Achievement & Adjustment of Jewish Moroccan Students

ABSTRACT

TITLE: A Study of the Academic Achievement and Personal and Social Adjustment of Jewish Moroccan Immigrant Students in the English High Schools of Montreal

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The purpose of this paper is to determine how Moroccan-born and non-Moroccan-born Jewish high school students differ with regard to certain facets of their school life, particularly achievement, attitude and adjustment.

A representative sample of fifty Moroccan-born students was selected and matched with a representative sample of non-Moroccan foreign-born Jewish students. Information was gathered through the examination of school records and through the administration of The School Inventory and the California Test of Personality. In each area, the difference between the scores of the two groups was tested for statistical significance. Additional data was collected through the medium of personal interviews with the students and their teachers.

The results of the tests indicate that Moroccan and non-Moroccan Jewish students do not differ significantly in their attitude toward school or in their personal and social adjustment. However, the Moroccan students achieve poorer grades, appear to integrate more slowly, and experience behaviour problems.

An attempt was made to provide an explanation for those aspects of their adaptation to the school environment in which Moroccan-born pupils compare unfavourably with the other new Canadians. Recommendations were suggested in order to facilitate the adjustment and social integration of the Moroccan student body.

A STUDY OF THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF JEWISH MOROCCAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN THE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOLS OF MONTREAL

by

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Chapter I

Introduction and Background to the Study

No study of the Jewish-Moroccan community of Montreal can be made in a vacuum. In order to fully appreciate the position in which these North African émigrés now find themselves, one must have an understanding of events in Morocco over the past twenty years, the reasons for a considerable movement of Jews from Morocco to Canada, and the circumstances which account for the placing of almost all the French-speaking Moroccan children of school age in English-language schools. This chapter proposes to supply the reader with the necessary background information.

A. History of Moroccan Jewry (- 1948)

Jewish colonists existed in North Africa even before the Christian era. The first wave of immigration reached Morocco two thousand years ago from Palestine and Rome. Most Moroccan Jews, however, trace their ancestry to the period of persecution in Iberia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The eventual expulsion of all Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497 brought many thousands of fugitives to Morocco. A much smaller number of European Jews has come to settle in North Africa during the present century.

In 1912 Morocco was divided into French and Spanish protectorates, the French zone being by far the larger and of more concern to the subjects of this study.

At the time the protectorates were set up, Moroccan Jews were basically city dwellers. The majority of them filled the dirty, narrow mellahs or ghettos where they lived in crowded quarters. Several thousand Jewish families were considerably better off and inhabited the European sections of the larger urban areas. Included in this group were many wealthy tradesmen.

Under the protectorates a modern economy and an extensive administrative system were set up. The French brought security, improved health and educational facilities, and impressive economic development to all parts of the Moroccan population. Thus the Jewish residents enjoyed the protection of the French authorities and gained both educational and financial opportunities. A large percentage, by reason of proven administrative ability, secured positions in carrying out government functions. Many also obtained commercial licenses, particularly in the import and export business. Under this steady improvement of the economy, the number of Jewish people leaving their mellahs forever was considerable.

During the 1940's the Jewish population of Morocco numbered 300,000.[1]

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[1] "Morocco," The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, (1942), p. 651.

B. Moroccan Independence

In 1956 Moroccan independence was achieved. The former French and Spanish sectors and the free city of Tangier were united under the rule of the King of Morocco. This historical event was met with apprehension by the 200,000[2] Jewish citizens who constituted approximately 2 per cent of the country's population of ten million. Many felt uncertain, not knowing what independence would mean for them.

Upon his return from exile, King Mohammed V declared the Jews to be full citizens of Morocco. To the World Jewish Congress and Moroccan Jewry, the Independence Party and the King gave assurances of equality of opportunity, equality before the courts, and the right of free men everywhere to emigrate. They also pledged to support the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.[3] Despite this announced government policy, it soon became apparent that the insecurity felt by the Jewish minority was indeed well founded.

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[2] Michael Faber, "Jewish Emigration Deterred," Montreal Star, August 27, 1956, p. 11. Since estimates vary from source to source, all large numbers found in the text of this chapter will be those figures quoted most frequently by authorities.

[3] The American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publication Society of America, American Jewish Year Book, Vol. LIX (New York: American Book - Stratford Press, Inc., 1958), p. 357.

C. Restriction on Freedom of Movement

Between 1948, when the State of Israel was created, and October of 1956, according to Jewish Agency statistics, 104,000 followers of Judaism had obtained passage to Israel from Morocco.[4] These were mainly the poor and the unskilled who were drawn to their ancestral homeland in the hope of beginning a new and more productive life. No doubt they were also influenced to leave by the fear that after the establishment of an independent Morocco emigration would no longer be possible. Their departure and transit had been taken care of by an American organization called "Cadimah."

Shortly after independence, the Moroccan government clamped progressively tighter restrictions on movement to Israel. In less than one year the Cadimah Organization was declared illegal and ordered dissolved. Emigration was denounced as anti-Moroccan and limitations were placed on departure from Morocco. Mass migration was outlawed, but no obstacle was placed in the way of those leaving on individual passports. Many Jewish persons seized the occasion to make their way to the coast and out of the country. While officially denouncing it, Moroccan authorities closed their eyes to this exodus for the time being. In this way they were able to assure other Arab countries that Morocco did not permit its citizens to settle in Israel.

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[4] Ibid., p. 358.

This practice was short lived and was halted during the summer of 1957, by which time 10,000 more Jews had made their way illegally to Israel.[5] Finally, in November of 1957, the head of the State Security Office, Si Mohammed Laghzaoui, confirmed that the government had been taking action to halt individual as well as mass emigration to Israel. He asserted that the state had the right to ban passage of its citizens to certain countries with which it had no diplomatic relations when it deemed such movement undesirable. In addition, Morocco wanted to ensure that none of its people would bear arms against other Arab lands.[6]

In order to implement this policy, Moroccan authorities felt it necessary to apply certain measures of exception to Jews in the country, sometimes openly, sometimes without being willing to acknowledge that they were so doing. Theoretically, individuals were still permitted to emigrate elsewhere, but as the months passed Jewish citizens encountered difficulty at the administrative level in acquiring passports since it was suspected that many really intended Israel as their destination.

These discriminatory actions, coming at the same time that the government's general attitude was shifting toward stronger ties with other Moslem states, affected not only those Jews who wanted to leave Morocco for good but also those who had no

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 360.

desire to abandon the land of their birth. Thus, barely two years after Moroccan independence, freedom of movement became a matter of grave concern to the country's Jewry. In addition, the hostility of Arab nations toward the Jewish state made the situation of all Jews in that part of the world even more precarious.

The inevitable consequence was an underground flow out of Morocco which the police countered in the fall of 1959 with unauthorized house searches and detention of Jewish people on suspicion of desiring to embark for Israel. Since there was no law against emigration, many of those arrested were charged with action inimical to the interests of the state and were fined or jailed.[7] Those heading for destinations other than Israel were usually not interfered with.

A further hardship affected the Jewish community in 1959 when, on September 26, the Moroccan government ceased postal and cable communication with Israel. This had the effect of cutting off many Moroccans from close relatives in Israel. At the time, 20,000 letters were being exchanged monthly between the two countries.[8]

Shortly before his death in February of 1961, Mohammed V had promised to ease the plight of Moroccan Jews and to make it possible for those wanting to go to Israel to do so. The ban on the issuance of passports was to be lifted. Hassan II,

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[7] Ibid., Vol. LXI, p. 326.

[8] Ibid., p. 324.

the heir to the throne, honoured his late father's word in November of 1961 when a modus vivendi was reached between Jewish officials and the Moroccan government for the resumption of legal emigration.[9]

The Moroccan opposition party, the National Union of Popular Forces, exploited the issue of Jewish emigration in its paper, At Tahrir. The party openly criticized the monarch for allowing his Jewish subjects to leave and demanded strict adherence to the Arab League charter.[10] At the same time the League of Arab States brought influence to bear on North African nations not to permit departures to Israel. The campaign bore fruit in June, 1962. After the king's return from the Cairo meeting of African neutralists, Moroccan authorities closed the office of the United Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society in Casablanca which had previously arranged for the collective movement of Jews to Israel.[11]

D. Anti-Semitism in Morocco

The period after independence did not give rise in Morocco to systematic anti-Semitism nor was the security of Jews actually threatened. In general, the ordinary Moslem has always gotten along well with his Jewish neighbours. Physical violence has been rare. If there was anti-Jewish feeling it was, as a rule, restricted to well defined circles, namely the leading political

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[9] Ibid., Vol. LXIV, p. 401.

[10] Ibid., pp. 401-402.

[11] "Jewish Aid Office Closed," Montreal Star, June 23, 1962, p. 54.

parties and the press who unleashed periodic campaigns. The leading parties, in appeals for popular support, manifested hatred of Israel and Zionism. Similarly, in August of 1958, the leading Arabic-language newspaper in the country, Al 'Alam, denounced Israel and called for destruction of the Jewish nation.[12] In the same month Morocco joined the Arab League, and the renewed emphasis on pan-Arabism caused serious anxiety to the Jewish minority. As time passed, the public and the government increasingly considered any contact with Israel or sympathy for it antagonistic to the Moroccan state.

Occasional incidents made matters even more severe. Two such events occurred early in 1961 and brought the plight of Moroccan Jewry to world attention. First, there took place the January conference of the Arab League in Casablanca which resulted in instances of police abuse, arrests, and imprisonment of Jews in the hundreds. Included in these unpleasant happenings were the serious beating of Neve Shalom Yeshiva students and the torture of the school's director, Meyer Wrencher, a Swiss citizen who was released only after his government had intervened on his behalf. Police actions were based on ridiculous charges.[13] The same month witnessed the sinking of the Pisces carrying forty-two men, women and children clandestinely headed for Israel in order to escape the recent restrictive policy of the Moroccan government

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[12] American Jewish Year Book, Vol. LX, p. 270.

[13] Ibid., Vol. LXII, p. 440.

toward its Jewish citizens. Among the country's Jewish community there was the impression of being more hemmed in than ever as the news media and government spokesmen expressed their indignation.

In a like manner the Istiglal party unleashed a violent anti-Semitic campaign following the Six Day War of June, 1967. Several anti-Jewish articles were published, including one which demanded that Moslems boycott Jewish merchants lest the money go to Israel.[14] The boycott died, but neither it nor the effrontery and hatred encountered by the Jews of Morocco was forgotten. It is thought that, without the personal intervention of Hassan II and Minister of the Interior Oufkir, one would have witnessed violent acts against the Jews more serious than those in Tunisia and other Arab countries.

King Hassan's policy toward his Jewish subjects throughout the 1960's has been one of minimal protection but with no visible attempt to refashion the attitudes of the intimidating Arab sector. Moroccan Jewry is aware that the government cannot guarantee the future forever while the Middle East is in a turmoil.

E. Economic Considerations

Just as the period of the protectorates witnessed a steady upsurge in the economy of the country, so have the years after

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[14]"Le 'dernier quart d'heure' du judaism marocain," The Canadian Jewish Digest, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Summer-Fall, 1968), p. 13.

1956 witnessed Morocco suffering from economic stagnation as the French administration withdrew and ties with France were eased. Especially hard hit was the Jewish population, 95 per cent of which was urban.[15]

Jews of all classes felt themselves under increasing financial pressure. The poorer elements were deprived of their livelihood by rising unemployment while the merchants and traders were hit by the continuous slackening of the economy. The latter group, traditionally occupying an important role in Moroccan trade and commerce, also feared government takeover of various commercial activities as advocated by those asking for greater Moroccan economic self-sufficiency.

The white collar worker suffered equally. Up to late 1958, as the French left the country, Jews increasingly found clerical and accounting positions in private industry and government administration due to greater literacy. By mid-1959, Arabization of public services and banks was making its presence felt. Jewish applicants encountered discrimination when seeking government employment. Reports circulated that various ministries had been instructed to close their doors to non-Moslems unless there were no other qualified candidates. The rare help-wanted advertisements almost always specified "Moroccan nationality, Moslem religion." In government offices where Jewish employees with special qualifications were still retained, these staff

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[15] American Jewish Year Book, Vol. LXIII, p. 442.

members had no illusions about the future. They knew their dismissal was imminent as soon as skilled Arab personnel could replace them.

