being unmarried is a grave matter, and an uncomfortable situation in the sense that the female appears to community members as being uncared for and left without guidance from a male authority figure, as a father or a husband.

It is of no consequence to the community, whether the female consciously chooses to remain unmarried for a number of reasons. Regardless of personal choices, the female is expected to help secure her future, to pass a kind of initiation rite to adulthood. Otherwise, the female is perceived to be a strange, anomalous individual, especially

when the community and the church emphasize the family and procreation within the sacred boundaries of marriage.

Most often, when it comes to making decisions about higher education, much pressure is put on young adults to seek employment that will sustain them. The father is unwilling to take the gamble to allow an investment on education when the end results are not guaranteed or when expectations are unlikely to be fulfilled. Missing out on the job market while studying is looked upon as missed opportunities to make money. Money it is believed, is what will eventually allow them to live in society in moderate comfort.

MARRIAGE

A young male is more often urged to obtain a university degree, so that, he may have a well-paying respectable job in the future since he is perceived as the potential, and sole bread-winner upon marriage. Once he is settled with a job, then he is strongly urged to marry. There are other considerations for females. Young females are to marry as soon as it is possible, because they possess youth and beauty, qualities that will help ensnare their prospective marriage partner. What are considered eligible prospective partners are those who are honest, hard-working and good providers.

For young females, marriage is an arranged affair, although, males are allowed to choose their marriage

partners with little or no involvement of the family. may in fact deviate from the cultural, or religious norms when making this choice. The young female is restricted in this matter and cannot make outright choices since not expected to make up her mind and is perceived incapable of making decisions concerning any Therefore, marriage is arranged swiftly and efficiently, where all of her assets are employed in the pursuit of a suitable marriage which includes virtue, honor, dowery, and education. The prospective marriage partner some presented to the young female who is strongly urged accept his proposal, unless he appears incompatible to her. The male marriage partner is allowed to view the female in a social setting and decide instantly whether he'd like to pursue the courtship. If he decides in favour of the marriage, then the female must succumb or present reasons of incompatibility. Never is she allowed to refuse outright. If the male refuses the proposed marriage, then the female takes the verdict as an insult, along with her family.

More often than not, the female finds herself married at a tender age, without realizing the responsibilities that come along with marriage. She bears children before she is emotionally ready for them. The female is kept in perpetual pregnancy as part of her role, and in the kitchen, fulfilling her duties as wife and mother. Her education is halted because it is not expected that she will need it for she will be in her husband's care, behaving as he wants her to. She is the object that moves from the care of her

father, to the care of her husband who will further shape her personality. The dowery bestowed to the wife ensures that initial provision is made, a kind of guarantee which the husband is entitled to ask for. It is compensation for keeping a dependent wife.

rare occasions, do females deviate from 0nparticipating in the custumary pre-marriage arrangements and rituals, the screening process of the prospective marriage partner, and the eventual church wedding. The elders either begrudgingly give their blessings or refuse to aknowledge the deviancy altogether. Although a quick sweep of the customs and traditions, heritage and values, make way for those customs and values of the greater society, the customs are retained when it is appropriate, altered to fit the new context which the females are employing as a point of reference. When females deviate from the normal practices, a more modern scenario, they may never marry, delay marriage for other priorities, date rather than wait to be courted, and marry members either from their own Ethnic group, or outside of it. Marriages outside their own Ethnic group often take place with partners that are compatible on the basis of religious proximity rather than on linguistic or Ethnic qualification.

APPENDIX D Community Concerns Regarding Greek Identity And Culture

FUTURE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CONCERNS REGARDING THE MAINTENANCE OF GREEK IDENTITY AND CULTURE

Greek immigrants arriving in Canada soon after World War II with little or no education, skills or means of communication were faced with difficulties which resulted in slow adjustment and prevented their integration into the larger society. Although the initial appeal of immigrating to Canada and settling in the larger cities was the potential of a better life, employment opportunities provided little income or satisfaction. Moreover, the immigrants' poor sense of community organization and self interests along with the attitudes and hostilities of the native population, left them isolated within a country experiencing rapid industrial growth, and consequently forcing a segregated community existence.

The ensuing immigration and settlement of Greeks in Montreal prior to 1970, had an effect on both the Greek community comprising of members arriving in 1950, as well as, on the larger society. The background profile of this group of migrants included work experience in industrial Europe and familiarity with urban living, as well as, organizational abilities pertinent to the development of the Greek community. In recognition of the need to ensure the well-being of the Ethnic group and to facilitate adjustment, community organizations were formed and further developed along with the acknowledgement and continued support of the

churches, for the maintenance of the culture and the social and economic aspect of the Greek community. Although progress can be measured by small triumphs, given that the socio-economic growth has changed the circumstances somewhat, Greeks in Montreal with the exception of their children, remain as "urban villagers" a term coined by Gavakis (1981), with few skills, low education and moderate income, struggling not only for physical survival, but for cultural survival as well.

Ultimately, Greek immigrant parents and the Greek community at large, hope that the youth will show potential and achieve greater success than what they themselves have managed to gain despite the turbulent times since their immigration to Canada. Notwithstanding, there is the express wish that the youth also embrace the cultural heritage of their forefathers and to pass it on to future generations. The appeal to maintain and transmit Greek culture invariably poses a conflict of interest for the present day youth raised in Canadian society.

The children of Greek immigrants, some who are now adults, have had the benefit of experiencing the Canadian way of life by way of their schooling, their occupation, their friendships, their liesure, their politics and their social interactions with others. They have become immersed in the accompanying judgements, values, ideas, traditions, customs, and beliefs of their peers, and of whatever defines the Canadian culture. Equally influential have been the traditions, values and ideas of the Greek community. The

youth of today have had experiences in both the Canadian and Greek cultures and yet, have not to some degree, emerged unscathed. On the one hand, feelings of inferiority are shared by the youth born to Greek immigrants in Canada and generally identified as immigrants themselves in are identification society. This has a negative particularly in the aspects of education and in occupational promotions. The term "immigrant" is an inherited label the children of immigrants, that carries the prejudices against and the hardships effected on the newcomers. On the other hand, youths denying the Greek cultural heritage and opting to accept the Canadian culture, the culture they are born into, is perceived by the Greek immigrant elders as a betrayal to the Ethnic group and as the ultimate destruction cohesiveness and survival of the community. of the imminent crisis of identity is perceived by the youth, well as, the Greek community, as they are forced to either make a choice between heritage and the Canadian way of life, or to compromise.

The fear that foreign influences will obliterate what is felt to be Greek culture and identity, has prompted the leaders and the laity of the Greek community to launch an appeal to the young, as well as, to devise a course of action to ensure its survival. In recognition of difficult times ahead in terms of the educational achievements of the youth, maladjustment as to self concept, and the perceived identity crisis of the Neo-Greek, a symposium on "Being Greek", took place on the 10th of May 1987 and was sponsored

by the Hellenic Community of Montreal and the Montreal Centre For Greek Studies.

Several members of the Greek community in Montreal, professionals in their own right, and accepted leaders by laity, as well as invited the nembers ofequal qualifications, from other Greek communities in North America, took part in the open meeting to lend their thoughts, and to express their concerns to the Greek and general public assembled, on the question of the diminished participation of the youth in the Greek community. The dialogue was steered towards the question of identity as perhaps the first of many elements responsible for the change in character experienced by the community at present time, the perceived threat of cultural genocide, and the realization that the needs of the youth perhaps have not considered. nor met. Hence, the urgency been redefinition, reorganization, and the prioritization of the goals of the community to ensure its perpetuation.

In the opening address, Dr. J. Hadjinicolaou, remarked that the prime focus of the symposium would be on the questions of identity of the Greek diaspora, of the Neo-Greek, and perhaps the possible ideal and the meaning of ethos of the Greek. He began his discussion by relating his examination of the nationalism represented in literature, art and history and his intrigue of what he observed to be a fervent willingness to live and to die as Greeks. He acknowledged the challenge of discovering what emotional force is behind the term "Greek", that is often preferred,

and used as identification by the populace. What remains he reflected, is to ascertain what it means to be Greek by engaging in further discourse on the emotionalism that underlies the character.

Dr. T. Kolivakis agreed with Dr. J. Hadjinicolaou and confirmed that it isn't sufficient for the speakers of the symposium to profess their opinions towards the question of identity of Greeks and particularly the identity of the Greek-Canadian youth rather, he invited the audience and the Greek community as a whole, to take it upon themselves to reflect on the question and to contribute responsibly for the welfare of the Community and the question of identity.

The topic "Greeks and Greekness" was presented by Dr. J. Phillipoussis who examined the origins of Greeks and the existence of Greekness throughout the ages. From a historical and practical aspect he suggested, the significance and evolution of Greek identity today, is attributed to the assimilation of the different people who inhabited what was known as ancient Greece. In much the same manner he surmised, the significance and evolution of Canadian identity comprising of many Ethnic groups, may be attributed to assimilation.

The characteristics that have been unmodified through the ages, are believed to be although without certainty, religion, values, traditions, and language which define the culture and the identity of Greeks. These characteristics are not absolute, for they may mean something different to people who might ascribe to the Greek identity only by reference to Greek nationality, bloodlines, or Orthodoxy. However, he maintained that beyond the loss of language and religion, Greekness may still be a part of those who are of Greek origin but who no longer participate for various reasons, in the Greek community. Greekness may be a feeling or may still be in the memories of those who have withdrawn and it is that sort of Greekness which prevails according to Dr. Phillipoussis. It is the Ethnic aspect, the spirit and practicalities of situations and not so much the patriotic aspect that we attribute to Greekness that will remain.

Furthermore, Greekness is a cultural bond. The significant factors are the country, the community, and communication, but Greekness means more than this, the Greeks were always residents and immigrants, community and non-community, living with and living apart, remaining always as Greeks worshipping their homeland and thus, the Greekness and the Greeks have evolved. The Greek individual is homogeneous and whole, with roots and self-consciousness, love and identity, personal and historical fate, and life and ideas.

Dr. A. Katsarkas, concentrated on the topic "The Greek Immigrant in North America". With regard to the immigration reality, he intimated that there is a basic difference between the Greek immigrant of the United States and of Canada who emmmigrated during the mass migrations since the beginning of the 20th century. Although we speak of the U.S. and the melting pot phenomenon and of the Canadian mosaic, it is of some consequence to the immigrant even if he

strives to maintain his identity. Undoubtedly, he has to adapt to his new environment and with adaptation and integration, there is a possibility if one looks to the U.S., to find that homogeneity can happen to Canada 50 years from now.