In short, Jews had great difficulty securing and retaining good jobs for which they were already qualified.

F. Other Reasons for Emigration

A lack of mobility plus economic considerations did not constitute the sole motivating factors for leaving North Africa. Equally strong was the overriding sense of insecurity as a result of the increasingly close relationship between Morocco and the rest of the Arab nations. The Jewish population was aware of the possibility of domestic or pan-Arab pressures forcing Morocco to orient itself even more toward the political and geographic centres of the Islamic world.

Also taken into consideration was the instability of the political and social situation caused by nationalism and the movement toward independence. The royal policy had been one of minimal protection for Jews. The latter keenly recognized the precarious position they would be in should a coup or revolt replace the monarch with a less conservative leader.

Thus is explained the huge exodus from Morocco during the past decade. Emigration rose and fell in cycles, mounting every time the country underwent political or financial crises.

G. The Three Periods of Emigration

The first wave of movement had been to Israel prior to 1958 and had consisted primarily of the impoverished masses. At the time, the wealthier classes had expressed no desire to leave.

By the early 1960's, when the 161,000 Moroccan Jews accounted for 1.4 per cent of the entire population,[16] it was mainly the middle class and even the rich who were contributing to the second period of evacuation. Economic reasons were particularly influential in persuading them to follow their lower class brethren seeking new homes.

After the war of June, 1967, the state of mind of Morocco's Jews changed even among those who had been very optimistic. People who had invested money only the year before or considered that their future was in North Africa were now of a different opinion. This time it was especially the elite who were abandoning the country.

H. Moroccan Jewry Today

The tiny Jewish community of Morocco today numbers well under 50,000.[17] The majority of those who remain realize that emigration is inevitable despite an official policy of tolerance that is unique in the Arab world. Like those who exited before them, their mental state is one of despair regarding the future. They feel that their fate in Morocco is largely bound up with the

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[16] Ibid.

[17] The Canadian Jewish Digest, Vol. IX, p. 13.

Arab-Israeli antagonism which will not disappear until peace is reached in the Middle East.

I. Avenues Open to Those Leaving Morocco

From 1957 until the present there have been several alternatives for those leaving North Africa. Many of the wealthy chose France and Spain, though for the majority these countries weren't seriously considered despite the cultural affinities they have to offer. Others selected Australia or South America. Considerable numbers reached Israel, often at great risk.[18]

For a variety of reasons, Canada has become a popular refuge. Shortly after Moroccan independence, the Canadian government allowed entry to a large number of Jewish refugees from North Africa under a special arrangement to help persons to emigrate to Canada from countries where they were living in trying situations because of ethnic or religious beliefs. The Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada (JIAS) acted as sponsor for many of these newcomers.[19] Many Moroccans later entered Canada under the new immigration regulations of February, 1962, which laid primary stress on education, training and skills as the main condition of admissibility to Canada regardless of country of origin.[20] The French language and culture in Quebec also

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[18] Emigration to the United States is of little practical importance because the Moroccan quota is very small.

[19] Government of Canada, Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration 1965-66, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1967), p. 4.

[20] Anthony H. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants to Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 17.

were instrumental in attracting these Francophone Jews.

J. JIAS

On arrival, all Jewish immigrants to Canada are assisted by JIAS, a national professional agency whose trained staff members meet them at transportation terminals, assist them through immigration and customs formalities, facilitate their adjustment in the new homeland, and guide them toward the ultimate goal of becoming citizens. The immediate concerns of housing, food and suitable clothing as well as financial assistance, if necessary, are also taken care of by JIAS. In addition, JIAS provides counsel and guidance concerning employment, school facilities, health and social services, personal problems and social adjustment. In this way the Jewish Moroccans were accommodated during their first years in Canada.

K. The Jewish Community of Montreal

To date roughly 12,000 French-speaking Jews from North Africa and the Middle East have settled in Montreal. Approximately 7,000 of these are of Moroccan origin.[21] A much smaller number resides elsewhere in Canada.

The Moroccan immigrants came to Canada in the belief that conditions would be suitable for social and cultural integration as well as financial betterment. However, they found on arrival in Montreal that, besides the sinews of Judaism, they had little in common culturally (not language or traditions) with the

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[21] Charles Lazarus, "Schooling Worries City's French Jews," Montreal Star, June 7, 1969, p. 24.

established Jewish community. They had even less in common with the French-Canadians who are Roman Catholic.

All Jewish Moroccans are of Sephardic extraction, adherents of the religious traditions practised by the Jews in North Africa and the Near East. The Jewish population of Montreal, which is estimated at 125,000,[22] consists almost entirely of Ashkenazim, followers of the customs practised by Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. Through the centuries, except for a common thread which consists of the Holy Torah and rabbinic laws, the Sephardim and Ashkenazim have developed deeply embedded sub-cultures. The ritual for religious worship is similar for both groups but the liturgy is completely different. Moreover, the Montreal Jewish community relates to the "English" milieu and is identified with the political and social interests of the English-speaking Protestant minority. The Moroccans are French oriented. The desire of the Moroccans to maintain their language and culture while simultaneously integrating with the united Jewish community has posed an additional problem of adjustment.

L. The Education of Moroccan Children.

Since they are French oriented and desire to maintain their language, why do Moroccan parents send their children to English schools? Firstly, most business in Montreal is conducted in English. The Moroccans have found a knowledge of the English language indispensable for employment and are under obligation to recommence their youngsters' education in a new English element

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22 "Jews Favor Accent on French," Gazette (Montreal), May 4, 1970, p. 8.

if they want their offspring to be adequately equipped. Secondly, many parents wish their children to have a link as quickly as possible with the English-speaking populations of Montreal and North America.

In the final analysis, however, it is the confessional school system which has forced these new Canadians to Anglicize. Since they are non-Catholic, Moroccan students are assigned to the Protestant public school system. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal does provide three elementary schools[23] and one high school[24] where instruction is conducted in the French language, but these are situated outside the area where the majority of Moroccan immigrants resides and are thus not as easily accessible as neighbourhood schools, particularly where young children are concerned. And so, in Canada's metropolis, the second largest French-speaking city in the world, French Moroccan pupils find themselves attending English schools.[25]

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[23] Maisonneuve, Peace Centennial and Victoria schools.

[24] Baron Byng High School.

[25] English secular studies and religious studies in the French language are provided at the Sephardic Academy for Boys and the Beth Rivkah Academy for Girls. For the 1968-69 school year, enrollment at both these private schools totalled 175 Sephardic youngsters. "Letters to the Editor," Montreal Star, June 16, 1969, p. 8.

In August, 1969, the Montreal Catholic School Commission passed a regulation allowing for the sharing of classroom space with students of minority religions. The city's French-speaking Sephardic Jews were the first to take advantage of this new ruling. "Franco-Jewish Doors Open in City's Catholic Schools," Montreal Star, September 4, 1969, p. 14.

For the 1969-70 term, forty-eight French language pupils were registered in the lower grades at the "Maimonides School" which was formed under the auspices of the Catholic Board. "48 Francophone Children Registered at School," Your Community News (Montreal), November 10, 1969, p. 2.

Chapter II

Statement of the Problem

A. Observation

The researcher has spent the past seven school years as a classroom teacher or guidance counsellor at an elementary school, a junior high school and a senior high school. All three schools are situated in the Outremont-Côte des Neiges area of Montreal and are attended by a large number of French-Moroccan students of the Jewish religion. During this time it has come to the attention of the researcher and many of his colleagues that these North African newcomers appear to be making an adjustment to the school environment that is considerably less satisfactory than that being made by other new Canadians.

B. General Statement of Purpose

The general purpose of this study is to determine how, if at all, Moroccan-born and non-Moroccan-born Jewish high school students differ with regard to certain aspects of their school life, particularly achievement, attitude and adjustment. The study also attempts to discover possible explanations for the differences which do emerge.

C. Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that a representative sample of Moroccan-born high school pupils of the Jewish religion differs significantly from a matched group of Jewish immigrant pupils of non-Moroccan origin with regard to:

1) academic achievement as measured by the January, 1970, report card marks.

2) attitude toward high school as determined by The School Inventory.

3) personal, social and total adjustment as measured by the California Test of Personality.

D. Sub-Problems

In addition to testing the above hypotheses, this study will attempt to provide information with regard to the following additional questions. These sub-problems are raised in order to identify areas in which Moroccan students are experiencing problems and to provide possible explanations for the difficulties they are encountering.

1) Does it take Moroccan students longer to learn the English language than other new Canadians?

2) Does the fact that these Moroccan students live in a predominantly French-speaking city retard their learning of English?

3) Does a disproportionate number of Moroccan students eventually find itself placed in classes below the regular level?

4) Are Moroccan students as respectful of general school rules and regulations as other new Canadians?

5) Are Moroccan students as cooperative and respectful in class as other new Canadians?

6) Are Moroccan students as well disciplined as other new Canadians?

7) Do Moroccan students integrate with the rest of the student body as well as other new Canadians?

8) Are Moroccan students as motivated to succeed in school as other new Canadians?

9) Are the parents of Moroccan students as interested in their children's school achievement as parents of other new Canadians?

E. Significance of the Study

This study is intended to provide classroom teachers and guidance counsellors with a better understanding of Moroccan students in general, the personal and social adjustment they are making, the problems confronting them and the framework within which they view their school life. So equipped, staff members will hopefully be able to educate and guide these North African immigrants more effectively and sympathetically.

F. Definitions

Ashkenazim - are the Jews whose ancestors lived in the middle ages in German lands and migrated thence to Eastern and Western Europe and, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to North America and South America. The term "Ashkenazim" is used to denote one of the great divisions in Jewry in contradistinction to the Sephardim from whom they differ markedly in many respects. Up to 1900 most Ashkenazim everywhere spoke Yiddish, a form of medieval German written in Hebrew characters with a certain number of Hebrew expressions. Before World War II, 14.5 million or 92 per cent of all Jews were Ashkenazim.[1] In the 1960's the total

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[1] "Ashkenazim," The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I (1942), p. 542.

number of Ashkenazim was estimated at ten million including almost all of the five million in the United States and three million in the U.S.S.R.[2]

Francophones - will refer to French-speaking people.

North Africans - will refer to Jewish emigrants from Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

Oriental Jews - are descendants of Jews who, following the Assyrian or Babylonian or Roman exile from Palestine, settled in countries of North Africa and the Middle East (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, etc.). They are in fact more varied in their ethnic characteristics than either Sephardim or Ashkenazim. Following the establishment of Israel in 1948, the major part of oriental Jews in Arab communities was resettled in Israel. Oriental Jews numbered two million in the 1960's.[3]

Sephardim - are the Jews whose ancestors lived in Spain and Portugal during the middle ages. Following the persecution and eventual expulsion of all Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497, many Sephardim emigrated to the Near East, the Mediterranean coast and other parts of North Africa and Europe. There they lived almost entirely apart from other Jews for nearly five centuries in their own religious and social communities. As a regional group living under different environmental and historical conditions from the Ashkenazim of Central and Eastern Europe, they have preserved everywhere their own customs and religious ritual which differ on many points from those of the Ashkenazim. They also

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[2] "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and Oriental Jews," The Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XX (1963), p. 334.

[3] Ibid.

continued to use the Ladino language, a form of medieval Spanish with some Hebrew terms written in Hebrew characters. Ladino is the Sephardic equivalent of Yiddish but has fallen into disuse during the present century. The Sephardim have taken great pride in their background and, trying to keep their own identity, have until recently rarely intermarried with other Jews. In the 1960's, Sephardim numbered about 500,000.[4]

G. Delimitations

This research is confined to the study of the achievement, attitude and adjustment of French-speaking, Moroccan-born, Jewish students who are presently attending high school classes conducted in the English language. Non-Jewish Moroccans, Spanish-speaking Moroccans and French-speaking immigrants from other North African and Middle Eastern countries are excluded as are all elementary school pupils and all high school pupils attending classes where instruction is given in French. Adjustment problems not directly related to the school environment are included within the scope of this study only insofar as they have a bearing on the adjustment of Moroccan pupils to their school environment.

H. Limitations and Assumptions

The subjects of this research are pupils who attended Outremont High School (OHS) in the north-central part of Montreal during the 1969-1970 school year. Convenience in selecting study and comparison groups, administering tests and conducting interviews made it necessary to confine the research to one school.

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[4] Ibid.

Moroccan high school students tend to be concentrated in one part of the city, the area bounded by Park Avenue on the east, Jean Talon on the north, Decarie Boulevard on the west and Mount Royal-Maplewood-Queen Mary Road on the south. The Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada is responsible for helping many Moroccan newcomers to settle in the city and considers it essential that they reside in a Jewish neighbourhood. Only the area described above fits this condition and at the same time provides, at reasonable rentals, dwellings spacious enough to accommodate the large Moroccan families. For the most part, only younger Moroccan couples with small families or those who have been here long enough to become well established live elsewhere. One can safely assume that the number of people fitting the latter description is very limited, considering the fact that the majority of Moroccan immigrants did not arrive until 1964.

Northmount High School, located two miles from Outremont High, is the only other Protestant secondary school serving the area inhabited by the Moroccan community. However, there is great similarity between the socio-economic status and the ethnic background of the student population of the two schools. Both institutions house pupils whose families are members of the lower and middle classes. Outremont Hign School accommodates just under 1100 pupils of which roughly 50 per cent are Jewish,[5] fifty per cent are foreign-born[6] and 12 per cent are of Moroccan origin.[7]

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[5] Appendix C.

[6] Appendix B.

[7] Ibid.

According to May, 1970, enrollment figures, 971 of the 1271 pupils (77 per cent) at Northmount are Jewish. Also, between 40-50 per cent are foreign-born and 12-15 per cent are of Moroccan origin.[8] Differences between the two schools with regard to pupil population are slight. Northmount has fewer pupils of Chinese and Greek nationality, fewer pupils professing the Catholic religion and more students of West Indian origin.

Thus it can be assumed that the findings of this study are descriptive of the entire Moroccan population attending English high schools in Montreal. Information to substantiate this assumption is provided in Chapter V.

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[8] Interview with Mr. C. Fagan, Vice-Principal, Northmount High School, Montreal, June 3, 1970.

Chapter III

Review of the Literature

There is a dearth of literature dealing with the adjustment of Moroccan émigrés since the problem is of relatively recent origin and has been experienced by few countries. Only Israel and France have encountered immigration of North Africans on a large scale.

Because Israel was the first nation to accommodate masses of oriental Jewish refugees and because the difficulties connected with the absorption of these people have been both serious and persistent, most of the material on the subject deals with the Israeli situation. During the past twenty years periodic studies have appeared. Little has been written about the settlement of Jewish North Africans in France since these newcomers have adapted well to their new surroundings and have not presented any problems. The decade of the 1960's witnessed the arrival of several thousand Jewish Moroccans in Canada, but, as yet, the amount of literature on this topic has been minimal.

A. Israel

a) The period from 1948-1956

Newspaper articles[1] and studies of immigration[2] point out that, even before Moroccan independence, Israel had learned that

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[1] Francis Ofner, "Threats to Israel from North Africa," Montreal Star, September 29, 1955, p. 15.

[2] W.D. Borrie et al., The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, A survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants held in Havana, April, 1956 (Paris: UNESCO, 1959), pp. 234-266.

it was not as easy to absorb newcomers from North Africa and the Middle East as those from Europe or even from other African and Asian territories. These oriental Jews, as those stemming from the Moslem countries are commonly referred to, differed from the rest of the population which was mostly of European origin and background. Although Israel was not burdened by a problem of "coloured" and "white" Jews, considerable difficulties did emerge between the Ashkenazi and Sephardic elements of the population.

The level of education of the Jewish settlers from the Arab world was considerably lower than that of European immigrants. Surveys made among Moroccans arriving in Israel showed that nearly one-third of their children had not received any education at all.[3] A large portion of oriental immigrant children experienced great difficulty in learning to read and work in the first grades, and they failed to achieve good over all progress in other subjects in higher grades. The various intelligence tests given to European, native oriental and oriental immigrant children revealed significant differences. The Europeans scored highest while the oriental immigrants scored lowest. A close analysis suggests that the scholastic failure of the latter group is largely, if not entirely, accounted for by differences in social and cultural conditions and by their unfavourable home and school environments.[4] In many cases, lower standards of teaching prevailed in the schools these children were attending since three-quarters of the 80,000 immigrant

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[3] Francis Ofner, "Flight to Israel," Montreal Star, August 24, 1954, p. 11.

[4] Borrie et al, pp. 248-249.

children of elementary school age were attending educational institutions whose student body consisted almost entirely of other recent arrivals.[5] This reduced the opportunity for social contact between immigrants and older residents and deprived the newcomers of an important stimulus for adopting the habits and ways of thinking of Israeli children.

Besides these differences in levels of education, the division between North African and European immigrants was accentuated by the fact that most of the Francophone settlers from Morocco were destitute families from urban slums and backward mountain villages. Their mentality, values, aspirations and cultural background, diverse as they were, were those associated with primitive societies. The well-to-do Jew preferred to move from North Africa to metropolitan France.

Differences in customs posed an additional difficulty. Some North Africans frowned upon manual labour, an attitude opposed to the pioneering spirit prevalent in Israel. Similarly, the patriarchal family structure, giving little or no rights to women or children, with exclusive power in the hands of the father, caused friction on coming into contact with modern Israel.

Israeli authorities and the general public put forth a strenuous and concentrated effort to speed up the process of integration. The two main integrating instruments in tying the immigrant youths closer to the general level of civilization and the prevailing standards of behaviour were the education system and the army. Results were surprisingly successful.

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[5] Ibid., p. 260.

However, despite compulsory education, the number of absentees in small immigrant towns and villages ran 15 per cent - 30 per cent.[6] Similarly, after two years of military service, young oriental Jews returning to their families found themselves face to face with feudal family traditions and old fashioned attitudes.

b) The period from 1956-1970

A decade later, one of Israel's major national preoccupations was still the effective assimilation of the various ethnic groups which had arrived in the promised land. More specifically, Israeli officials were mainly concerned over the continuing influx of a large number of Jews from North Africa and the Middle East who, along with European migrants, had made their way to the Jewish state during the late 1950's and early 1960's. The result of the diverse composition of this immigration has been a culturally-split Israeli society.

Broadly speaking, by 1966, there were two distinct classes or categories:

1) The European Jews who constituted about 35 per cent of the population but who completely dominated the economic and political life of the state.

2) The oriental Jews from North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, etc.) and the Middle East (Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, etc.) who made up 65 per cent of the population but who remained at the bottom of the economic scale.[7]

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[6] Ofner, "Flight to Israel," p. 11.

[7] Don Cook, "Israel Faces Tough Fight," Montreal Star, December 12, 1966, p. 11.

The gap between the segment belonging to the cultural background of Europe and those rooted in the cultural history of the Moslem world is extremely wide. It is noticeable both in public and private life as well as in the educational process and it seems to be persisting.

Today the greatest problem facing Israel's absorption of new immigrants stems from the tremendous educational difference between newcomers of different origin. Recent statistical surveys have revealed that the illiteracy rate among Jews coming from the Arab world is 43.4 per cent as against 3.8 per cent among immigrants from Europe and 2.9 per cent among Israeli-born.[8] Furthermore, 71 per cent of the children of European or American-born parents have post-elementary education versus 43 per cent of those from Africa and Asia. Three times as many children of European or American origin go on to university.[9]

The racial tensions and charges of discrimination that result from this gap between the ethnic groups are viewed by Israeli leaders as a significant threat to the nation's stability and survival. The problem is being given a priority second only to that of defense. The key to the solution lies in education, for in no other area is the separation between these two culturally distinct groups so apparent.

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[8] Randolph L. Braham, Israel: A Modern Education System, A Report Emphasizing Secondary and Teacher Education, Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 7.

[9] "Israel's Struggle for Equal Opportunity," Montreal Star, February 5, 1965, p. 7.

At first it was thought and hoped that compulsory elementary education from ages six to fourteen would correct this imbalance. But it was soon found that home conditions worked against this solution. The oriental Jews have larger families than Jews of European origin. Children of large oriental families live in overcrowded homes and miss the peace and quietness needed for concentration on their lessons.

In the early 1960's the Israeli authorities embarked on a strong programme aimed specifically to assist the educational advancement of the oriental children. Convinced that merely equal treatment of the two groups would only freeze the inequality of the culturally disadvantaged group, the government adopted a policy of compensatory education. In accordance with this line of action, schools with a large percentage of oriental children were provided with tutoring facilities, the grading and promotion system in the elementary grades of these schools was liberalized, standards of examinations (especially those for high school qualification) were deliberately lowered, and youth clubs were established to enable these students to do their homework under supervision. Also, an extra year of kindergarten was provided for a substantial number of three and four year-olds. For those attending secondary school, a scholarship programme and a tuition fee scale adjusted to family income were introduced to enable all qualified applicants to attend. In the institutions of higher learning, pupils from these Sephardic families were given preference in the distribution of scholarships, fellowships and

other types of grants.[10]

In recent years the distinction between the European and oriental immigrants in matters of education has been diminished considerably, but it is still very evident at the secondary level. Although the children of oriental background comprise over half of the kindergarten and elementary school population, they account for only 25 per cent of the secondary school enrollment and 12 per cent of those pursuing higher education.[11]

At present Israel is still striving to narrow the gap between the two major segments of the population and to speed up the process of integration. The battle will continue to be fought along educational lines. Only in this way can the young nation hope to eliminate the threat of a permanently under-privileged class.

B. France

The American Jewish Committee's European office has prepared a report on the Jewish community of France.[12] Relevant excerpts from this report follow.

Under the impetus of widespread immigration from North Africa, the Jewry of France has made a transformation since 1956 and now ranks fourth in size among Jewish communities in the world. More than half of France's 500,000 Jews reside in Paris.

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[10] Braham, pp. 7-8.

[11] Ibid., p. 157.

[12] "French Jewry Today," Congress Bulletin (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress), Vol. XXII, No. 9, (December, 1966), p. 5.

The influx of émigrés from North Africa has resulted in a dramatic change in the composition of France's Jewish population but, unlike the situation in Israel, these newcomers have presented no problem. Whereas it was once predominantly Ashkenazi or European, French Jewry has now become at least fifty per cent North African Sephardic. Moreover, France's Jews are unique in being the only diaspora community in which Ashkenazi and Sephardic cultures are now melded on relatively equal terms.

The following reasons explain why the North Africans have been integrating so well into the Jewish life of France:

1) They speak the same language - French - and many have been educated in French schools.

2) They have had business ties with metropolitan France in the past.

3) A large number of the Sephardic newcomers are well educated, coming from the upper socio-economic levels, and are marrying native French Jews. This contrasts sharply with the Israeli experience where the bulk of arriving North Africans was almost entirely composed of lower class, poorly educated immigrants.

C. Canada

The arrival in Canada of Jewish North Africans in significant numbers is an even more recent phenomenon than in either Israel or France. The vast majority of these voluntary refugees has settled in Montreal, almost all with the help of the Jewish

community. From time to time during the past decade, journals sponsored by local Jewish organizations and the press have featured articles describing these newcomers, their life in Morocco, their reasons for coming to Canada, the problems they are encountering here and their aspirations for the future. Some attention has also been devoted to the manner in which they are adapting to a new environment.

With regard to the last topic, opinions vary. Publications by the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada, particularly articles by the National Executive Director, Dr. Joseph Kage, declare that the North Africans have made a positive adjustment and have adapted as well as any other immigrant group.