The Greek who comes to North America Dr. Katsarkas maintained, brings with him the decision to succeed, his language, his customs and traditions, his political opinions and ideas, his Ethnic consciousness, and his religion. Many return to the homeland, but those who remain, grow roots and begin a generation that receives the next. He was concerned with the differences between the transmissions of the generations and what happens to the original characteristics that were brought over from Greece and make up the essence and identity of the immigrant. Greek identity according to Dr. Katsarkas, depends upon the community, the people who are Greek and how strongly they feel about perpetuating their unique identity.

The future generations Dr. Katsarkas predicted, will not be affiliated or identify with the Greek community, a phenomenon already being witnessed today of the second generation, who will integrate as those in the United States did, becoming homogeneous, according to the melting pot scheme. The answer is to keep what defines the Greeks stable, and to find a way to transmit to the future generations the identity which Greeks hold sacred. All should be united in order to avoid a cultural genocide. The Greeks in the community must be enthusiastic about this mission if a solution is to be found.

Mr. E. Katsikas, focused on the resistance of assimilation of Greeks and spoke on the topic "Beyond Greece: A very personal view". He recounted the misgivings of growing up in Canada in the 1930's and 1940's where there were few Greek immigrants, and not as many Greek institutions or organizations to turn to as there are today to support his Ethnic identity. He talked of being the only Greek in a suburban neighborhood and regarded as not quite as "white". Fortunately, at a later date, he benefited through support systems, to resist assimilation.

affirmed that he is one of the diaspora and laments that Greeks have lost the threads of the relationships that bring them together from the historical existence of Greece. He pondered how culture had survived during the Turkish occupation apart from the efforts of the priests who organized the "secret schools" and hoped that the same underlying factors will be at work today to prevent cultural genocide. The rate of integration or assimilation will denote the future cultural heritage of Greeks. He feared that in a few generations, cultural genocide could be a reality, but insisted that there is no reason for it to be He had maintained his identity even though he had not participated in Greek community functions in the 1930's and 1940's and yet, emerged in Montreal as a trilingual person who brought to consciousness whatever is apparently Greek, of what has existed and what does exist to define him as Greek; as a person, and as a member of the community.

Mr. Kalmoukos, was concerned with "The Crisis of the Neo-Greek Identity in America Today", and stated that it is as a result of North-American Greek communities viewing Greece as a place and not as a way of life. Greek identity, is strengthened by a past inheritance that is meaningful and gives to the entire being, an existence with a purpose, a direction and a justification. Part of this heritage includes Orthodoxy, which has cared for Greeks, making them whole by encouraging a kind of brotherhood. Distancing from the spiritual way of life that is a particular consciousness which the church upholds, causes a dissolution of the community and is viewed as a betrayal.

The Greek Orthodox church as agent to spiritual growth come to the aid of the Greeks in the past, by defining had keeping in place an established Greek cultural and consciousness as a way of life foremost and apart from the religious teachings and the Orthodox identity. Mr. Kalmoukos suggested, that the Greek community should understand their identity as a way of life, using its language as a means of communication and inviting dialogue to keep into its fold the children of the second and future generations. Greek identity and the preservation of culture calls for the teaching of literature, religion, history, and the language and not a reliance to express heritage solely by food, music and dance or other practices. In this respect, Greeks must consider the reality of the times and not ignore the impressions they make on the larger society.

Mr. Kalmoukos, believed that attention should be payed

to the identity crisis issue and decisive action to be taken to preserve the cultural inheritance, if the example of the United States is to be avoided. Simply, this means a consciousness of all that is Greek.

Mr. Kamperidis suggested that it is something other than language that defines a Greek as a Greek. Some writers contributing to our literature learned Greek later in life, and have expressed Greekness as fervently as Greeks from Greece. Recently, Nicolas Gage, author of "Eleni" (1983), for example, has expressed his affiliation to the Greek heritage interwoven with the memories of his mother, whose love and nature had taken root in her children and grandchildren, and could not be destroyed apart from his mission to tell the story of the Civil war and to pay tribute to its hapless victims, one of whom was his mother.

The topic presented by Br. D. Constantelos, was on the "Continuity and Discontinuity in the Greek Tradition". He stated that those who share the Greek heritage, are people who possess a language that has an oral tradition of more than 3,500 years and a written tradition of more than 2,800 years, as well as, customs, beliefs, practices and a consciousness that unites them. This unity is perpetuated by the immense wealth of the heritage, the significance of the past traditions and the conflicts and links between the old, the medieval, and the modern eras.

Public holidays, religious rituals and ceremonies, heroes and symbols accounted for in the everyday life of the Greeks either in Greece or in Greek communities in the

Diaspora are not newly invented phenomena. Almost all of the cultural traditions and social practices of the modern Greeks can be traced back to antiquity. However, Greek history is not an inspiration or memory but a powerful presence of the heritage, the language, and the people. It is a lived experience, ever dynamic, yet in the Greek tradition, there has been more continuity between centuries of histories than discontinuity. There is a Hellenism common to all and a linking agent from one phase of development to another.

D. Constantelos, himself a Greek of the Diaspora, believes that Greeks are citizens of one country but their heart and soul they are affiliated to the homeland, identifying with the Greek culture and ethos. Purporting to Greek identity, is really who they feel they are in the course of speaking the language and in bringing up their children, and the culture they pass on to them. The culture as all know it is expressed in Greek food, music and dance as it is in Greek history, language, religion, selfconsciousness of identity, ethos, and morality. However, Br. Constantelos recognizes that the church has played a vital role in providing for the congregation a basis from which to develop and maintain Greek identity and culture. Hellenism and the church are a union of religion and identity, and hence, people gathered from everywhere are lent the spirit of Greece.

The factors that contribute to the continuity of the Greek community are national consciousness and heritage

along with language, religion, beliefs and practices. Discontinuity will occur when the generations choose not to identify with the Greek community. Although Hellenism has evolved through the ages, it has not yet lost its essence. There is still hope. Greeks are an ancient and a new people.

According to Dr. E. Lanaris, socialization is linked with established community settlements, a people within social contexts sharing functional characteristics. As a people develop, and create on the basis of their past, identity evolves and gains definition. In the Greek community, a break of cultural transmission is perceived and a crisis of identity is signaled by apathy, indifference in the youth, a denial of belonging, of membership, an antithetical way of life. Reaffirmation is necessary of the Greek cultural identity, the historical link, the essence of their heritage, to prosper from the Ethnic cultural stock.

To reaffirm Greek identity, the youth should develop their apparent biculturalism by devising a system of communication between the Canadian and Greek culture to ensure well-being. Accepting Greek socialization will help build character and make certain of personal growth and betterment, as well as, adaptation to ensure the cultural and spiritual enhancement of the Greek community as it is sought. The need to reaffirm is justified if the community evaluates what is gained, and accepts to maintain the cultural characteristics. The Greek-Canadian culture will be a wealthy stock in terms of physical and spiritual well-being, political awareness, and community goals. Cultural

consciousness should facilitate the maintainance of the basic characteristics of the Greek society. In order to succeed, the community must change the inner social reality and its relations with the Canadian reality so as not to limit expressions of culture but to develop and encourage the community for a way of life, that is meaningful and ideal.

As a closing remark, Dr. J. Hadjinicolaou believed that reaffirming Greek identity for future generations will be successful, if the community perceives the need, and acts responsibly to the task at hand.

Although the speakers of the symposium spoke from different points of view and stressing several factors that point to the break of cultural transmission, they are in agreement and express concern, with respect to the perpetuation of the Greek culture and the future survival of the Greek community.

It was understood that while there is a certain emotionalism underlying the reference of Greekness, identity is composed of differing elements that may be sufficient without being necessary to maintain this condition of awareness. Apart from values, traditions, language and religion which custumarily describe a culture and identity, there is a bond drawing groups of people together who have a collective history and a consciousness of the essence of Greek identity. The Greek community of Montreal must strive to ensure the activation and transmission of cultural traditions while also embracing the Canadian culture,

language and way of life. A true Biculturalism, a coexistence of Greek and Canadian cultural stocks, a dual
system of cultural values coming into effect in appropriate
situations would represent a compromise in favour of
survival of community and identity rather than annihilation.

APPENDIX E Letter To Principal Requesting Permission To Conduct Study

January 28, 1987

Ms. Garrant,

I would like to ask for your cooperation and consent regarding my proposed research which is a requirement towards completion of my graduate degree, M. A. in Education, at Concordia University.

As you are aware, Ms. S. Chesterman has suggested a meeting with you for the purpose of discussing this project. We shall ask the 11th grade students to write an autobiographical essay and then answer a few questions about their background.

My thesis advisor and professor is Arpi Hamalian (Tel. 848-2374). Please feel free to contact her if there is anything you might like to have clarified.

A thesis committee will be formed shortly, to follow up on my progress. Thus, I must advise them of the procedures to be followed in completing the task set forth in my thesis proposal. Your kind cooperation will therefore be very much appreciated in providing the participants in my research.

Enclosed you will find a summary of the area of interest, prospective needs in collecting the data, and a copy of the actual proposal along with the questionnaire.

Thank you
Sincerely yours,

APPENDIX F

Description Of Study Submitted to Principal

SUMMARY

Introduction

The research intended will focus upon children's perceptions of education as they relate to academic achievement, aspirations and social mobility, as well as socialization and sense of identity, when growing up in Canada.

The individual child in school will be considered as the source for understanding the process of education. The individual children will contribute by way of a memoir: attitudes; value judgments; aspirations; and perceptions of events that are significant to them alone. These perceptions will be examined and analyzed in relation to society's cultural values.

Method

Phase I

Concrete facts shall be compiled by way of a questionnaire that will record biographical data.

Phase II

Cultural facts will be identified in Memoirs (autobiographical essay).

Memoirs will include:

- 1) attitudes directly expressed by the subject in relation to the particular situation and experience;
- 2) assessments and evaluations made by the subjects of their own or others' aspirations, thoughts and actions;

Guidelines will be given as to the topic of the essay.

Participants

For the purposes of this study, participants will be secondary students in their graduating year (grade 11) enrolled in a high school located in an area that is populated by immigrants, especially Greek immigrants.

All students in their graduating year may participate (along with their parents) however, the primary focus of this study will be on students of Greek ethnic origin.

Participation of parents of the students involved in this study, will be sought on a voluntary basis by special individual arrangement in consultation with the school principal.

Suggestions are welcome as to how I may proceed with minimal disruption of the school/classroom routine. Further discussion may take place during our meeting.

APPENDIX G

Questionnaire Guidelines

Name:	
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Number:	

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please fill out this Questionnaire. For each question you are asked to put an \underline{X} in the appropriate box and where it is indicated, fill in the blank. Do not write anything left of the margin.