> By and large, the individual adjustment of the French-speaking immigrants has been very satisfactory and holds just promise for the future. There are also, of course, certain cases where more serious problems arise, and which require intensive casework and long-term attention.[13]

This statement is typical of the thinking of JIAS, in general, and Dr. Kage, in particular. Indeed JIAS is well qualified to pass comment. It is the agency which has first contact with these immigrants and maintains contact with the newcomers for three to five years. In day to day contact with North African emigrants, many adjustment problems come to light: employment, housing, financial assistance, schooling of children, intra-family issues and other welfare aspects. These are usually dealt with

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[13] Dr. Joseph Kage, "The North African Jewish Immigrant in Montreal," Studies and Documents on Immigration and Integration in Canada (Montreal: Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada), No. 11 (June, 1968), p. 5.

by the JIAS social worker on a case to case basis.

Some supporting opinions and several contrary ones were expressed during the course of a research project conducted by the Education Committee of the Women's Federation of Allied Jewish Community Services. The Education Committee, concerned with difficulties encountered by the newly arrived Jewish Moroccans, attempted to determine the adjustment of the group into the established Jewish community of Montreal as well as the extent to which the Allied Jewish Community health and welfare agencies and social organizations were serving them.

Reference will be made here only to those sections of the report which are relevant to the adjustment of Moroccans of school age.

According to Mrs. Kantrowits, Executive Director of the Herzl Health Service Centre:

> It is my personal opinion that the Jewish Moroccans have not made a successful adjustment to our society. They feel rejected and put upon. Several principals of the Protestant school system have called me and voiced their concern about 'not getting through to the students', and the total unconcern of the parent [sic] to their children's failures.[14]

An explanation of the problems Moroccan parents encounter with their offspring is given by Mr. David Weiss, Executive Director of the Baron de Hirsch Institute:

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[14] Education Committee, Women's Federation of Allied Jewish Community Services, "French-Speaking Jewish Immigrants and Their Use of Jewish Social Agencies and Women's Organizations," Report of the Moroccan Research Committee (Montreal, March, 1966), p. 15.

> Essentially, I think the Jewish Moroccans have a particular cultural problem of adaptation and adjustment, particularly between the immigrant parents and the growing children where the differences in value systems, tastes, interests and the greatest independence of the children and the female member of the families set up internal tensions, etc.[15]

Interviews were also conducted with the principals of three of the Protestant French-language schools.

Mr. J.R. Le Roy, Principal of Baron Byng High School where approximately twenty-five Moroccan students aged fourteen to nineteen had attended school the previous academic year, commented that there was an element of "foreignness" to the Moroccan students who seemed to lack a frame of reference for their new life in Canada. He remarked that these pupils might be more comfortable in an English Protestant school and stated that the Moroccan parents do not attend activities of the Home and School Association. The work of these pupils in school was generally poor with a number of failures at the end of the year, even though they were offered a simplified curriculum.[16]

The opposite opinion was shared by Mr. J. Franshan, Principal of Peace Centennial (elementary) School where five or six Moroccan pupils attended, and Mr. V.S. Carr, Principal of Victoria Public (elementary) School where fewer than twenty Moroccan pupils were enrolled. Neither principal could indicate any difficulties these pupils might be having either in their behaviour or in their

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[15] Ibid., p. 12.

[16] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

academic pursuits. Mr. Carr observed that the Moroccan pupils in his school had a better family structure than the peer group of the school, the majority of which is composed of French-Canadian youngsters of lower economic class with rather poor family background. He was very optimistic about the future in relation to the Moroccan group and felt the problems to be minimal with the chances for acculturation bright. Mr. Franshan observed that, while there were many more Moroccan children in the English schools, he did not feel that they fit into the English system as well as into the French Protestant schools. He pointed out that it takes approximately one year for children to learn a language before adjusting to the education process. This makes the learning of difficult subject matter even more difficult because the language in which instruction is being given is a foreign one.[17]

Literature dealing with the adjustment of Moroccan pupils in the English language schools appears to be completely lacking.

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[17] Ibid., pp. 23-25.

Chapter IV

Research Procedure

This chapter explains in detail the research procedure followed. More specifically, it describes the selection of the samples, the measuring instruments used to obtain data, the administration of these tests and questionnaires, and the manner in which interviews were conducted.

A. Selection of the Samples

Early in the academic year at most Protestant high schools in Montreal, guidance questionnaires are distributed to all pupils. These forms provide the guidance counsellors with data concerning the pupils' birth, family history, home conditions, hobbies and health, and with other relevant information.

During the first week of November, carefully designed questionnaires were given out to the pupils at Outremont High School (OHS).[1] Although a serious effort was made to obtain a completed paper from each of the 1079 pupils enrolled as of October 31, 1969, only 1017 questionnaires (94.3 per cent) were returned. The remaining forms were not submitted due to withdrawal from school, prolonged absence, or simply a lack of cooperation on the part of certain students.

From information thus obtained, an ethnic and religious survey was made of the student body[2] prior to the selection of the Moroccan students who would be the subjects of this study.

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[1] Appendix A contains a sample questionnaire.

[2] Appendix B lists the place of birth of each pupil.
Appendix C lists the religion of each pupil.
Appendix D lists the main language spoken at the home of each pupil.

The survey revealed that 50.2 per cent of the school population consisted of foreign-born pupils[3] and that 51.6 per cent of those enrolled were Jewish.[4] Thus, at OHS during the 1969-1970 school year, roughly one-half of the pupils was not Canadian-born and one-half was Jewish. Also significant for purposes of this research is the information that there were in attendance 117 Moroccan-born Jews (11.5 per cent of the entire student body) and 151 Jewish pupils born elsewhere outside Canada (14.8 per cent of the entire student body).[5]

To determine whether the achievement and the adjustment of Moroccan-born students are satisfactory, a group had to be selected with which the Moroccan students could be compared. For a variety of reasons the researcher selected the non-Moroccan, foreign-born Jewish pupils.

First, each group of pupils accounts for roughly 10 to 15 per cent of the total school enrollment. Thus there is similarity in number. Secondly, despite differences in rituals between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim, both sets of pupils share a common religious background and history. As members of a minority, the two factions of Jewish immigrants had often suffered discrimination and even persecution in their countries of origin.

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[3] Appendix B.

[4] Appendix C.

[5] Appendix E lists the place of birth and date of entry into Canada of Moroccan-born pupils.
Appendix F lists the place of birth and date of entry into Canada of non-Moroccan, foreign-born Jewish pupils.

Thirdly, most students in each of the two categories had been educated in what can best be described as a "European education system" prior to arrival in Canada. Finally, each group was assisted to settle in Canada by the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services. These similarities are likely to make the differences between the Moroccan and non-Moroccan Jewish students stand out more strikingly.

In addition, the non-Moroccan group of foreign-born Jewish pupils consists very largely of European-born students and Israelis of European parentage. During the course of interviews, teachers were asked to rate the larger immigrant groups (excluding Moroccans) in terms of achievement and general deportment. The Chinese pupils as a group rated highest and the Greek immigrants rated lowest while the European-born students (excluding the Greek pupils) occupied a middle position. Thus the group selected as a standard with which to compare the Moroccan sample can be considered to represent an average group of new Canadians.

Prior to selection of the sample groupings, eight Moroccans who had arrived in Canada after December 31, 1967, were excluded from the study since they had not been in Canada long enough to master the English language nor had they had sufficient opportunity to adequately adjust to the new school system. For contrary reasons twenty pupils who had arrived in Canada prior to January 1, 1960, were eliminated. The remaining eighty-nine Moroccan students were considered acceptable for selection to the study group.

Eliminated from the non-Moroccan group were all those who had entered Canada before 1960 or after December 31, 1967. Also excluded were three students born in the United States, one in India and one in England. These people had arrived in Canada between 1960 and 1967. However, English is the native tongue of each and the problems, if any, encountered by these persons are not those of the majority of newcomers who are confronted with the necessity to learn a new language. Thus only sixty-nine immigrants were eligible for selection to the comparison group.

The eighty-nine Moroccan students considered acceptable for this research were then classified according to grade, sex and length of time they had been in Canada. Using this information, a stratified sample of fifty Jewish Moroccan subjects was chosen and matched as closely as possible with members of the non-Moroccan group according to grade and length of time in Canada. By pairing subjects according to these two variables, one could make a fair comparison of academic grades and other criteria. The similarity in age between members of the two groups in the same grade made it unnecessary to deliberately match the subjects on this basis. By including the additional variable of sex, one could have had samples representative of the number of boys and girls at each grade level. Due to a disproportionate number of females among the non-Moroccans, it was not possible to pair the subjects on the basis of sex. In addition, the composition and small size of the comparison group and the necessity to match students according to the

two variables selected made it necessary to depart very slightly from the perfectly stratified sample of Moroccan pupils originally chosen.[6]

Subjects from the two groups were paired exactly on the basis of grade level. With respect to length of time the pupils had been in Canada, differences ranged from 0 to 16 months with the mean difference working out to 4.2 months.[7] In 23 of the 50 pairs, the difference was 2 months or less. In only 3 instances did the difference exceed 10 months.

Table 1

Classification According to Grade and Sex of all Moroccan Students at OHS Who Entered Canada Between 1960 and 1967

Grade Level	Male	Female	Total	Per cent of Total
Year 1	14	12	26	29.2
Year 2	14	7	21	23.6
Year 3	10	12	22	24.7
Year 4	12	8	20	22.5
TOTAL	50	39	89	100.0

[6] Appendix G lists the place of birth and date of entry into Canada of pupils constituting the Moroccan sample.
Appendix H lists the place of birth and date of entry into Canada of pupils constituting the non-Moroccan sample.

[7] Four Moroccans and five non-Moroccans could provide only the year of entry into Canada but not the month. In these cases, the date of entry was taken to be July 1.

Table 2

Ideally Stratified Sample of Fifty Moroccan Students at OHS Who Entered Canada Between 1960 and 1967[a]

Grade Level	Male	Female	Total
Year 1	8	7	15
Year 2	8	4	12
Year 3	5	7	12
Year 4	7	4	11
TOTAL	28	22	50

Table 3

Selected Sample of Moroccan Students at OHS Who Entered Canada Between 1960 and 1967

Grade Level	Male	Female	Total
Year 1	6	8	14
Year 2	7	5	12
Year 3	7	5	12
Year 4	8	4	12
TOTAL	28	22	50

[a] Stratification is according to grade level and sex. Under subject promotion, the level of the English course for which the pupil is enrolled determines his grade level.

Table 4

Selected Sample of Non-Moroccan
Jewish Students Who Entered Canada
Between 1960 and 1967

Grade Level	Male	Female	Total
Year 1	8	6	14
Year 2	2	10	12
Year 3	6	6	12
Year 4	4	8	12
TOTAL	20	30	50

B. Research Design and Methodology

An attempt was made to examine differences between Moroccan and non-Moroccan Jewish students in three areas: (1) academic achievement; (2) attitude toward school; and (3) personal and social adjustment.

Before proceeding with a study of the attitude and adjustment of the subjects under consideration, the researcher felt it essential to establish that a difference in academic achievement between the two groups did in fact exist. Having thus demonstrated that Moroccan and non-Moroccan immigrants do differ significantly in at least one important aspect of their school life, the researcher could go ahead and determine whether differences in other areas also existed.

The scores used to make this comparison were grades achieved by the subjects on the January, 1970, report cards. Significant differences did emerge, encouraging the researcher to continue

the investigation.

Next, each of the one hundred students selected to make up the Moroccan and non-Moroccan samples was called individually to the guidance office and given the following explantion:

> As you may know, there are several hundred new Canadians in this school. Some are doing well; some are doing poorly. In order to help the teachers and guidance counsellors understand new Canadians better, I am conducting a research project. You are one of a hundred students I have selected to help me find out more about the new Canadians in our school. All of the people I have selected are Jewish. Some have been in Canada only two years; some have been here as long as ten years. If you are agreeable, I would like to interview you and then have you answer two tests for me. The questions I will be asking during the interview are not intended to be of a personal nature. If you consider a question personal, you should refuse to answer it. At no time will your name and the information you personally provide be revealed to anyone. The tests will take about an hour of your time and may be written during school time or after school. There are no incorrect answers and you do not even have to write your name on the test paper.

If the pupil was agreeable, a structured interview was then conducted.[8] All the interviews, each of which lasted about fifteen minutes, were conducted during school hours. Only one pupil, a female member of the non-Moroccan group, was unwilling to participate in the research and was replaced.

The interviews provided details about educational background, family background, and problems relating to the home and the school. The information proved useful in explaining differences between the two groups as well as in examining the sub-problems which this research has raised.

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[8] Appendix I contains a form used to record information during the interviews.

The interviews took place during the months of March and April, 1970. At the interview each subject was asked whether he wished to write the two tests during school or at 3:15 p.m. Fifty-seven people indicated they would prefer to answer the tests during class time while forty-three selected the period after school.

About two to four weeks after being interviewed, each of the one hundred subjects was asked to answer The School Inventory and the California Test of Personality (CTP). The School Inventory was administered in order to compare the attitude toward school of Moroccan and non-Moroccan pupils while the CTP was used to compare the personal, social and total adjustment of members of these two groups.

Those who preferred to write after school were invited in groups of ten to fifteen to answer the questionnaires immediately after the last class of the day. Two such sessions were held during March and one in April. Those who failed to appear were invited at a later date during class hours. In April, during class time, the tests were administered ten times to small groups of 4 to 8 students. Wherever possible, the time during which a student wrote the tests was made to coincide with a period his subject teacher was absent. Thus time lost from instruction was held to a minimum.

In addition to the instructions in the test manuals, the following information was provided immediately before the questionnaires were handed out:

> The two tests you will be writing in a few minutes are intended to reveal how new Canadians think and feel about a variety of things. Please keep two things in mind when answering the questionnaires. First, it is important that you understand each question clearly. The vocabulary list I have provided for you explains most of the more difficult words. If you still do not understand a question, raise your hand and I will explain it to you. Second, the results can only be valid if you answer each question truthfully. Please try to be as honest as possible in your answers.

The students were provided with an extensive vocabulary list so that even those with a reading or comprehension problem could answer virtually all questions. To enable the very slowest readers to finish, no time limit was imposed and each one was given as long as he needed to complete the two papers. Less than five people required a total time in excess of one hour. To encourage frankness, the subjects were asked to omit writing their names on the tests. However, each paper was carefully coded so that it was possible to match each respondent with the questionnaires he submitted.

During the months of May and June, structured interviews were conducted with twenty-two members of the Outremont High School teaching staff.[9] Selection of teachers was made in a manner that allowed representation to all grade levels and academic subjects. In choosing teachers, consideration was also given to their familiarity with Moroccan students. The purpose of these interviews was to provide maximum information regarding

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[9] Appendix J contains the questionnaire answered by OHS teachers.

the list of sub-problems and to determine if the teachers' assessment of Moroccan students coincided with the results of the CTP and The School Inventory.

In the hope of shedding more light on the differences between the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups which emerged in this study, additional unstructured interviews were conducted with staff members of Northmount and Baron Byng high schools where Moroccan students are in attendance. These interviews proved most useful in helping to understand and explain the problems Moroccan newcomers are experiencing.

C. The Measuring Instruments

1. Academic Achievement

The criterion for comparison of academic achievement of the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups is the January, 1970, report card marks. These were obtained from the master mark sheets kept in the administrative office. All areas of the curriculum were taken into consideration except French since Moroccan pupils had a significant advantage in this area.

Outremont High School administers a complete set of examinations twice yearly, in January and in June, to all pupils at all four levels. Since June exams for all fourth level students and some third level students are set by the Department of Education of Quebec and are graded externally, the researcher feels that a comparison of January marks is a more reliable indicator for purposes of this study. Exam scores constituted 75 per cent of the report mark while class work accounted for the balance.

Comparison of January report marks, especially with regard to the compulsory subjects, provides a reliable measure of the difference in academic performance between the two groups of pupils. To illustrate, let us consider two pupils at the grade eight or first year level. Both pupils wrote identical examinations in English, history and mathematics. The two papers in each of the three subject areas were graded by different teachers, but both papers were rated according to a uniform set of instructions agreed upon by all teachers of the particular course and the head of the department concerned. Thus two pupils in different rooms producing the same standard of work received approximately the same score.

2. Attitude Toward School

The School Inventory, by Hugh M. Bell, is an attitude survey that provides a quantitative measure of the attitude of high school pupils toward their school. The Inventory consists of seventy-six questions aimed at discovering what things students may or may not consider satisfactory.[10] Approximately two-thirds of the items seek to determine the student's opinions as to teacher personality and efficiency and teacher-student relationships. The remaining questions have to do with school subjects, classes, grades and such general factors as school organization, discipline, physical facilities and relationships

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[10] Appendix K contains The School Inventory.

with fellow students.

According to the manual:

> Students who make low scores tend to be well adapted to the school environment: they like their teachers, enjoy their fellow-students, and feel that the school is conducted systematically and fairly. Students who make high scores tend to be poorly adapted to the school: they dislike the teachers, think that the principal is unfair with students, and sometimes express a desire to withdraw from school.[11]

Scoring consists of counting the number of items indicated. The higher the score, the more unsatisfactory the attitude toward school. Since the items are not classified, this score in itself gives no indication as to sources of dissatisfaction. However, by analyzing the responses, one can easily discover those aspects of the school which are most displeasing to a considerable number of pupils.

a) Reliability. The coefficient of reliability was determined by correlating the odd-even items and applying the Spearman-Brown formula. The subjects were two hundred and forty-two high-school high-freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors. The reliability coefficient for the Inventory is .94 with a probable error of .004.[12]

b) Validity. The School Inventory has been validated in two ways. First, the original list of one hundred and fourteen items was given to three hundred and fifty-four high-school students. Then each question was analyzed to determine how

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[11] Manual for The School Inventory by Hugh M. Bell (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1937), p. 1.

[12] Ibid., [p. 3].

effectively it differentiated between the upper and lower 15 per cent of the individuals in this distribution of scores. Only those items which clearly differentiated between these two extreme groups are included in the Inventory as published.

Second, the faculty members in four California high schools were asked to write on cards the names of students in their classes who were poorly adjusted and those who were well adjusted to the school environment. In the poorly adjusted group they were instructed to include students who disliked school, who were frequently a source of trouble to the teacher, and who did not get along well with their fellow students. For the well adjusted group they were asked to include students who liked school, who got along well with students and teachers, and who seldom, if ever, caused the teachers and principals any trouble. Seventy-one students were selected for the well-adjusted group and fifty-nine for the poorly adjusted group. The Inventory was then administered to these two groups. The mean for the well-adjusted group is 14.82, the standard deviation is 10.95, and the standard error of the mean is 1.30. The mean for the poorly adjusted group is 32.25, the standard deviation is 16.45, and the standard error of the mean is 2.14. The difference between the means is 17.43 with a standard error of 2.50. From this it appears that there is a significant agreement between the judgment of these teachers and the results of the Inventory with respect to the school adjustment of these high-school students.[13]

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[13] Ibid., [pp. 3-4].

c) Norms. The manual also contains a table of tentative norms based on a limited number of high school students in California. These norms provide the following descriptions for the various range scores: Excellent, Good, Average, Unsatisfactory and Very Unsatisfactory. Since the norms in the manual are both outdated and obviously not applicable to the present situation, local norms were set up according to the procedure outlined in the manual using a stratified sample of 223 Outremont High School pupils.

3. Personal and Social Adjustment

To determine the extent to which Moroccan and non-Moroccan high school students differ in their personal and social adjustment, the California Test of Personality (CTP) was selected.[14]

This inventory which provides information about the personal and social characteristics of individuals and groups is divided into two sections: Personal Adjustment and Social Adjustment. The Personal Adjustment section covers Self-reliance, Sense of Personal Worth, Sense of Personal Freedom, Feeling of Belonging, Freedom from Withdrawing Tendencies, and Freedom from Nervous Symptoms. The Social Adjustment section covers Social Standards, Social Skills, Freedom from Anti-Social Tendencies, Family Relations, School Problems and Community Relations.

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[14] Appendix L contains the California Test of Personality (Intermediate. Grades 7 to 10. 1953 Revision).

According to reviewer Verner M. Sims:

> The test itself is mechanically satisfactory and it and the manual are made up in a manner which makes for ease and accuracy in administration and scoring.... All in all, in spite of criticism, as personality inventories go, the California test would appear to be among the better ones available.[15]

Admittedly there are other instruments such as the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire and the California Psychological Inventory which are more favourably regarded by reviewers in the Mental Measurement Yearbooks. However, these other inventories are basically personality questionnaires developed along lines of factor analysis and are designed to measure the major dimensions of human personality comprehensively. The CTP is similar in that it has been designed to identify and reveal the status of certain highly important factors in personal and social adjustment usually designated as intangible. However, the CTP's preoccupation with the concept of adjustment and the fact that it provides scores for personal adjustment, social adjustment and total adjustment has led to its selection in this research undertaking.

The CTP is organized around the concept of life adjustment as a balance between personal and social adjustment. Personal adjustment is assumed to be based on feelings of personal security, and social adjustment on feelings of social security. The items in the personal adjustment half of the test are designed to

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[15] Oscar K. Buros (ed.), The Fifth Mental Measurement Yearbook (Highland Park, New Jersey: Gryphon Press, 1959), p. 103.

measure evidences of six components of personal security; the items in the social adjustment half of the test, the six components of social security. By responding yes or no to carefully developed questions, examinees indicate how they think, feel and act regarding a wide variety of situations which affect them as individuals or as members of groups.

a) Reliability. The coefficients of reliability, number of cases, and standard errors of measurement are given below in Table 5 for the sub-sections and totals of the CTP in terms of raw scores. These reliability coefficients have been computed with the Kuder-Richardson formula.

Table 5

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY --INTERMEDIATE[16]

Components	Form AA or BB r	Form AA or BB S.E.M.	Both Forms r	Both Forms S.E.M.
1. Personal Adjustment	.93	3.57	.96	5.40
A. Self-reliance	.70	1.64	.82	2.54
B. Sense of Personal Worth	.75	1.50	.86	2.24
C. Sense of Personal Freedom	.92	0.99	.96	1.40
D. Feeling of Belonging	.97	0.65	.98	1.06
E. Withdrawing Tendencies	.83	1.34	.91	1.96
F. Nervous Symptoms	.82	1.27	.90	1.90
2. Social Adjustment	.94	3.43	.97	4.84
A. Social Standards	.94	0.67	.97	0.96
B. Social Skills	.75	1.50	.86	2.24
C. Anti-social Tendencies	.86	1.22	.92	1.84
D. Family Relations	.92	0.99	.96	1.40
E. School Relations	.86	1.31	.92	1.98
F. Community Relations	.87	1.08	.93	1.58
Total Adjustment	.96	5.10	.98	7.22
Number of cases	1136			

Tests of internal consistency are also reported for the revision in considerable detail. They indicate a fair degree of reliability for the total and the two main components, social and personal adjustment, especially for the lower scores.

b) Validity. An instrument is valid if it accomplishes the purposes for which it is designed. Among the purposes for

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[16] Manual, California Test of Personality, 1953 Revision (Monterey, California: California Test Bureau, 1953), p. 4.

which the CTP was designed are the following:

1) To provide a frame of reference regarding the nature of personality determinants and their relationships to each other and to the total functioning personality.

2) To provide information about individuals which is useful in understanding their problems and improving their adjustment.

3) To serve as an instrument of research for obtaining other types of information.[17]

Since the CTP was designed for a variety of purposes, it has several types of validity depending upon the nature and conditions of each problem being investigated.