QUESTIONNAIRE

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Col.17	1)	1 1 1	l] 1 <u>Prot]</u> 1]	l Cat 	l hlPr 1	l ivlEr l	l glFr l	l elE 1	F &	Oth
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	_,	1	1 1		1	1	1	1		
Col.18	3)	_1	l lProt	L [Cat]	hlPr	ivlEr	glFr	elE	F &	Oth

Card 1.				
Col. 19		What language do parents? .	you speak at home with yo	ur
		1. English	()	
		2. French	()	
		3. Eng. & French	()	
		4. Other	() (specify)	
Col. 20	11.	What language do brothers and sist	you speak at home with yo	our
		1. English	()	
		2. French	()	
		3. Eng. & French	()	
		4. Other	() (specify)	
Col. 21	12.	What is your moth	her's occupation?	
Col. 22	13.	What is your fath	her's occupation?	
Col. 23	14.	What language do	your parents speak at worl	k?
CO1. 23		1. English	()	
		2. French	()	
		3. Eng. & French	()	
		4. Other	() (specify)	

Card 1.				
Col. 24	Who do you live with at home	?		
C01. 24	1. Mother, Father and Sibling	gs	(>
	2. Mother only		(•
	3. Father only		(>
	4. Mother, Father and Relativ	ves	(>
	5. Relatives only		() (specify)
	6. Guardians/Foster Parents		() (specify)
	What is your birth order?			
Col. 25	1. Born first ()			
	2. Born second ()			
	3. Born third ()			
	4. Born fourth ()			
	5. Born last ()			
	Education of Mother:			
Col. 26	1. Some Elementary	()		
	2. Completed Elementary	$\langle \cdot \rangle$		
	3. Some High School	$\langle \cdot \rangle$		
	4. Completed High School	()		
	5. Some Trade School	()		
	6. Completed Trade School	()		
	7. Some University	()		
	8. Completed University	()		

Caro_1		
Col. 27	18.	In what Country did your Mother receive her Education?
		1. Canada ()
		2. Greece ()
		3. United States ()
		4. Other Country () (specify)
Col. 28	19.	Education of Father:
		1. Some Elementary ()
		2. Completed Elementary ()
		3. Some High School ()
		4. Completed High School ()
		5. Some Trade School ()
		6. Completed Trade School ()
		7. Some University ()
		8. Completed University ()
Col. 29	20.	In what Country did your Father receive his Education?
		1. Canada ()
		2. Greece ()
		3. United States ()
		4. Other Country () (specify)

Card 1.								
	_ 21.	How many	brothers	an	d sister	s live	at	home?
Col. 30	<u>-</u>	-						
Col. 31		"mber of	brother	B		<u>.</u>		
CO1. 31		Number of	sisters					
Col. 32	_ 22.	Are your	brothers	&	sisters	still	at	school?
CO1. 32		1. Yes		(>			
		2. No		()			

23. Indicate the <u>present</u> Grade of your brothers and / or sisters, the Type of School they attend and Languages Taught in that school.

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	3.	sis	1	lProt:	lCath:	lPriv	lColl	lUniv	l Kng	lFre	1E	F &	Oth

Col. 38

URIC						
Col.	39	24.	After High Sch planning to:	nool Grad	luation, are you	
			1. Go to work		()	
			2. Go to Ceger	,	()	
			3. Go to Unive	rsity	()	
Col.	40	•	4. Have other	plans	()(specif	'y)
		25.	Are most of yo	our frien	nds:	
Col.	41		1. Greek	()		
			2. English	()		
			3. French	()		
			4. Others	()	(specify)	
<u> </u>	·	26.	The citizenshi	ip status	s of your parents is:	
Col.	42		1. Canadian		()	
			2. Landed imm	igrant	()	
			3. Refugee		()	
			4. Visa		()	
Col.	43	. 27.	Do you attend School?	an Ethni	ic afternoon or weeke	nd
			1. Yes	()		
Col.	44	•	if yes, where	?		
			if yes, which	one?		
			2 No	()		

IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED NO FOR No.27 THEN GO TO No.31

Card	1.		
Col.	45		What grade are you in now, in your Ethnic School?
Col.	46	29.	How many years have you attended your Ethnic School?
Col.	47	30.	Do you like going to your Ethnic School? 1. Yes () Why?
Col.	48		2. No () Why?
Col.	49		
Col.	50,51	31.	What kind of work would you like to do when you complete your studies?
Col.	52		What degree do you plan to get for this type of work?
Col.	53	33.	What type of work are you likely to get considering the qualifications you now have?
Col.	54	34.	How do your teachers feel about you as a person?
Col.	55	35.	How do your teachers feel about your school work?

	Card	1.										
	Col.		36.	Do y	ou feel es	you					chool?	
	Col.	57,58		2. N	0				hy?			
	Col.	59	37.	How	many	close	fri	iend	s do	you	have? _	No.
	Col.	60	38.	How	do you	feel	abou	ut —	your	frien	ds?	 -
	Col.	61	39.	How	do you	r frie	ends i	feel	abou	it you?	•	
	Col.	62	40.	1. Y	ou have		()	•			
		00		2. N			(
Card Repea	2. at1-1	2										
	Col.	13	41.	Do y	ou have reekend:	e a pa s?	rt-t	ine	job	after	school	or
				1. Y			(

IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED NO FOR No.41 THEN GO TO No.44

Card		12	Is it n		ww f.	^*	***	. to	hald		.art_+	ima
Col.	14	46.	job?	gccssa	Ly I	OI	you	1 60	nord	a j	Par C-C	TWG
			1. Yes			()	Why?	·	.,	, ,	
Col.	15,16	•	2. No			()	Why?	<u> </u>			
Col.	17	43.	Do you	enjoy	hold	ing	; yo	our p	art-t	ine ;	job?	
001.	•'		1. Yes			()	Why?	·			
Col.	18,19		2. No			()	Why?	·			
		44.	Are you	invol	ved	in	spo	ortsi	•			
Col.	20		1. Yes			()					
Col.	21		if yes,					·	 			
Col.	22		2. No Are yeactivity	ou i	nvol		i	in	ext	ra-cı	ırricu	lar
			1. Yes			()					
Col.	23		if yes,	which	?				<u></u> -			
			2. No			(>					
Col.	24	46.	Do you lor Club		to	an	Etl	hnie	Youth	Ass	sociat	ion
			1. Yes			(>					
Col.	25		if yes,	which	?							
Col.	26		if yes,		the	act	iv:	ities	уоц	pa	rticip	ate
			2. No			()					

Card	2.										
Col.	27	47.	Do you 1. Yes								
Col.	28,29			·····							
			2. No	 			Why?				
Col.	30	4 8.	Do you school		t yo	น		lea	rning	now	in
			1. Yes			-	Why?				
Col.	31,32					_					
			2. No	·····							
Col.	33	49.	Are you learning				the	subj	ects	you	are
			1. Yes		(•	Why?	····			
Col.	34,35		2. No	 	(>	Why?				
Col.	36	50,	What we school								in
Col.	37		Why?								

Card	2.				
Col.		51.	Do you think do than go to	that you have better thin school?	gs to
			1. Yes	()	
Col.	39		if yes, what?	,	
			2. No	()	
Col.	40	52.	Do you have a this school?	problem speaking Englis	sh in
			1. Yes	()	
			2. No	()	
Col.	41	53.	Do you have r subjects?	problems with any of your s	chool
			1. Yes	()	
Col.	42	•	if yes, which	one?	
			2. No	()	
Col.	43	54.		one else has a problem spe elp available at school?	aking
			1. Yes	()	
Col.	44	•	if yes, what	kind?	
			2. No	()	
Col.	45	55.		yone else has a problem ts, is help available at sc	
			1. Yes	()	
Col.	46	•	if yes, what	kind?	
			2. No	()	-

Card 2.			
Col. 47	56.	have diffi	school offers to help you when you culties in the English language, lling to accept it?
		1. Yes	() Why?
Col. 48,49		2. No	() Why?
Col. 50	57.	have diffi	hool offers to help you when you culties with your school subjects, lling to accept it?
		1. Yes	() Why?
Col. 51,52		2. No	() Why?
Col. 53	58.		progress in school suffer because ability to speak English well?
		1. Yes	()
		2. No	()
Col. 54	59.		progress in school suffer because ability to understand the subjects udying?
		1. Yes	()
		2. No	()

Card 2.		
Col. 55		What do you think is the reason(s) for your success or failure at school? Explain below.
		1. I do well in school because:
Col. 56	-	2. I do not do well in school because:

APPENDIX H

Essay Guidelines

Name:	 	
Number:_		

GUIDELINES

Please write an essay of about 2,000 words on the topic "The Canadian School and the Ethnic Child". It is your own views and experiences of Canadian schools that we look for. We want to hear about your feelings on events which you actually experienced rather than comments based on hearsay or second hand reports. In this essay you may write about school and you, and how school relates to your life experiences in the family, in your plans for your future, in making friends and developing your identity. You may wish to follow the plan presented.

1.	 about the kindergarden 	schools and your	you have memories of	attended since these schools;
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	 about your feelings concerning teachers, academic achievement and opportunities; 	parent
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4.	 about your assessment of your aspirations and the aspirations of other students in the school and how school influences these aspirations;
	 about the importance of your school experiences with regard to your friends and school, and your teachers and school in planning for your future;
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5.	-	about related	the to	impor your	tance of life and	your school family;	experiences	8.5
								
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3.	about the language(s) you speak at home, with you brothers and sisters, with your friends, at Clubs an Associations and at school;
<u></u>	

•	- about in the	t the finding future	influer out wh will be	nce of no you e;	this so are and	chool or l what	n your your	identity, plans for
								
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3.	-	about have plans	influenced you	family, or and guided	in your community who you in making career
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10.	 any other comments and important points school experiences that you wish to add; 	about	your
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APPENDIX I

Teachers' List Of Students

TEACHERS' LIST OF STUDENTS

	Name	Nationality	Number of Essay & Questionnaire
1.			
2.			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
3.			
4.			
5.			
24.			
25.			