Evidence on the validity of personality inventories will, as a rule, be indirect. The authors of the 1953 revision of the CTP base their claim for the validity of the instrument on the care taken in its construction and the reported usefulness of the earlier version as a pre- and in-service training device for teachers, as an aid to counsellors, clinical psychologists, and teachers in the study of problem cases, and as a tool useful in personality research. One example of such evidence in defense of the validity of the revised test states that "Syracuse University found the California Test of Personality correlated more closely with clinical findings than any other personality test."[18] Details of several other such studies are also contained in the manual.

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[17] Ibid., p. 7.

[18] Ibid.

Reviewers of the first edition were especially critical of the CTP's lack of validity. This was one of the factors which led to the 1953 revision. Apparently the previous shortcomings have been overcome.

Reviewing the CTP, Verner M. Sims states:

> In spite of limitations, however, the additional evidence on validity reported or referred to in the manual not only answers some of the earlier criticisms but convinces this reviewer that as a measure of self concept in the, as of now, vaguely defined area called adjustment, this test is as valid as most such instruments.[19]

Norms. The norms provided in the manual are given in terms of percentile ranks. To establish norms for the Intermediate Level, data was secured from 2812 students in grades seven to ten inclusive in schools in Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and California.

In their final form, the norms for the CTP have been based on a sampling of cases which constituted a normal distribution of mental ability, typical age-grade relationships and other characteristics as follows:

1. The median I.Q.'s and standard deviation of I.Q.'s for the various grades were:

Grade	Median I.Q.	S.D.
1-8	100.0	16.0
9	101.5	15.5
10	103.0	15.5
11	104.0	15.5

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[19] Buros, p. 102.

2. Seventy per cent of those tested were making normal progress through the grades; about 20 per cent were retarded one-half year or more; and 10 per cent were accelerated one-half year or more.

3. About 85 per cent of the population was Caucassian and the remainder was Mexican, Negro, and other minority groups.

The statistical treatment of the experimental data revealed no significant differences between median scores of successive grade levels. There was, however, a slight tendency, possibly significant in two or three of the components, for the females' responses to average slightly higher than those of the males. Nevertheless, believing that the same standards of adjustment for males and females is a defensible ideal, the authors have combined the data for males and females in deriving standards.[20]

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[20] Manual, California Test of Personality, p. 27.

Chapter V

Organization of Data, Statistical Techniques and Results

A. Academic Achievement

The criterion for comparison of the academic achievement of Moroccan and non-Moroccan Jewish immigrants is the January, 1970, report card marks.

All pupils take six courses per year. English, history and French are compulsory at each grade level though Francophone pupils and others proficient in French are allowed to write the High School Leaving examinations in French at the end of their third year. Thus they substitute an extra elective subject during their final year. Mathematics is compulsory only at the first year level but is generally carried throughout high school by most pupils since it is a requirement for entrance to university and trade schools. Students who do not elect to take a mathematics subject during a given year are required to replace it with another elective subject.

When examining the scholastic results of the two groups, all areas of the curriculum except French were taken into consideration. The marks for English, history, mathematics and the elective subjects were each rated on a five point scale.

Scale	Score (per cent)
5	80 and over
4	70-79
3	60-69
2	50-59
1	Failure

In areas such as English (language and literature), level two mathematics (algebra and geometry) and the elective subjects where two or more marks constitute a rating, an average was taken. However, if one of the scores used was not a passing mark (i.e. below 50 per cent), a "1" was given regardless of the actual numerical average. At levels three and four, pupils electing to take mathematics have a choice of one or more of the following: algebra, geometry, intermediate algebra and trigonometry. If only one of these was taken, it constitutes the rating for mathematics. If two or more mathematics courses were taken, the highest mark makes up the rating for mathematics while the other scores are part of the rating for the elective subjects. Pupils for whom the word "absent" appears on the report as a subject mark were given a "1." The word "absent" indicates that they either did not submit sufficient class work during the term or failed to appear for the examination.

The results of this rating system appear in Table 6 which clearly illustrates the difference between the achievement of the two groups in each major area of the curriculum. In each of the subject areas under consideration, the non-Moroccan students have more above average ratings and fewer below average ratings than the Moroccan students.

Operating under the expectation that the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups should have achieved equally well in English, in history, in mathematics and in the elective subjects, the difference between the groups was tested for significance. The chi square test was applied to the data in Table 6 which is categorized into above average and below average scores. The results of this test are found in Table 7. The difference between the two groups in English and the elective subjects is significant at the .01 level while in history and mathematics the difference is significant at the .05 level.

Each pupil in the study had the opportunity to gain a minimum of five passing marks exclusive of French. As a group the Moroccan students passed 174 of the 261 courses (66.9 per cent) in which they were registered. The non-Moroccans passed 210 of their 252 courses (83.3 per cent). Table 8 shows that this difference is very highly significant at the .001 level.

Thus the null hypothesis that there is no difference in achievement between the two groups must be rejected. The differences between the observed and the expected frequencies are significant and cannot reasonably be explained by sampling fluctuation.

It is also interesting to note that only three of the marks obtained by the Moroccan group are for courses at the enrichment level compared to twenty for the non-Moroccans. In addition, twelve of the Moroccan marks are for courses below the regular

level of difficulty (general level courses) while the non-Moroccan group had only one such mark. Table 9 contains a complete breakdown of these figures.

Each of the above findings points to the superior academic achievement of the non-Moroccan Jewish new Canadians.

Table 6

Comparison of Report Card Marks of Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Jewish Immigrants at OHS (January, 1970)

Classification	Rating	English		History		Mathematics		Electives		Total	
		Mor.	Non-Mor.	Mor.	Non-Mor.	Mor.	Non-Mor.	Mor.	Non-Mor.	Mor.	Non-Mor.
Superior	5	0	5	2	8	6	9	4	10	12	32
Good	4	7	14	7	10	5	12	7	13	26	49
Average	3	10	13	12	10	7	9	5	10	34	42
Weak	2	18	8	11	10	10	11	8	6	47	35
Unsatisfactory	1	15	10	18	12	16	6	26	11	75	39
TOTAL		50	50	50	50	44[a]	47[a]	50	50	194	197

[a] Above the first year level, mathematics is an optional course. Six students in the Moroccan group and three in the non-Moroccan group did not select mathematics.

Table 7

Application of Chi Square in Comparing Observed and Expected Frequencies in Above Average and Below Average Report Card Ratings for Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Groups at OHS (January, 1970)

A. English

	Moroccans		Non-Moroccans		Total
	O	E	O	E	
Above average ratings	7	13.5	19	12.5	26
Below average ratings	33	26.5	18	24.5	51
Total	40	40	37	37	77

O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2 / E$
6.5	42.25	3.13
6.5	42.25	1.59
6.5	42.25	3.38
6.5	42.25	1.73
		$x^2 = 9.83$

B. History

	Moroccans		Non-Moroccans		Total
	O	E	O	E	
Above average ratings	9	13.2	18	13.8	27
Below average ratings	29	24.8	22	26.2	51
Total	38	38	40	40	78

O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2 / E$
4.2	17.64	1.34
4.2	17.64	.71
4.2	17.64	1.28
4.2	17.64	.67
		$x^2 = 4.00$

C. Mathematics

	Moroccans		Non-Moroccans		Total
	O	E	O	E	
Above average ratings	11	15.8	21	16.2	32
Below average ratings	26	21.2	17	21.8	43
Total	37	37	38	38	75

O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2 / E$
4.8	23.04	1.46
4.8	23.04	1.09
4.8	23.04	1.42
4.8	23.04	1.06
		$x^2 = 5.03$

D. Electives

	Moroccans		Non-Moroccans		Total
	O	E	O	E	
Above average ratings	11	18	23	16	34
Below average ratings	34	27	17	24	51
Total	45	45	40	40	85

O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2 / E$
7	49	2.72
7	49	1.81
7	49	3.06
7	49	2.04
		$x^2 = 9.63$

The difference between the two groups in English and the elective subjects is significant at the .01 level. In history and mathematics the difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 8

Application of Chi Square in Comparing Observed and Expected Frequencies in Courses Passed and Courses Failed by Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Groups at OHS (January, 1970)

	Moroccans		Non-Moroccans		Total
	O	E	O	E	
Courses Passed	174	195.4	210	188.6	384
Courses Failed	87	65.6	42	63.4	129
Courses Taken	261	261	252	252	513[a]

O - E	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2 / E$
21.4	457.96	2.34
21.4	457.96	6.98
21.4	457.96	2.43
21.4	457.96	7.22
		$x^2 = 18.97$

The difference is significant at the .001 level.

[a] This total includes elective courses taken instead of French by level four students who had already written their High School Leaving examinations in French.

Table 9

Enrollment of Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Jewish Immigrants in Enrichment and General Courses at OHS (1969-1970)

		Moroccan Group	Non-Moroccan Group
A. Enriched Courses:	English	0	8
	History	1	4
	Mathematics	2	8
	TOTAL	3	20
B. General Courses:	English	8 (1)[a]	1
	Mathematics	4 (3)[a]	0
	Total	12	1

[a] The figures in parenthesis indicate failing marks.

B. Attitude Toward High School

The School Inventory was administered to both the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups in order to describe quantitatively the attitude of these pupils toward their school. The lower the score, the more favourably the student regards his school.

Since the interpretation of individual scores is made more meaningful by reference to a distribution of scores for a group, local norms for the Inventory were set up. The present scores were secured from a representative sample of 223 Outremont High School pupils. Three classes at each of the four grade levels were selected at random. The Inventory was thus administered to 124 boys and 99 girls during February, 1970. Inasmuch as there was not a statistically significant difference between the average scores for boys and girls, separate norms for the two sexes are not necessary. The average score for boys was 35.14 with a standard error of 1.12, and for the girls 33.93 with a standard error of 1.32.

In Table 10, norms are given for the OHS student body. The average for the 223 students is 34.60. The standard deviation is 12.78 and the standard error of the mean is .86. The area of the curve of distribution included in plus one and minus one probable error (P.E. = -.6745 x 12.78)[1] is designated as "Average."

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[1] Fifty per cent of frequencies in a normal distribution occur within 0.6745 S.D. units of the mean. (The twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth percentiles have z scores of -0.6745 and +0.6745 respectively.) A negative valve for the P.E. has been used here since on the Inventory high scores indicate unfavourable descriptions while low scores indicate favourable descriptions.

The area included between plus one and plus two P.E. is designated "Good." The area between minus one and minus two P.E. is designated "Unsatisfactory." The area above plus two P.E. is designated "Excellent." The area below minus two P.E. is designated "Very Unsatisfactory."

Table 10. Norms for The School Inventory for OHS Pupils. (N = 223)

Description	Score Range
Excellent	0-17
Good	18-25
Average	26-43
Unsatisfactory	44-51
Very Unsatisfactory	52-76

Once norms for the school were established, the test was administered to the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups. Several students wrote the Inventory twice, once as a member of a class being used to help set up norms and once as a member of one of the two groups forming the basis of this study.

The mean for the Moroccan group was 24.65 with a standard error of 1.99 and a standard deviation of 13.64. The mean for the non-Moroccan group was 30.25 with a standard deviation of 14.85 and a standard error of 2.16. The difference between the

means of the two groups is not statistically significant.[2]

Table 11 shows the result of comparing the score of each pupil in the two groups with the norms for the school.

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[2] The following formula to test the significance of the difference between two means for independent samples was used throughout this chapter wherever it was permissible to pool the variances.

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{s_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}} = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{s^2}{N_1} + \frac{s^2}{N_2}}} \quad \text{where } s^2 = \frac{\sum(X - \bar{X}_1)^2 + \sum(X - \bar{X}_2)^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 2}$$

Where it was not permissible to pool the variances the following formula was used.

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{\sum(X - \bar{X}_1)^2}{N_1(N_1 - 1)} + \frac{\sum(X - \bar{X}_2)^2}{N_2(N_2 - 1)}}} \quad \text{and } t_{.05} = \frac{s_{\bar{x}_1}^2 t_1 + s_{\bar{x}_2}^2 t_2}{s_{\bar{x}_1}^2 + s_{\bar{x}_2}^2}$$

George A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), Chapter 10.

Table 11. Classification of Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Groups According to Norms for the School Inventory

Description	Moroccans	Non-Moroccans
Excellent	18	11
Good	9	10
Average	17	21
Unsatisfactory	6	5
Very Unsatisfactory	0	3
TOTAL	50	50

The scores for each group were categorized into above average and below average scores and tested using chi square. Table 12 shows that again the difference between the two groups did not prove to be statistically significant.

Table 12. Comparison of Observed and Expected Frequencies in Above Average and Below Average Ratings on the School Inventory for Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Groups at OHS (1969-1970)

	Moroccan		Non-Moroccan		
	O	E	O	E	Total
Above Average	27	25.5	21	22.5	48
Below Average	06	7.5	08	6.5	14
Total	33	33	29	29	62

O - E	$(O-E)^2$	$(O-E)^2 \div E$
1.5	2.25	.09
1.5	2.25	.30
1.5	2.25	.10
1.5	2.25	.35

$$x^2 = .84$$

It is worth noting that on most questions the opinions of the non-Moroccans agreed strongly with those of the Moroccans. With few exceptions, the two groups expressed the same point of view both when they were finding favour with the school or its teachers and when they were finding fault.

The following five items are those on which the highest percentage of students indicated their dissatisfaction. The questions have been reworded here to aid clarity of thought.

	Non-Mor.	Mor.
Some of my classes are very monotonous.	64%	66%
Some of my teachers are nervous and easily excited.	70%	58%
Not all of the teachers in this school are cheerful and pleasant to meet.	62%	56%
Some of my teachers are easily upset over trifles.	60%	58%
Some of my courses are very boring to me.	64%	54%

The following five items are those on which the students were least critical.

	Non-Mor.	Mor.
I would like to quit school and go to work.	4%	8%
This school is run as if it were a prison.	10%	10%
This school tends to make me unhappy.	12%	10%
Most of my teachers lack confidence in my ability to succeed.	20%	12%
I would like to attend another high school.	14%	18%

The following five items are those on which the responses of the two groups showed most disagreement.

	Non-Mor.	Mor.
All my teachers are not "up to date" in their ideas and actions.	66%	30%
Most of the subjects which I am taking are not very interesting.	44%	22%
Some of my teachers produce a feeling of fear in me.	36%	12%
This school places too much emphasis upon grades.	52%	28%
My teachers are not always ready to help me individually with my school work.	34%	14%

On the basis of this test one can conclude that the attitude of the Moroccan students toward their school is slightly more favourable than that of the non-Moroccan students. Both groups are very happy with their school and have no desire to cease their education or switch schools. The criticisms that they do have merely indicate that their teachers fall short of human perfection and that some of the courses and the way they are presented could be more interesting. Where answers of the two groups do not coincide, one might conclude that these differences are the result of a greater desire on the part of the non-Moroccan students to succeed in school and to obey the teachers as well as a greater interest in what they are taught and how they are taught. As explained previously, the overall differences between the two samples are not statistically significant.

It should be noted that the average score of these one hundred new Canadian pupils is 28.45 (S.D. = 14.54, S.E.M. = 1.45) compared with an average of 34.60 (S.D. = 12.78, S.E.M. = .86) for the entire school. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

Several explanations for this could be considered. There is always the possibility that, despite the anonymity with which students wrote the test, one group of new Canadians or perhaps both did not answer honestly in order to create a more favourable account of themselves. Another possibility is that the native pupils are more outspoken while the immigrant students were reluctant to be frank either through fear or because they have been unaccustomed to criticize their educational system in the past. A third possibility is that the responses do, in fact, reflect the true feelings of the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups who find their present schooling reasonably satisfactory and perhaps even an improvement over the education they received in their countries of origin. In view of the similarity in responses and the fact that both groups are happy in their present school, the researcher subscribes to the last theory.

C. Personal Adjustment, Social Adjustment and Total Adjustment

The California Test of Personality was administered to the Moroccan and non-Moroccan groups in order to provide scores for personal adjustment, social adjustment and total adjustment.

On the Personal Adjustment component the mean score for the Moroccan group was 68.32 (S.D. = 9.34, S.E.M. = 1.32) while for the non-Moroccans it was 66.72 (S.D. = 13.22, S.E.M. = 1.87). The Social Adjustment score for the Moroccans was 65.96 (S.D. = 9.92, S.E.M. = 1.40) while for the non-Moroccan group the average was 65.52 (S.D. = 12.52, S.E.M. = 177). For the Moroccan sample the Total Adjustment mean score was 134.28 (S.D. = 17.31, S.E.M. = 2.45) and for the non-Moroccan group it averaged 132.24 (S.D. = 24.56, S.E.M. = 3.47).

Although the Moroccan students achieved a slightly higher mean on each of the three test scores, none of the differences between the two groups was statistically significant.

Table 13 provides mean scores for each of the components of the CTP.

Table 13. Mean Scores of Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Students at OHS on Individual Components of the CTP.

	Moroccans	Non-Moroccans
1. Personal Adjustment (Possible score = 90)	68.32	66.72
A. Self-reliance	10.44	10.18
B. Sense of Personal Worth	11.42	10.58
C. Sense of Personal Freedom	12.12	11.96
D. Feeling of Belonging	13.02	11.86
E. Freedom from Withdrawing Tendencies	10.20	10.54
F. Freedom from Nervous Symptoms	11.12	11.60
2. Social Adjustment (Possible score = 90)	65.96	65.52
A. Social Standards	11.24	11.64
B. Social Skills	10.74	10.22
C. Freedom from Anti-social Tendencies	9.76	10.86
D. Family Relations	12.18	11.22
E. School Relations	10.34	10.22
F. Community Relations	11.70	11.36
Total Adjustment (Possible score = 180)	134.28	132.24

Just as on The School Inventory, the responses of the two groups were extremely similar on the CTP. On none of the twelve basic components did the mean scores differ significantly.

Table 14 contains the results of converting the Personal Adjustment, Social Adjustment and Total Adjustment scores to percentiles using norms contained in the manual.

Table 14. Conversion to Percentiles of Personal, Social and Total Adjustment Scores on the CTP for Moroccan and Non-Moroccan Students at OHS

Percentile	Personal Adjustment		Social Adj.		Total Adj.	
	Mor.	Non-Mor.	Mor.	Non-Mor.	Mor.	Non-Mor.
99	2			2	1	1
98		2			1	
95		1	1	1		1
90	1	1	2	1	1	2
80	2	5	1	1		5
70	2	7	2	4	2	4
60	4	2	2	1	4	4
50	12	4	3	3	7	3
40	9	4	12	9	10	5
30	4	3	7	5	7	4
20	10	12	11	7	13	10
10	4	6	5	10	4	9
5		2	4	3		1
2				3		
1		1				1
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	50	50

Categorizing the data into above average (50th percentile and above) and below average (40th percentile and under), a chi square test was used to compare the two groups. Again the difference between the two groups did not prove to be statistically significant. The only noticeable difference is the heavier concentration of non-Moroccan pupils at the seventieth percentile and higher.

It is questionable whether these norms are really applicable to the students under consideration. Perhaps if local norms had been available, these new Canadians might appear in a more favourable light. Nevertheless, the fact that the same standard is being used for both Moroccans and non-Moroccans does not alter the relative position of each group.

On the basis of the CTP, one must reject the hypothesis that Moroccan and non-Moroccan students differ significantly in their personal adjustment, social adjustment and total adjustment.

D. Answers to the Sub-Problems

An attempt will be made to reply to the sub-problems raised by this study. The answers provided are based on interviews with the Moroccan and non-Moroccan students and their teachers at Outremont High School, and with guidance or administrative personnel at Outremont, Northmount and Baron Byng high schools. This section merely depicts the situation, with a minimum of comment, as students and staff view it. Chapter VI will endeavour to provide a detailed explanation for the phenomena described here.

1) Does it take Moroccan students longer to learn the English language than other new Canadians?

This question proved rather difficult to answer for the teachers who were interviewed in view of the fact that, at the high school level, in many classes pupils get little opportunity

to express themselves orally. Moreover, written assignments in subjects such as mathematics or technical drawing do not demonstrate the pupils' proficiency in the English language. Nor is a history or science essay in ungrammatical English necessarily an indication that the student is having a specific difficulty learning English. All of the Moroccan pupils speak their native French fluently, yet many cannot express themselves adequately in that language in written form. This difficulty often carries over into the learning of English.

One-third of the teachers questioned were unable to respond to this question. Those who did reply believed that the majority of Moroccan immigrants learn English as quickly as other new Canadians.[3] However, the Moroccan students themselves disagreed with the opinion of their teachers. Each of the one hundred pupils interviewed was asked,"How long did it take you to learn English well enough to be able to participate completely in the work of your class?" Seventy-six per cent of the non-Moroccan group estimated the time as one year or less compared to only 44 per cent for the group from Morocco.

2) Does the fact that these Moroccan students live in a predominantly French-speaking city retard their learning of English?

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[3] Table 15 contains a summary of responses to the teacher questionnaire.

Table 15

Summary of Responses to Teacher Questionnaire

Indicate to what per cent of Moroccan-born students the following statements apply. Base your responses on pupils presently enrolled in your classes.

		76-100%	51-75%	26-50%	0-25%	Not Sure
1) They learn the English language as quickly as other new Canadians.	(1	7	5	0	2	8
2) Their academic achievement compares favourably with that of other new Canadians.	(2	2	6	6	4	4
3) They are better able to achieve at their true level of ability in Regular classes than in General courses.	(3	5	5	5	1	6
4) They exhibit as much effort and industry as other new Canadians.	(4	3	6	5	8	0
5) They are as motivated to succeed in school as other new Canadians.	(5	2	5	8	6	1
6) They derive as much benefit from the curricular and extra-curricular programmes as other new Canadians.	(6	3	7	4	3	5
7) They are as interested in pursuing higher education as other new Canadians.	(7	1	8	6	5	2
8) Their parents show as much interest in their school progress as parents of other new Canadians.	(8	1	4	6	7	4
9) They are as cooperative and respectful in class as other new Canadians.	(9	3	3	5	11	0
10) They are as respectful of school rules and regulations as other new Canadians.	(10	1	6	4	11	0
11) They are as well disciplined as other new Canadians.	(11	2	4	7	9	0
12) Their standards of moral and ethical behaviour are as high as those of other new Canadians.	(12	2	4	7	5	4
13) They integrate with the rest of the student body as well as other new Canadians.	(13	6	3	8	5	0
14) They are as well adjusted personally as other new Canadians.	(14	7	4	5	3	3
15) They are as well adjusted socially as other new Canadians.	(15	9	3	4	4	2

There are really two related factors that combine to hinder Moroccan youth from mastering the English language as quickly and effectively as possible. One is the French or bilingual atmosphere of Montreal and the other is the home environment. Neither can be examined in isolation.

The non-Moroccan immigrants arrive in Canada speaking a wide range of languages from Hebrew and Hungarian to Polish and Slovak. Both parents and children find it vital to acquire English quickly. The adults must learn to communicate in order to obtain suitable employment as well as to conduct their daily activities. Similarly, with the possible exception of those speaking Hebrew, children in the area have great difficulty finding friends who speak their native tongue. Immigrant children generally befriend other immigrant children, but English quickly becomes the only common language among the peer group. Of those interviewed, 96 per cent of the non-Moroccan group confirmed that English is the main channel of communication among friends. Also, 88 per cent indicated that in the home the radio and the television are tuned mainly to English programmes and 80 per cent indicated that they receive English-language newspapers on a regular basis. Yet, in only 10 per cent of these homes is English the main language used between parents and children. These figures indicate that outside influences exposing all members of the family to English are indeed present.

By way of contrast, Moroccan families experience no great urgency to learn English since they can get along quite adequately speaking only one of the country's two official languages. For those seeking employment, this knowledge provides an important initial advantage over other newcomers.