TEACHERS' LIST OF STUDENTS

	Name	Nationality	Number of Essay & Questionnaire
26.			
27.			
28.			
29.			
30.			
31.			
32.			
33.		·	
34.			·
35.			
47.			
48.			
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APPENDIX J

Questionnaire Outputs

QUESTIONNAIRE OUTPUTS

Summary Description of Data:

(Questionnaire)	(No. >	(×	' >
1.	School Option:					
	Academic Vocational Academic and Vocational		103 23 1		18.	10%) 11%) 78%)
2.	Perceived Ethnicity:					
	Perceived themselves a Greek	ıs	21	(16.	.53%)
	Perceived themselves a English	ıs	43	(33.	.85%)
	Perceived themselves a French	as	2		(1	. 57%)
	Perceived themselves other	as	61	((48	. 03%)
A)	Those who perceived selve as English:	es				
	Portuguese Italian Spanish Trinidadian East Indian Polish English French Lebanese		13 16 1 3 2 4 2		(12 (2 (1 (3 (1	.23%) .59%) .78%) .78%) .36%) .57%) .15%) .57%)
B)	The percentage of thos perceiving selves Englis for each Ethnic group	sh				
	Greek Portuguese Italian Spanish Chinese Trinidadian East Indian Polish Yugoslavian		0 13 16 1 0 1 3 2	()	(34 (38 (25 (0 100 100	.00%) .21%) .09%) .00%) .00%) .00%) .00%)

	English French Armenian Lebanese	4 2 0 1	(100.00%) (50.00%) (0.00%) (100.00%)
C)	Those who perceived selves as Other and:		
	Specified Ethnicity	68	(53.54%)
	Did not Specify Ethnicity	59	(46.45%)
3.	Ethnicity Specified:		
	Greek Portuguese Italian Spanish Chinese Yugoslavian Armenian	0 26 32 3 4 1 2	(0.00%) (20.47%) (25.19%) (2.36%) (3.15%) (.78%) (1.57%)
A)	Those who perceived selves as Other, didn't Specify:		
	Greek Portuguese Italian Spanish Trinidadian East Indian Polish English French Lebanese	21 12 10 1 3 2 4 4	(16.53%) (9.44%) (7.87%) (.78%) (.78%) (2.36%) (1.57%) (3.15%) (3.15%) (.78%)
B)	Those who perceived selves as English also said Other and Specified Ethnicity:		
	Portuguese Italian	1 6	(.78%) (4.72%)
4.	Actual Ethnicity:		
	Greek Portuguese Italian Spanish Chinese Trinidadian East Indian Polish Yugoslavian English	21 38 42 4 1 3 2 1	(16.53%) (29.92%) (33.07%) (3.15%) (3.15%) (.78%) (2.36%) (1.57%) (.78%) (3.15%)

	French Armenian Lebanese	4 2 1	(3.15%) (1.57%) (.78%)
5.	Age of Students:		
	14 years old	1	(.78%)
	16 years old	53	(41.73%)
	17 years and older	73	(57.48%)
6.	Sex of Participants:		
	Male Female	66 61	(51.96%) (48.03%)
7.	Religion of Participants:		
	Greek Orthodox Protestant Catholic Other	20 2 96 9	(15.74%) (1.57%) (75.59%) (7.08%)
8.	Place of Birth:		
	Canada Greece Other Country	102 1 24	(80.31%) (.78%) (18.89%)
9.	No. of Schools Attended:		
	two schools three schools four schools five schools six schools seven schools twelve schools	27 59 29 6 3 2	(21.26%) (46.45%) (22.83%) (4.72%) (2.36%) (1.57%) (.78%)
10.	Type Of Elementary School And Number Of Years Attended (First School):		
	English Cath. elementary school attended from 1-6 years	81	(63.78%)
	English Protestant elementary school attended from 1-6 years	10	(7.87%)
	French Catholic elementary school attended from 1-6 years	1	(.78%)

	English Cath. elementary school attended from 1-2 years	8	(6.29%)
	English Protestant elementary school from 1-2 years	7	(5.51%)
	English Cath. elementary school attended from 3-4 years	17	(13.38%)
	English Protestant elementary school attended from 3-4 years	3	(2.36%)
11.	Type Of Elementary School And Number Of Years Attended (Second School):		
	No answer (did not go to second elementary school)	85	(66.92%)
	English Catholic elementary school from 1-6 years	8	(6.29%)
	English Protestant elementary school from 1-6 years	2	(1.57%)
	English Catholic elementary school from 1-2 years	14	(11.02%)
	English Protestant elementary school from 1-2 years	1	(.78%)
	French Catholic elementary school from 1-2 years	1	(.78%)
	English Catholic elementary school from 3-4 years	12	(9.44%)
	English Protestant elementary school from 3-4 years	4	(3.15%)
12.	Type Of Elementary School And Number Of Years Attended (Third School):		

No answer (did not go to

	third elementary school)	120	(94.48%)
	English Catholic elementary school from 1-2 years	3	(2.38%)
	English Protestant elementary school from 1-2 years	3	(2.36%)
	English Catholic elementary school from 3-4 years	1	(.78%)
13.	Type Of Secondary School And Number Of Years Attended (First School):		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	English Catholic secondary school 1-2 years	11	(8.66%)
	English Protestant secondary school from 1-2 years	10	(7.87%)
	English Catholic secondary school from 3-5 years	104	(81.89%)
	English Protestant secondary school from 3-5 years	1	(.78%)
14.	Type Of Secondary School And Number Of Years Attended (Second School):		
	No answer (did not go to second secondary school)	48	(37.79%)
	English Catholic secondary school from 1-2 years	64	(50.39%)
	English Protestant secondary school from 1-2 years	4	(3.15%)
	English Catholic secondary school from 3-5 years	11	(8.66%)
15.	Type Of Secondary School And Number Of Years attended (Third school):		

	No answer (did not go to third secondary school)	114	(89.76%)
	English Catholic secondary school from 1-2 years	9	(7.08%)
	English Protestant secondary school from 1-2 years	1	(.78%)
	English Catholic secondary school from 3-5 years	3	(2.36%)
16.	Languages Spoken At Home With Parents:		
	English	13	(10.23%)
	English and French	4	(3.15%)
	Other	66	(51.96%)
	English and Other	34	(26.77%)
	English, French and Other	9	(7.08%)
	French and Other	1	(.78%)
17.	Languages Spoken At Home With Siblings:		
17.		78	(61.41%)
17.	With Siblings:	78 7	(61.41%) (5.51%)
17.	With Siblings: English		
17.	With Siblings: English English and French	7	(5.51%)
17.	With Siblings: English English and French Other	7 2	(5.51%) (1.57%)
17.	With Siblings: English English and French Other English and Other	7 2 26	(5.51%) (1.57%) (20.47%)
17.	With Siblings: English English and French Other English and Other English, French and Other	7 2 26 8	(5.51%) (1.57%) (20.47%) (6.29%)
	With Siblings: English English and French Other English and Other English, French and Other French and Other Only Child (have no	7 2 26 8 1	(5.51%) (1.57%) (20.47%) (6.29%) (.78%)
	With Siblings: English English and French Other English and Other English, French and Other French and Other Only Child (have no siblings)	7 2 26 8 1	(5.51%) (1.57%) (20.47%) (6.29%) (.78%)
	With Siblings: English English and French Other English and Other English, French and Other French and Other Only Child (have no siblings) Mother's Occupation:	7 2 26 8 1	(5.51%) (1.57%) (20.47%) (6.29%) (.78%)
	With Siblings: English English and French Other English and Other English, French and Other French and Other Only Child (have no siblings) Mother's Occupation: No answer	7 2 26 8 1 5	(5.51%) (1.57%) (20.47%) (6.29%) (.78%) (3.93%)

	Semi-Professional	7	(5.51%)
	Professional	1	(.78%)
	Deceased	1	(.78%)
19.	Father's Occupation:		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	No Skill	10	(7.87%)
	Semi-Skilled	54	(42.52%)
	Trade	36	(28.34%)
	Semi-Professional	17	(13.38%)
	Professional	2	(1.57%)
	Deceased	4	(3.15%)
20.	The Language That Parents Speak At Work:	1	
	No Answer (because not living at home)	4	(3.15%)
	English	27	(21.26%)
	French	14	(11.02%)
	English and French	n 33	(25.98%)
	Other	15	(11.81%)
	English and Other	4	(3.15%)
	English, French and Other	: 19	(14.96%)
	French and Other	10	(7.87%)
	Deceased	1	(.78%)
21.	Students Live With:		
	Mother, Father, Siblings and Relatives	s 7	(5.51%)
	Mother, Father and Siblings	i 98	(77.16%)
	Mother Only	7 11	(8.66%)
	Father Only	7 5	(3.93%)

	Mother, Father Relatives	and	(.78%)
	Guardians/Foster Pa	arents 1	(.78%)
	Mother and Father	Only 3	(2.36%)
	Mother and Sil	olings 1	(.78%)
22.	Birth Order:		
	First born	38	(29.72%)
	Second born	44	(39.64%)
	Third born	24	(18.89%)
	Fourth born	6	(4.72%)
	Fifth (last) born	9	(7.08%)
	Only child	6	(4.72%)
23.	Education Of Mother:		
	No Answer /Dec	eased 2	(1.57%)
	Some Eleme	entary 60	(47.24%)
	Completed Eleme	entary 26	(20.47%)
	Some High S	School 16	(12.59%)
	Completed High	School 12	(9.44%)
	Some Trade S	chool 1	(.78%)
	Completed Trade S	School 2	(1.57%)
	Some Unive	ersity 1	(.78%)
	Completed Unive	ersity 1	(.78%)
	Elementary /High S /Trade School	chool 6	(4.72%)
24.	Country Of Mot Education:	her's	
	No Answer	1	(.78%)
	Canada	16	(12.59%)
	Greece	19	(14.96%)

	Other Country	87	(68.50%)
	Canada and Other Country	4	(3.15%)
25.	Education Of Father:		
	No Answer /Deceased	6	(4.72%)
	Some Elementary	4 6	(36.22%)
	Completed Elementary	26	(20.47%)
	Some High School	13	(10.23%)
	Completed High School	12	(9.44%)
	Some Trade School	3	(2.36%)
	Completed Trade School	7	(5.51%)
	Some University	5	(3.93%)
	Completed University	3	(2.36%)
	Elementary /High / Trade School	6	(4.72%)
26.	Country Of Father's Education:		
	No Answer	5	(3.93%)
	Canada	9	(7.08%)
	Greece	18	(14.17%)
	Other Country	84	(66.14%)
	Canada and Other Country	10	(7.87%)
	Deceased	1	(.78%)
27.	Brothers Living At Home:		
	Have Brothers but are not living at home (either married or living with		
	other parent)	6	(4.72%)
	One Brother	47	(37.00%)
	Two Brothers	17	(13.38%)
	Three Brothers	3	(2.36%)

	Four Brothers	2	(1.57%)
	Five Brothers	1	(.78%)
	No Brothers are indicated	43	(33.85%)
.j	Only Child	8	(6.29%)
28.	Sisters Living At Home:		
	Have sisters but are not living at home (either married or living with other parent)	4	(3.15%)
	One Sister	49	(38.58%)
	Two Sisters	26	(20.47%)
	Three Sisters	1	(.78%)
	Four Cisters	3	(2.36%)
	No Sisters are indicated	36	(28.34%)
	Only Child	8	(6.29%)
29.	Siblings Still At School:		
	Yes	77	(60.63%)
	No	29	(22.83%)
	Only Child	7	(5.51%)
	Some at school	13	(10.23%)
	Not yet in school	1	(.78%)
30.	Type Of School And Grade For Brother One:		
	No answer	65	(51.18%)
	Elementary Catholic English	8	(6.29%)
	Elementary Protestant English	1	(.78%)
	Secondary Catholic English	21	. (16.53%)
	Secondary Protestant English	2	(1.57%)

	CEGEP	8	(8.29%)
	University	12	(9.44%)
	Not apply because only child	10	(7.87%)
31.	Type Of School And Grade For Brother Two:		
	No answer	108	(85.03%)
	Elementary Cath. English	3	(2.36%)
	Elementary Catholic French	1	(.78%)
	Secondary Catholic English	2	(1.57%)
	Secondary Protestant English	1	(.78%)
	CEGEP	2	(1.57%)
	Not apply because only child	10	(7.87%)
32.	Type Of School And Grade For Brother Three:		
	No answer	114	(89.78%)
	Elementary Catholic English	3	(2.36%)
	Not apply because only child	10	(7.87%)
33.	Type Of School And Grade For Sister One:		
	No answer	57	(44.88%)
	Elementary Catholic English	16	(12.59%)
	Elementary Protestant English	2	(1.57%)
	Secondary Catholic English	21	(16.53%)
	CEGEP	14	(11.02%)
	University	7	(5.51%)
	Not apply because only		

	child	10	(7.87%)
34 .	Type Of School And Grade For Sister Two:		
	No answer	100	(78.74%)
	Elementary Catholic English	7	(5.51%)
	Elementary Protestant English	1	(.78%)
	Secondary Catholic English	3	(2.36%)
	CEGEP	4	(3.15%)
	University	2	(1.57%)
	Not apply because only child	10	(7.87%)
35.	Type Of School And Grade For Sister Three:		
	No answer	112	(88.18%)
	Elementary Catholic English	1	(.78%)
	Secondary Catholic English	3	(2.36%)
	CEGEP	1	(.78%)
	Not apply because only child	10	(7.87%)
36.	Plans After High School:		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	Go to work	24	(18.89%)
	CEGEP	94	(74.01%)
	Other plans (not specify)	2	(1.57%)
	School and Work	6	(4.72%)
37.	Other Plans Specified:		
	Military	1	(.78%)
	Trade School	8	(6.29%)

	Music Band	1	(.78%)
	Additional /Night School	1	(.78%)
	Open a Business	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because specify in No. 36 Plans After High School)	115	(90.55%)
38.	Ethnicity Of Friends:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Greek	10	(7.87%)
	English	21	(16.53%)
	French	1	(.78%)
	Others	41	(32.28%)
	English and Other	16	(12.59%)
	English, French and Other	3	(2.36%)
	English French Greek and Own	7	(5.51%)
	English French Greek Own and Other	25	(19.68%)
	Greek and Other Ethnics	1	(.78%)
39.	Immigration Status Of Parents:		
	Canadian	88	(69.29%)
	Landed Immigrant	37	(29.13%)
	Visa	1	(.78%)
	One parent Canadian and one parent Landed Immigrant	1	(.78%)
40.	Attendance Of Ethnic School:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	10	(7.87%)
	No	115	(90.55%)

41.	Location And Type of Ethnic School:		
	Not specify	3	(2.36%)
	Greek	1	(.78%)
	Portuguese	4	(3.15%)
	Italian	2	(1.57%)
	Spanish	1	(.78%)
	Chinese	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 40 Ethnic School)	115	(90.55%)
42.	Present Grade At Ethnic School:		
	Not Specify	5	(3.93%)
	3-4 grade	1	(.78%)
	5-6 grade	5	(3.93%)
	9-10 grade	1	(.78%)
	11-12 grade	2	(1.57%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 40 Ethnic School)	113	(88.97%)
43.	Years Attended At Ethnic School:		
	Not specify	3	(2.36%)
	3-4 years	2	(1.57%)
	5-6 years	4	(3.15%)
	7-8 years	1	(.78%)
	9-10 years	2	(1.57%)
	11-12 years	2	(1.57%)
	13 or more years	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 40 Ethnic School)	112	(88.18%)

44.	Liking Ethnic	School:		
	No answer		5	(3.93%)
	Yes		9	(7.08%)
	No		2	(1.57%)
	Not apply (because to No. 40 Ethnic		111	(87.40%)
45.	Reason Why:			
	No answer		6	(4.72%)
	Useful	,	1	(.78%)
	Fun		2	(1.57%)
	Understand langua	age and	6	(4.72%)
	Not apply (because to No. 40 Ethnic		112	(88.12%)
46.	Reason Why Not:			
	No answer		5	(3.93%)
	Not fun because	failing	1	(.78%)
	Too much work		1	(.78%)
	Not Apply (because to No. 40 Ethnic		120	(94.48%)
47.	Work Plans For The When Finish Studie			
	No answer		2	(1.57%)
	Semi-Skilled		8	(6.29%)
	Trade		13	(10.23%)
	Semi-Professional		25	(19.68%)
	Professional		64	(50.39%)
	Don't know		9	(7.08%)
	Something exciting		1	(.78%)
	Undecided		3	(2.36%)

	Inappropriate response	2	(1.57%)
48.	Degree Plans For The Future:		
	No answer	12	(9.44%)
	CEGEP	6	(4.72%)
	University B.A.	45	(35.43%)
	University M.A.	20	(15.74%)
	University Ph.d.	10	(7.87%)
	Diploma or Trade Certificate	18	(14.17%)
	No Certification	5	(3.93%)
	Undecided	2	(1.57%)
	Don't know	9	(7.08%)
49.	Work Can Get Now With High School Diploma:		
	No answer	18	(14.17%)
	Semi-skilled	63	(49.60%)
	Trade	14	(11.02%)
	Semi-professional	15	(11.81%)
	Professional	2	(1.57%)
	Don't Know	9	(7.08%)
	Nothing	1	(.78%)
	Undecided	5	(3.93%)
50.	Teachers Like The Student:		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	Don't Know	13	(10.23%)
	Nice when behave	4	(3.15%)
	Hardworking conscientious trustworthy and responsible	22	(17.32%)

	Satisfied pleased liked good	73	(57.48%)
	Don't like me bad and not pleased	2	(1.57%)
	Nice quiet person shy	4	(3.15%)
	Nice quiet bright but thought of as lazy	1	(.78%)
	Bright but lazy	2	(1.57%)
	Nice quiet shy but not to potential/indifferent	2	(1.57%)
51.	Teachers Like The Students' Schoolwork:		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	Excellent work	3	(2.36%)
	Very Good	5	(3.93%)
	Satisfactory because work hard, understand lessons etc., pleased with work, good student	68	(53.54%)
	Satisfactory but not to potential	38	(29.92%)
	Not to potential	4	(3.15%)
	Weak/stinks	1	(.78%)
	Don't know	1	(.78%)
	Unfair evaluation of work	2	(1.57%)
	Undecided	1	(.78%)
52.	Doing Well At School:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	102	(80.31%)
	No	22	(17.32%)
	Don't know	1	(.78%)

53.	Why Doing Well:		
	No answer	5	(3.93%)
	Excellent work/work hard	7	(5.51%)
	Very good keeping up and learning trying hard, grades pretty good	64	(50.39%)
	Satisfactory work doing just enough	22	(17.32%)
	Satisfactory but not to potential (no effort but have ability, lazy)	17	(13.38%)
	Not to potential could do better but no effort or ability	7	(5.51%)
	Weak don't understand, fail because no ability	2	(1.57%)
	Inappropriate teaching	1	(.78%)
	Inappropriate curriculum	1	(.78%)
	Burden (have other things on mind)	1	(.78%)
54.	Number Of Friends:		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	No friends	1	(.78%)
	One friend	12	(9.44%)
	2-3 friends	36	(28.34%)
	4-5 friends	32	(25.19%)
	6-9 friends	13	(10.23%)
	10 and more friends	15	(11.81%)
	Not specified number (many, or can't count)	17	(13.38%)
5 5.	Like Friends:		
	No answer	3	(2.38%)
	Excellent /important		

	(always there, love the fun)	em.,	(25.98%)
	Very good, respect a like them, enjoy t		(31.49%)
	Satisfactory /ok all rig	ght 25	(19.68%)
	Not to potent	ial 3	(2.36%)
	Weak	1	(.78%)
	Trust	18	(14.17%)
	Respect	4	(3.15%)
5 6.	Friends Like You:		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	Excellent / important	28	(22.04%)
	Very good	31	(24.40%)
	Satisfactory /ok all rig	ght 33	(25.98%)
	Not to potent	ial 1	(.78%)
	Indifferent / don't ca	are 1	(.78%)
	Trust	15	(11.81%)
	Respect	3	(2.36%)
	Don't know	11	(8.66%)
57.	Have Hobbies:		
	Yes	111	(87.40%)
	No	16	(12.59%)
58.	What Hobbies:		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	Academic	5	(3.93%)
	Sport	15	(11.81%)
	Art	12	(9.44%)
	Games (chess, modes)	del 3	(2.38%)

	Leisure (sunbathing,		
	games, collecting, playing music)	26	(20.47%)
	Academic and Liesure (arts)	16	(12.59%)
	Sports and Leisure (dance) and Academic	17	(13.38%)
	Sports and Leisure (arts)	16	(12.59%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 57 Hobbies)	16	(12.59%)
59.	Part-Time Job:		
	Yes	59	(46.45%)
	No	68	(53.54%)
60.	Part-time Job Needed:		
	No answer (though said Yes to No. 59 Part-time Job)	6	(4.72%)
	Yes	31	(24.40%)
	No	25	(19.68%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 59 Part-time Job)	65	(51.18%)
61.	Reason Why Job Is Needed:		
	No answer (though said Yes to No. 59 Part-time Job)	7	(5.51%)
	Don't need it because parents support student	14	(11.02%)
	To increase allowance	4	(3.15%)
	Allow independence to spend money on activities	23	(18.11%)
	Security (leading to full-time job)	2	(1.57%)
	Just a spare time activity but not a well paying job although there is		
	challenge and experience	4	(3.15%)
	Support family	4	(3.15%)

	To pay for higher education	1	(.78%)
	Cannot work because it would affect schoolwork	1	(.78%)
	Preparation for the future	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 59 Part-time Job)	66	(51.96%)
62.	Enjoy Job:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	57	(44.88%)
	No	8	(6.29%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 59 Part-time Job)	60	(47.24%)
63.	Reason Why Enjoy Job (for those who said Yes):		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	Happy (fun)	7	(5.51%)
	Confining, prevent from doing other things	4	(3.15%)
	Preoccupies	6	(4.72%)
	Prepares for the future (good learning experience)	5	(3.93%)
	Like the people (meet people)	24	(18.89%)
	Like the duties	4	(3.15%)
	Sense of responsibility	9	(7.08%)
	Lousy conditions	1	(.78%)
	Useful	2	(1.57%)
	Undecided	1	(.78%)
	Make money	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 59 Part-time Job)	59	(48.81%)

64.	Involved In Sports:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	62	(48.81%)
	No	60	(47.24%)
	Inappropriate response	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (to subject)	2	(1.57%)
65.	Where Involved In Sports:		
	No answer (though said Yes to No. 64 Sports)	4	(3.15%)
	Parks / public areas	4	(3.15%)
	Gymns at school	16	(12.59%)
	Private gymnasiums	23	(18.11%)
	At school and on own	5	(3.93%)
	On one's own	6	(4.72%)
	School and gymnasiums nearby	1	(.78%)
	Did not specify	8	(6.29%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 64 for Sports)	60	(47.24%)
66.	Extra Curricular Activities:		
	No answer	3	(2.36%)
	Yes	49	(38.58%)
	No	73	(57.48%)
	Undecided	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (to subject)	1	(.78%)
67.	Which Extra Curricular Activities:		
	No answer (though said Yes to No. 66 Activity)	3	(2.36%)
	Academic (student life)	. 14	(11.02%)

	Sports	24	(18.89%)
	Art (variety shows, murals, art club)	5	(3.93%)
	Leisure (sunbathing, DJ music, fashion show)	4	(3.15%)
	Academic and Leisure	1	(.78%)
	Sports and Leisure	2	(1.57%)
	Commerce / Stock Market	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 86 for Activities)	73	(57.48%)
68.	Ethnic Association Member:		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	Yes	16	(12.59%)
	No	109	(85.82%)
	Not apply (to subject)	1	(.78%)
69.	Which Association:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Greek	6	(4.72%)
	Portuguese	7	(5.51%)
	Italian	1	(.78%)
	Sun Youth	1	(.78%)
	Fashion show	1	(.78%)
	East Indian	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 68 Ethnic Assoc.)	108	(85.03%)
70.	Activities At Association:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Academic	1	(.78%)
	Sports	3	(2.36%)
	Art (greek/folklore		

	dancing, modelling)	7	(5.51%)
	Leisure	1	(.78%)
	Sports and Leisure	4	(3.15%)
	Responsible Positions: advisory / president / treasurer	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No. 68 Ethnic Assoc.)	108	(85.03%)
71.	Enjoy Doing Homework:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	80	(62.99%)
	No	42	(33.07%)
	Undecided	1	(.78%)
	Inappropriate response	2	(1.57%)
72.	Reason Why Enjoy Homework:		
	No answer	5	(3.93%)
	Boring / tedious	23	(18.11%)
	Burden / takes away from other things	21	(16.53%)
	Good preparation (beneficial, learning)	26	(20.47%)
	Enjoy because understand	13	(10.23%)
	To achieve and succeed (interesting, challenge, important)	24	(18.89%)
	Passes time, activity	5	(3.93%)
	Useless, no preparation for future	1	(.78%)
	Can't concentrate	2	(1.57%)
	Some-Inappropriate courses	4	(3.15%)
	Depends what it is / like if understood	2	(1.57%)

	Undecided	1	(.78%)
73.	School Relevant:		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	Yes	98	(77.16%)
	No	28	(22.04%)
74.	Reason Why School Is Relevant Or Irrelevant:		
	No answer	7	(5.51%)
	Not mirror the real world, useless and not practical	14	(11.02%)
	Useful beneficial, come in handy, mirrors the world and offers more knowledge	88	(69.29%)
	Boring / tedious	2	(1.57%)
	Not offer courses of interest	3	(2.36%)
	Inappropriate for career in mind	5	(3.93%)
	Need basic but useful courses	1	(.78%)
	Don't need all these courses, useless	3	(2.36%)
	Benefit is questionable	2	(1.57%)
	Interesting	1	(.78%)
	Uncertain what courses needed	1	(.78%)
75.	Happy Or Unhappy With School Subjects:		
	No answer	1	(.78%)
	Yes	95	(74.80%)
	No	31	(24.40%)

7 6.	Reason Why Happy Or Unhappy:		
	No answer	6	(4.72%)
	Interesting / enjoy, easy	36	(28.34%)
	Beneficial, useful	23	(18.11%)
	Own choice therefore enjoy	19	(14.96%)
	Satisfied, happy-passing	4	(3.15%)
	Boring / tedious	3	(2.36%)
	Uninteresting, useless and does not mirror the world	13	(10.23%)
	Difficult subjects	7	(5.51%)
	Enjoy challenges and understands	7	(5.51%)
	Did not choose subject / Very important	5	(3.93%)
	School could do better, could offer better courses	4	(3.15%)
77.	Preferred Subjects:		
	No answer	30	(23.62%)
	Don't know, noncommital, satisfied with what have	12	(9.44%)
	On hand real world experience (practical stuff-chidcare, sex ed.,		
	world affairs)	18	(14.17%)
	Other language courses	8	(6.29%)
	Commerce	7	(5.51%)
	Math and Science, Computer Science, Sex ed. biology as science	12	(9.44%)
	Arts (hairdressing, music, psychology, arts curriculum phys. ed., law)	29	(22.87%)
		25	
	Languages and Commerce	2	(1.57%)

	Sports (c	iancing)	8	(6.29%)
	Undecided		1	(.78%)
78.	Reason Preferred Su	bjects:		
	No answer		38	(28.92%)
	Interesting /	ok.	25	(19.68%)
	Beneficial,	useful	33	(25.98%)
	Curiosity		1	(.78%)
	Learn more about from different cult	people tures	2	(1.57%)
	Like them very much	n, enjoy	19	(14.96%)
	For the hell	of it	2	(1.57%)
	Useless		1	(.78%)
	Undecided		6	(4.72%)
79.	Better Things ?	To Do:		
	No answer		2	(1.54%)
	Yes		25	(19.68%)
	No		99	(77.95%)
	Undecided		1	(.78%)
80.	What Better Things	To Do:		
	No answer		2	(1.57%)
	Non-academic, I	leisure,	5	(3.93%)
	Academic		3	(2.36%)
	Work and independence	enjoy	13	(10.23%)
	Music		1	(.78%)
	Go out and exp	perience world	1	(.78%)
	Work / on the job t	training	1	(.78%)
	Undecided		3	(2.36%)

	Not apply (because said No to No.79 for Things To Do)	98	(77.16%)
81.	Problems With English:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	0	(0.00%)
	No	123	(96.85%)
	Undecided	2	(1.57%)
82.	Problems With School Subjects:		
	No answer	2	(1.57%)
	Yes	66	(51.54%)
	No	59	(46.45%)
83.	Problematic Subjects Are:		
	No answer	3	(2.36%)
	Math, and Physics	35	(27.55%)
	Chemistry	3	(2.36%)
	English	1	(.78%)
	French	18	(14.17%)
	History	5	(3.93%)
	Computers	1	(.78%)
	Business	2	(1.57%)
	Not apply (because said No to No.82 Problem Subjects)	59	(46.45%)
84.	Availability Of Remedial English:		
	No answer	6	(4.72%)
	Yes	102	(80.31%)
	No	19	(14.96%)

85.	Kind Of Remediation Available:		
	No answer	9	(7.08%)
	Don't know	2	(1.57%)
	Workshop, Guidance, tutorial materials, special classes	12	(9.44%)
	Teacher tutorials outside class hours	6	(4.72%)
	Teacher tutorials inside class hours	7	(5.51%)
	Tutorials in and out of class	66	(51.96%)
	Tutors / tutoring not specify in or out of class or whether private tutoring	5	(3.93%)
	Friends	1	(.78%)
	Not apply (because said No to No.84 Help For English)	19	(14.96%)
86.	Availability Of Remediation In Subjects:		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	Yes	122	(96.06%)
	No	1	(.78%)
87.	Kind Of Remediation Available:		
	No answer	7	(5.51%)
	Guidance / tutorial materials, guidance councellor	8	(6.29%)
	Teacher tutorials outside of class hours	11	(8.66%)
	Teacher tutorials outside class hours	2	(1.57%)
	Outside help	1	(.78%)

	Tutorials, tutor	88	(69.29%)
	Tutors not specify inside or outside class or private tutoring	9	(7.08%)
	Not apply (because said No to No.86 Help In Subjects)	1	(.78%)
88.	Accept Eng. Remediation:		
	No answer	6	(4.72%)
	Yes	98	(77.16%)
	No	23	(18.11%)
89.	Reason Why Accept English Remediation:		
	No answer	8	(6.29%)
	Don't need it (learn on own)	23	(18.11%)
	Useful, beneficial to advantage, makes it easier	54	(42.52%)
	Promote grades	7	(5.51%)
	Need the help, help me understand	18	(14.17%)
	Want to learn, improve	11	(8.66%)
	Take the help if needed	4	(3.15%)
	No time for extra work	1	(.78%)
	If available, I'd take it	1	(.78%)
90.	Accept Subject Remediation:		
	No answer	9	(7.02%)
	Yes	106	(83.46%)
	No	12	(9.44%)
91.	Reason Why Accept Subject Remediation:		
	No answer	14	(11.02%)

	Don't need it, learn on own	6	(4.72%)
	Useful, beneficial and to advantage	51	(40.15%)
	Promote grades	22	(17.32%)
	Need the help	22	(17.32%)
	To improve on the English language by applying its usage in other subjects	1	(.78%)
	Expensive to seek outside tutorial help	1	(.78%)
	To succeed in life	2	(1.57%)
	Take the help if needed	1	(.78%)
	No time for extra work / waste	2	(1.57%)
	If available I'd take it	2	(1.57%)
	Not interested	1	(.78%)
	Need the help to improve in subjects	2	(1.57%)
92.	English Impedes Progress:		
	No answer	9	(7.08%)
	Yes	0	(0.00%)
	No	118	(92.91%)
93.	Subjects Impede Progress:		
	No answer	8	(6.29%)
	Yes	30	(23.62%)
	No	87	(68.50%)
	Uncertain	2	(1.57%)
94.	Reason For Success:		
	No answer	17	(13.38%)
	Good teachers who help	4	(3.15%)

	Excellent work, high grades, consciencious, and serious, ambitious	59	(46.45%)
	Very good, diligent, future at stake, listen carefully and do the studying needed and are supported in their quest	34	(26.77%)
	Satisfactory, passing work hard, understanding and keeping up	5	(3.93%)
	Satisfactory but not to potential (no effort but have ability)	1	(.78%)
	Weak and failing, not understand, no ability	3	(2.36%)
	Work hard to please teachers and parents,		
	society	2	(1.57%)
	Interested	2	(1.57%)
95.	Reason For Failure:		
	No answer	94	(74.01%)
		2	(1.57%)
	Low grades	L	
	Low grades Not diligent	8	(6.29%)
	_	_	(6.29%) (2.36%)
	Not diligent	8	
	Not diligent Not understanding No effort, not to	8	(2.36%)
	Not diligent Not understanding No effort, not to potential	8 3 10	(2.36%)
	Not diligent Not understanding No effort, not to potential No ability, weak Not interested because	8 3 10 1	(2.36%) (7.87%) (.78%)
	Not diligent Not understanding No effort, not to potential No ability, weak Not interested because courses are not pertinent Not diligent because of family problems and bad	8 3 10 1	(2.36%) (7.87%) (.78%) (3.15%)

APPENDIX K

Essay Outputs

ESSAY OUTPUTS

Summary Description of Data:

(Essay Questions)	(No.)	(%)
1.	Actual Ethnicity:		
	Greek Portuguese Italian Spanish Chinese Trinidadian East Indian Polish Yugoslavian English French Armenian Lebanese	21 38 42 4 1 3 2 1 4 4 2	(16.53%) (29.92%) (33.07%) (3.15%) (3.15%) (.78%) (2.36%) (1.57%) (3.15%) (3.15%) (3.15%) (1.57%) (1.57%)
2.	Influence That Elementary School Had:		
	No answer	4	(3.15%)
	Good memories, very warm, learned a lot, plus morality, maturity (fun) and caring teachers Felt close to people (like	15	(11.81%)
	a family), life was simple	1	(.78%)
	Fun and educational	1	(.78%)
	Warm school and made friends	1	(.78%)
	Fun but dislike teamwork, made friends	1	(.78%)
	Learned discipline, able to trust, made adjustment and friends	2	(1.57%)
	At first felt reluctant but then adjusted	1	(.78%)
	Was well-liked by teachers and friends	4	(3.15%)

Met people of different ethnicities, discipline	1	(.78%)
Was terrifying but later made some friends	4	(3.15%)
Introduced to activities which were mainly athletic	3	(2.36%)
Made friends want to keep	1	(.78%)
There were good teachers and good friends	2	(1.57%)
Sibling got subject out of scrapes, friends	1	(.78%)
Was friendly and comfortable	6	(4.72%)
Fun	5	(3.93%)
Friendly and teachers were attentive	1	(.78%)
Made friends joined in activities and had fun	17	(13.38%)
Met different ethnics and made friends, joined in activities and had fun	5	(3.93%)
Learned to do homework and have responsibility	5	(3.93%)
Made friends, close with everyone (teachers and students) teachers were tough but meant well, had fun and joined in activities	2	(1.57%)
Toughed it out, was shy, good friends(including own and different ethnicity) and teachers	9	(7.08%)
There were good teachers	4	(3.15%)
Was a loner, and had bad experiences, bad teachers and friends, felt left out	3	(2.36%)
Was dull even though made friends and joined in		

activities	1	(.78%)
Learned English, made friends, matured, good teaching discipline, and joined in activities	12	(9.44%)
Learned to do homework few friends, troublemaker, family problems	2	(1.57%)
Some good and some bad teachers (discriminating some were caring)	2	(1.57%)
Difficulty with school subjects ·	2	(1.57%)
Good but annoying friends	1	(.78%)
Learned English but was discriminated against because of ethnicity	2	(1.57%)
Encountered unkind, and unfriendly people	1	(.78%)
Was an independent thinker	1	(.78%)
Parents got involved because they cared	1	(.78%)
Was a prankster/fighter, joined in activities	3	(2.36%)
. Influence That Secondary School Had:		
No answer	19	(14.96%)
Made friends want to keep	1	(.78%)
Large school make it hard to get close to people, some distrust, life more complicated	1	(.78%)
School has a discipline problem and distrusts ethnics	1	(.78%)
Got close to teachers and students, joined activities, trust and adapt	1	(.78%)

Adapted, made friends, discipline, & comfortable	8	(6.29%)
Share experiences with friends	2	(1.57%)
Awareness of independence	2	(1.57%)
Calm, liked learning and was prankster	1	(.78%)
Comfortable, made friends, discipline, activities, hard work and fun	5	(3.93%)
Problems with friends but got resolved, fun	3	(2.36%)
Teachers mistreated us but met students of different ethnic groups	1	(.78%)
Teachers ok., (friends some apathetic), and matured	4	(3.15%)
Played pranks, fun, friends	4	(3.15%)
Some were friendly others snobs (teachers and students)	3	(2.36%)
Some difficulty with teachers	1	(.78%)
Toughed it out and adjusted, made friends	8	(6.29%)
Friendly school, made friends, (comfortable), (a well-run high school)	8	(6.29%)
Discipline maturity and friends	8	(8.29%)
Matured, made friends and joined in activities and the teachers are ok.	7	(5.51%)
Matured but still a loner, own-paced progress	6	(4.72%)
Fun	3	(2.36%)
Terrifying but matured	1	(.78%)

	Happy about education &		
	future career	5	(3.93%)
	Activities and pranks	1	(.78%)
	Comfortable, teachers good activities, fun and		
	adjusted	6	(4.72%)
	Personal problems were encountered but ambitious	2	(1.57%)
	Afraid of older kids, but later made friends	3	(2.36%)
	Teachers good except one, made friends	1	(.78%)
	Achievement suffered but corrected itself through participation, activities		
	& application to homework	2	(1.57%)
	Confident, friends, learn, education is important	3	(2.36%)
	Skipped classes but matured, and became independent and joined		
	in many activities	1	(.78%)
	Can't tolerate authority	1	(.78%)
	Education is good, matured and gained responsibility to make career choice	1	(.78%)
	Teachers prejudiced, and subject fosters distrust	2	(1.57%)
	Boring in general but made friends, admits there are good teachers and it being a good school	1	(.78%)
4.	Feelings Concerning The Teachers, The Parents, Academic Achievement And Opportunities:		
	No answer	6	(4.72%)
	Teachers are unconcerned, parents urge for higher education	1	(.78%)

Should obey and respect teachers and parents and take interest in courses pursued	1	(.78%)
Some good and some bad teachers, dislikes authority figures (is generally quite well-liked though)	1	(.78%)
Some good and bad teachers but are generally indifferent, parents are supportive, but take own opportunities has (own		
motivation)	5	(3.93%)
Teachers are satisfactory except one and parents are supportive	13	(10.23%)
Own motivation and initiative but (dislikes all authority figures)	2	(1.57%)
Teachers parents and students play their part and job opportunities are present with hard work & luck	3	(2.36%)
Teachers operate within certain constraints but satisfactory and parents are supportive	1	(.78%)
Teachers are satisfactory but question their competence and parents are supportive	8	(6.29%)
Teachers should be good at what they do, parents are supportive, want to take opportunities	1	(.78%)
Friends helped subject overcome difficulties in school	1	(.78%)
Bad experiences with teachers, prejudice and uncaring (but he and his work are generally liked)	12	(9.44%)

Teachers caring, parents supportive (feels have opportunities and willing to apply skills)	3	(2.36%)
Some good & bad teachers and parents supportive but progress is hindered by school regulations	15	(11.81%)
Progress is there, will succeed, and parents are supportive	2	(1.57%)
Conflict between interests of students and what's in their interest	2	(1.57%)
Teachers unsatisfactory, parents are supportive	1	(.78%)
Teachers satisfactory and parents are supportive	43	(33.85%)
Teachers are satisfactory except for a few and parents aren't supportive & subject does not want		
opportunities provided at school	3	(2.36%)
Teachers unsatisfactory except one and parents are supportive	1	(.78%)
Distrust of others, and parents are supportive	1	(.78%)
Teachers are somewhat unsatisfactory, and there is a culture clash, parents are supportive, opportunities are rare due to favouritism	1	(.78%)
Influence Of The Canadian School:	•	(,
No answer	36	(28.34%)
School is not as strict, less involved with students (waste of time)	2	(1.57%)
School gives challenges &		·

5.

matures individuals and allows to achieve & learn	9	(7.08%)
Schools do not influence but parents and friends do (unless when act as the school wishes)	1	(.78%)
Schools do not influence, it's particular teachers, but make own decisions	1	(.78%)
Schools have a good influence & students take it for granted (learn a lot)	3	(2.36%)
Schools have good intentions but sometimes miss the mark (offer irrelevant courses)	4	(3.15%)
Bad experiences with particular teachers & the bureaucracy involved	1	(.78%)
Alienating experiences but school is well-organized	1	(.78%)
School does not influence, it is the family (parents, siblings, and others) but make own decisions though	1	(.78%)
School influences maturity and identification to Canadian culture (tolerate other ethnicities & one's own)	6	(4.72%)
School is good influence, offer opportunities and matures, but teachers have preferential treatment for students (thus self esteem hampered and achievement		
is aimless) School is good influence,	3	(2.36%)
offers opportunities, good organization, challenge, encourage higher education	3	(2.36%)
Conflicting culture of school & home which leads		

to tension(although school is a good influence)	2	(1.57%)
School good influence but inability to perform on exams although know the material	1	(.78%)
School is good influence, good opportunities and gives challenges	1	(.78%)
School is a good influence opportunities, maturity, discipline but could improve on organization (regulations, enthusiasm, courses offered, schedule of exams, teaching methods)	5	(3.93%)
School is a good influence but lack of number of extra-curricular activity (would like one day off, more involvement from teachers) but takes what is there	2	(1.57%)
School is a good influence & offers extra-curricular activities and matures individuals	1	(.78%)
School is a good influence maturity, challenge and self esteem	6	(4.72%)
School is a good influence and introduces the work ethic	4	(3.15%)
School is a good influence matures, opportunity and learn to accept all ethnicities	10	(7.87%)
School is good influence maturity, discipline (behave well & work hard)	4	(3.15%)
School good influence, maturity, discipline, morals	1	(.78%)
School good influence,		

	opportunity, challenge, maturity discipline morals & paves the way to higher education	8	(6.29%)
	School is a good influence maturity, morals (although picked up negative habits from friends, and dislike of authority figures)	5	(3.93%)
	Caring all around (teachers, principal, friends and others)	2	(1.57%)
	Making own decisions, school has no influence on viewpoint or behaviour, own maturity	4	(3.15%)
6.	Aspirations For The Future And Experiences At School:		
	No answer	57	(44.88%)
	Set and want goal, be realistic, school and teachers help, gain maturity	2	(1.57%)
	Unsure about choice even though school and friends influence subject's future	1	(.78%)
	Friends have influence on personality and teachers influence his knowledge (ability)	1	(.78%)
	School influences career choice (job) but distrust friends because they are a negative influence	5	(3.93%)
	School partial emphasis on aspirations (some by self, parents, friends, teachers and others)	4	(3.15%)
	School does not influence it's social encounters for aspirations be fulfilled (although some are good &		
	some are bad contacts)	3	(2.36%)

Friends influence on aspirations but not on course of study, own decision	2	(1.57%)
School has taught competition & distrust of everyone (meet people on own, learn how to deal with different cultures in the future)	5	(3.93%)
Important to set goals parents teachers and friends influence, need positive self concept and good company	2	(1.57%)
Concentrate on small goals is ambitious then realize long-term goals	1	(.78%)
Education is important, teachers and friends encourage aspirations, made aware of social problems deal with different (kids) cultures	16	(12.59%)
School has influenced aspirations & has goal in mind (work or higher education whichever comes first)	2	(1.57%)
School has encouraged aspirations with courses but curriculum is lacking, and feel unprepared for higher education	2	(1.57%)
Friend encouraged his aspirations by allowing exposure to the subject of interest (computer)	1	(.78%)
School is well-equipped to aid career choice and realize aspirations with guidance and courses	2	(1.57%)
School friends, family and teachers help realize aspirations & experiences	6	(4.72%)

	Friends and others helped but not teachers	1	(.78%)
	School, friends, family, teachers and others help and believe in subject for final choice of career	2	(1.57%)
	Friends at school have similar aspirations like the subject, who are taught to deal with people and situations	2	(1.57%)
	School helps and is important, teachers are good and realize social problems	5	(3.93%)
	Make own decision, although school helped (may distrust friends)	2	(1.57%)
	Friends do not influence although school and teachers do	2	(1.57%)
	Friends do not help, family helps, listen to self, makes own decision	1	(.78%)
7.	School Experiences As Related To Life & Family:		
	No answer	62	(48.81%)
	School experiences are different from home creating tension	6	(4.72%)
	School experiences are complemented at home	14	(11.00%)
	School experiences should stay separate from home	1	(.78%)
	School experiences are shared at home with family members	2	(1.57%)
	School experiences and values clash with home experiences and values(are at odds)	1	(.78%)

School experiences and values are different from home but have own values	1	/ 70 % \
in order to cope School experiences helped	1	(.78%)
mature subject	12	(9.44%)
School experiences are not appreciated by the home environment	1	(.78%)
School experiences and values affect positively home experiences & values (changed person)	1	(.78%)
School experiences are complemented at home but values are questioned by the subject	1	(.78%)
No importance placed on school experiences as related to life and family but maturity is indicated (career option)	1	(.78%)
School experiences and values are objected to by the subject	1	(.78%)
School experiences helped mature individual & able to make career choice	2	(1.57%)
School experiences and values are negative according to individual	1	(.78%)
School experiences & home experiences are somewhat complementary at times	1	(.78%)
School experiences very complementary to home experiences	1	(.78%)
School experiences and values are different from home in terms of valueing higher education but otherwise complementary Family supports the school	1	(.78%)

1	(.78%)
1	(.78%)
12	(9.44%)
	(55%)
1	(.78%)
52	(40.94%)
3	(2.36%)
5	(3.93%)
1	(.78%)
1	(.78%)
1	(.78%)
	1 12 1 52 3

Speak three languages, Mother Tongue (parents) English (siblings and others) French (school), fear of losing Mother Tongue and culture	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English (others), Mother Tongue important	3	(2.36%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English (siblings and others) French(friends and elsewhere)	3	(2.36%)
Mother Tongue and English with (parents) English with (siblings) French (friends), use Mother Tongue when don't want others to understand	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English and French (siblings) Three languages with friends, use Mother Tongue when don't want others to understand	3	(2.36%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English (siblings and others) French (school)	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English and Mother Tongue (siblings) Three languages with friends, important to use Mother Tongue	2	(1.57%)
English all around but desire to learn other languages and (indicate importance)	1	(.78%)
Three languages (parents) English (friends) French (relatives), important to know more languages	1	(.78%)
Three languages (parents) English (friends) Three languages with (siblings), prefer English	1	(.78%)

Mother Tongue (parents) English (siblings) Three languages (friends and others), use Mother Tongue when don't want others to understand	2	(1.57%)
English all around	5	(3.93%)
Mother Tongue (parents and friends) English and French (friends and school), prefer three languages	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English (school and siblings)	1	(.78%)
Three languages (parents) English (siblings and friends) Mother Tongue is important	2	(1.57%)
Mother Tongue and English (home) English (elsewhere) acknowledges, French as important	3	(2.36%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English (siblings and school and elsewhere), should improve French	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue and French (home) Three languages (siblings)	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue (home) English and French (elsewhere), Mother Tongue	3	(2.36%)
Mother Tongue (parents) English (siblings) English and French with (friends / school), Mother		(4 50K)
Tongue important Mother Tongue (parents) Fooligh (plantage)	6	(4.72%)
English (elsewhere) Mother Tongue and English	2	(1.57%)
(parents) English with (siblings)	1	(.78%)

Three languages all around (prefer English over the other languages)	5	(3.93%)
Mother Tongue and English (parents) and others	3	(2.36%)
Mother Tongue and English (home) Mother Tongue and French (friends)	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue and English (parents) Mother Tongue & English (siblings) Three languages (friends and others)	4	(3.15%)
Mother Tongue (home and others), use Mother Tongue when don't want others to understand, Mother Tongue is important	2	(1.57%)
Mother Tongue (parents) Three languages (elsewhere and siblings and others)	1	(.78%)
Mother Tongue and English (parents) English and French (friends & others)	3	(2.36%)
. Influence Of The School On Identity And On Plans For The Future:		
No answer	86	(67.71%)
School prepared for field option through courses, willing to try hard, enjoy what is studying	5	(3.93%)
School developed character satisfied with courses, sibling as mentor	1	(.78%)
School develops character, offer satisfactory courses and allows for success	3	(2.36%)
School allows setting of goals and achieving them, others have helped with perspectives	1	(.78%)

School is uncomfortable & discriminating because of nationality, made own decision	2	(1.57%)
Reputation of school is better and more people are achieving	1	(.78%)
School has no influence on identity, is secure (makes own decisions)	5	(3.93%)
School influenced for further education	1	(.78%)
School develops character, offer satisfactory courses and allows for success, teachers & friends care	3	(2.36%)
School develops character, offer satisfactory courses allows for success, matured despite good and bad company (friends)	2	(1.57%)
School develops character, offer satisfactory courses allows for success, friends and family help	1	(.78%)
Don't know if school has influence, feel lost, need more time to find out	1	(.78%)
School has no influence on identity, is secure (make own decisions) but school helped in learning and preparing for graduation	1	(.78%)
Uncomfortable with attire & carriage of schoolmates (negative effect on identity)	1	(.78%)
Object to placing individuals to particular school option slots (make own decision)	1	(.78%)
School has no influence on identity, is secure (make own decisions) but school		

prepares for learning an graduation but identity identity identity are emotions	is	(.78%)
Don't know if school helinfluence plans but war to have a trade		(.78%)
School develops character don't know about plan	•	(.78%)
School makes people put of disguise, wants to be himself, acknowledges gos and achieving it due to school	e al	(1.57%)
Conscious of dress code peer pressure to belong	&	(.78%)
Dress code important to belong (peer pressure) school not influence didentity and plans (or decision)) , n	(.78%)
School not influence identity or future plant (own decision) although can be an influence	is	(2.36%)
School develops character offer satisfactory course allows for success, friend and family help but make own decision	es is	(.78%)
Disagrees on disguises wants to be real acknowledges school for maturity as well as other	r or	(.78%)
10. People In The Family Community Who Hav	7 e	
No answer	86	(67.71%)
Blue collar work in distasteful and influence to do something else	is ce 1	(.78%)

Sibling influenced, who is at University level (and thankful for advice)	2	(1.57%)
No help or influence from anyone including parents	4	(3.15%)
Family plus teacher help influence career choice	1	(.78%)
Parents help, but makes own decisions	3	(2.36%)
Sibling and others	1	(.78%)
Work force and guidance counselling	1	(.78%)
Family and friends	6	(4.72%)
Makes own decisions	4	(3.15%)
Parents influence only	3	(2.36%)
Family and community (work force) thankful for advice	1	(.78%)
Cousin introduced to field (computers)	1	(.78%)
Friend & emphasis on good company	2	(1.57%)
Undecided	1	(.78%)
Family and guidance counselling	1	(.78%)
Family, teachers, friends help but own choice	1	(.78%)
Parents and siblings	2	(1.57%)
Friends and sibling	1	(.78%)
Family and relatives	4	(3.15%)
Family, and relatives and friends	1	(.78%)

11.	Likelihood	That	Your
	Aspirations	Will	Be
	Achieved And	Reasons	For
	Answer:		

Answer:		
No answer	107	(84.25%)
Ambitious/pursue education although it hinders independence/job earning power, willing work hard	1	(.78%)
Willing to be independent by pursuing a profession and is sure to succeed because of the demand/qualifications	2	(1.57%)
Parents support career decision	1	(.78%)
Ambitious & go getter, if fail hope others encourage him	1	(.78%)
Ambitious, willing to work hard (sacrifice)	2	(1.57%)
Want to become wealthy	1	(.78%)
Aspirations likely if good at what you do	3	(2.36%)
Unsure career choice but willing pursue education	2	(1.57%)
Ambitious, willing to work hard (sacrifice) be realistic and realize potential, no illusions	3	(2.38%)
Ambitious but worry that not enough time is spent with family	1	(.78%)
Want to be wealthy and happy and most importantly like the job (denotes independence)	1	(.78%)
Ambitious, willing to work hard (sacrifice), believe in self, lead a simple life	1	(.78%)
Ambitious, willing to work		

	hard, pursue education plus get married	1	(.78%)
12.	Important Comments About School Experiences:		
	No answer	115	(90.55%)
	School mirrors the world, practical	1	(.78%)
	School a waste of time, prevent from going into workforce, opportunity cost	1	(.78%)
	School provide appropriate learning/curriculum to achieve goals (satisfied), beneficial for the future	2	(1.57%)
	School provides athletic		, ,
	achievement and pride	1	(.78%)
	School should be kept clean and free of vices	1	(.78%)
	School promotes honesty & good attitudes when dealing with teachers and students & allows natural behaviour (be self), no	4	/ 70 % \
	pretenses	1	(.78%)
	Looking forward to graduation, has enjoyed schooling, wants to further education & eventual job	1	(.78%)
	Looking forward to		
	graduation & be freed to have a good time	1	(.78%)
	Looking forward to graduation, & reminiscing of past memories	1	(.78%)
	Enjoy participating in school	1	(.78%)
	Wonderful experiences, further education, greatful to mature academically & socially, satisfied with schooling, aware of hard	4	/ 70%\
	work ahead	1	(.78%)