Likewise, the size of the Moroccan community enables people of school age to initially restrict their circle of friends almost exclusively to fellow Moroccans. It is not uncommon for them to renew friendships that had existed in Casablanca or Rabat a few years previous. Often friends come across at the same time. Naturally, French is spoken among Moroccan youngsters. Of those interviewed, only 26 per cent of the Moroccan students listed English as the chief language of communication among friends. This lack of English among the peer group becomes especially striking when one is told that, for those who have been here less than six years, the figure is only 8.6 per cent. Fifty-six per cent of the entire sample group use both English and French while 18 per cent speak mainly French.

The reliance upon French is especially strong in the Moroccan home where French is the chief language in 82 per cent of the cases. Only three of the fifty students interviewed (6 per cent) come from what is now mainly an English-speaking home. Perhaps some significance can be attached to the fact that one of these three pupils lived in western Canada for four years before coming to Montreal. Similarly, only 10 per cent of the homes are tuned for the most part to English-language

radio and television and only 16 per cent receive an English-language newspaper on a regular basis. Seventy per cent read the French press while the remaining 14 per cent of the homes do not purchase a newspaper regularly.

The evidence examined thus far seems to indicate that although Moroccan-born students do not have any great initial difficulty acquiring English, they seem to lack confidence in their ability to master it. Consequently, they rely on French whenever they can since they feel more at ease in so doing. The peer group and the home reinforce this reluctance to speak English.

3) Does a disproportionate number of Moroccan students eventually find itself placed in classes below the regular level?

At Outremont High School there is no practical level programme and only fifty-eight pupils are enrolled in general level courses in the compulsory subjects excluding French. Of these, twelve students (21 per cent) are of Moroccan birth. At Northmount High School, which offers a full range of practical and general level courses, less than 10 per cent of the approximately 150 pupils in these classes is of Moroccan origin. On the basis of figures for the two schools, one must conclude that the number of Moroccan students in classes below the regular level does not exceed 15 per cent of the total school population. Therefore, evidence indicates that the answer to the above question is not an affirmative one.

4) Are Moroccan students as respectful of general school rules and regulations as other new Canadians?

5) Are Moroccan students as cooperative and respectful in class as other new Canadians?

6) Are Moroccan students as well disciplined as other new Canadians?

These three questions have been combined because together they constitute the area in which teachers find the deportment of Moroccan students as a group most unsatisfactory. Over seventy per cent of those questioned were in agreement that the majority of these North Africans compares unfavourably with other new Canadians in matters of discipline, cooperation and respect for both teachers in particular and school regulations in general. To be more specific, roughly half of the respondents were of the opinion that only one Moroccan student in four meets the standard of behaviour set by other new Canadians. However, many staff members were quick to point out that both discipline and achievement are considerably better among the girls than among the boys.

No doubt the feelings of the teachers are the result of personal experiences over the past few school years. In referring to the group as a whole, various staff members described them as abrupt, aggressive, arrogant, boisterous, cliquish, lacking in self-discipline and respect for others, rude, talkative and having the appearance of not wanting to conform to rules and regulations. A few teachers commented on the tendency of

Moroccan students to lie or be sneaky and questioned the integrity of the group. One staff member remarked that they "seem to value wit or wiliness rather than work as a means to success." On the other hand, another teacher stated that "they seem genuinely anxious to do well and succeed. Most are very conscientious and hard working.... I find them very pleasant." Perhaps there is much significance in the fact that the latter comment was made by the teacher of home economics who instructs only girls.

7) Do Moroccan students integrate with the rest of the student body as well as other new Canadians?

In the matter of integrating with the rest of the student body, initially both Moroccan and non-Moroccan immigrants fare poorly. The two groups admitted great difficulty becoming acquainted with the native Canadian children. Several students were of the opinion that Canadians are cold rather than outgoing and are thus difficult to get to know. Moreover, they felt that Canadian-born students are not really interested in their friendship.

Which of the two groups integrates better? Based on the observations of teachers answering the questionnaire and on friendship patterns among the students interviewed, data indicates that the Moroccan students integrate with the rest of the student body more slowly than other new Canadians.

Sixty per cent of the teachers asserted that the majority of Moroccan newcomers mix poorly with other students and several

commented on the cohesiveness of this North African group. One teacher's comment describes the situation well. "They cling to each other, speak French whenever possible, and therefore do not derive the full benefit of being in an English school." Even at Baron Byng High School they keep to themselves and do not mingle with the other French-speaking students.

These opinions were confirmed when each of the members of the Moroccan group was asked to identify the place of birth of two or three of his closest friends. From the responses it appears that, among those who have been in Canada less than six years, Moroccan-born friends are numerous and Canadian-born friends are few. Those who have been here six years or more have a majority of Canadian friends.

The Moroccan students who have been here less than six years identified 90 friends of which only 11 (10 per cent) were born in Canada and 71 (79 per cent) were born in Morocco. Among non-Moroccan students who have been here the same length of time, 25 of their 73 friends (34 per cent) are Canadian-born. Members of both sample groups who have been here longer than this period of time compare favourably in their ability to make friends with Canadian children.[4]

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[4] The figures for students who have been in Canada six years or more are as follows:

Moroccan students: 41 friends; 10 Moroccan-born (27 per cent) and 23 Canadian-born (56 per cent).

Non-Moroccan students: 58 friends; 22 foreign-born (38 per cent and 36 Canadian-born (62 per cent).

These findings are not entirely unexpected. Newly arrived immigrants generally seek out others who speak the same language. In view of the large number of Moroccan families living in close proximity, it is natural that these pupils will befriend their fellow countrymen.

The non-Moroccan Jewish newcomers find it more difficult to make friends with those speaking the same tongue since they represent a plethora of ethnic groups, none of which is as populous as the Moroccan community. Thus, with the possible exception of those speaking Hebrew, these new Canadians are forced to seek friends from different national backgrounds. The fact that they are forced to communicate mainly in English while Moroccan students, even those who have been here several years, converse among themselves in French makes the situation with regard to the integration of these two respective groups appear even more extreme than it actually is.

8) Are Moroccan students as motivated to succeed in school as other new Canadians?

Two-thirds of the teachers answering the questionnaire were of the opinion that the majority of Moroccan students is not as motivated to succeed in school as other new Canadians, nor do they exhibit as much effort and industry.

In the non-structured part of the interview, staff members expressed their concern over the indifferent attitude to learning by a large segment of Moroccan students, their poor motivation

and their lack of interest in higher education. If there is any explanation for the comparatively poor academic record of Moroccans as a group, it is this lack of motivation and the consequent lack of effort.

Do Moroccan students really lack interest in higher education as teachers claim? The evidence available would appear to support the teachers' contention.

Each of the students interviewed was asked if he or she intended to pursue post-secondary education. Eighty-six per cent of the non-Moroccans and 76 per cent of the Moroccan students replied in the affirmative. Next, each respondent was asked to identify the number of children in the family over the age of eighteen and which of these had attended a post-secondary educational institution. Among non-Moroccan families, 17 out of a possible 32 (53 per cent) had received some higher education. In the Moroccan families 38 of 116 (33 per cent) had gone beyond high school. These figures indicate the greater tendency among the non-Moroccan parents to send their children to university as well as the considerably larger size of the Moroccan families. Only three of the non-Moroccans interviewed come from a family containing four or more children compared to thirty-four Moroccan students who come from families ranging in size from four to thirteen children. The larger size of the Moroccan family works against the chances of these pupils attending college since there is a definite correlation between family size and education among the Montreal Jewish community. The

higher the education, the lower the family size.[5]

At the third and fourth year levels, students can gain credits for university entrance and most of those who intend to continue their education strive to accumulate as many of these credits as possible. A careful examination of courses being taken by members of the sample groups at the third and fourth year levels also indicated that the Moroccan students, particularly the girls, are less interested in pursuing post-secondary education. Ten Moroccan students (eight girls and two boys) were taking courses not acceptable for university entrance compared to only three non-Moroccan students, all girls. For the most part these students had selected subjects such as typing and stenography which would prepare them for commercial careers.

All of the above findings point to the greater preoccupation of non-Moroccan students with success in school.

9) Are the parents of Moroccan students as interested in their children's school achievement as parents of other new Canadians?

Each student interviewed was asked to indicate the extent to which he believed his parents were interested in his school progress. The responses were rated on a three point scale.[6]

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[5] Phyllis Amber and Irene Lipper, "Toward an Understanding of Moroccan Jewish Family Life" (unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University School of Social Work, Montreal, 1968), pp. 46-47.

[6] Scale: 1 - No interest
2 - A little interest
3 - Very much interest

The average for the Moroccan group is 2.55 (mothers 2.62, fathers 2.47) and for the non-Moroccans it is 2.51 (mothers 2.56, fathers 2.46). Thus it would appear that the parents of both groups are highly interested in the progress of their children.

Based on their experiences with Moroccan parents over the past few years, teachers were quite definite in their view that Moroccan parents do not exhibit as much interest in school achievement as other immigrant parents. One comment adequately sums up the feeling of the teachers on this subject. "Few Moroccan parents seem aware of the problems which their children face, and few have tried to visit and talk to teachers."

Again, evidence supports the opinion of the teachers. In November, 1969, a "Meet the Teachers Night" was held at Outremont High School. Each parent attending followed his child's timetable through a typical day. Thus there was ample opportunity to speak to all of the student's instructors. Only nine of the pupils in the Moroccan sample were represented by at least one parent at this event compared to twenty non-Moroccans. Many Moroccan students explained that their parents did not come due to an inability to speak English. This excuse is not really valid since most of the teachers are able to converse in French. Furthermore, it is quite common for parents of all nationalities who are genuinely interested to arrive at these meetings with a relative or older child to act as interpreter. If anyone had a communication problem it was the non-Moroccan parents, yet they showed up in more ample numbers. No doubt this is indicative of their interest.

E. Summary

To determine if the results of the research conducted at Outremont High School are representative of Moroccan-born students attending other Protestant high schools, interviews were conducted with administrative or guidance personnel at the other two high schools serving a large segment of the Moroccan community.[7] The comments of those consulted at the three schools are amazingly identical. Thus the following highly generalized account can be considered as descriptive of the entire Jewish Moroccan high school population of Montreal.

Academically, the achievement of Moroccan students as a group is below average and does not measure up to the standard of work of other new Canadian pupils in the English language high schools. Those following a French-language programme at Baron Byng High School achieve slightly higher results and their work can best be described as very average. At Northmount and at Outremont high schools, although they are usually advanced one year in their studies of French, Moroccan students do relatively poorly in mathematics and in subjects which require more sophisticated English skills. This last problem is not the result of difficulty learning the English language. Rather it is indicative of their inability to master written communication. For example,

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[7] The two schools are Baron Byng and Northmount. As stated earlier, approximately 150 of the 1257 pupils at Northmount are Moroccan-born and attend English-language classes. Baron Byng is divided into an English section with roughly 400 pupils and a French section with an enrollment of 350. The number of Moroccan students among the 30 Jewish pupils in the English section is unknown. Almost all of the 41 Jewish students in the French section are Moroccan. The French curriculum has been specifically designed for "Protestant" pupils and is not an adaptation of the Roman Catholic curriculum. Many of the instructors are from Europe and Morocco.

a group of Moroccan pupils at Northmount was asked to write the same composition in English and in French. They did equally poorly in both. These people place emphasis on verbal skills. English becomes their working language after they have been in Canada a few years, but French remains the language they speak.

Teachers are in agreement that the majority of North African pupils should be following a programme at the regular level and that their ability equals that of other pupils. However, Moroccans place less value on education, are poorly motivated, fail to see the relevance of much of the school programme to their needs and lack interest in higher education. The concept of academic success is an abstract one. Consequently, they make less effort to produce and often try to get by with a minimum amount of work. In a broad generalization such as this, one must not overlook the presence of a handful of outstanding students of Moroccan origin or the fact that achievement and discipline are consistently better among the girls than among the boys.

Moroccan youngsters have not been predisposed to learning. A tradition of learning seems to be lacking in the home and little is done to encourage the family members of school age to value education and to achieve good grades. The failure of Moroccan parents to contact teachers appears indicative of their lack of interest in the educational problems of their children. Moreover, Moroccan students are exposed almost

exclusively to French at home but must think English in class. This further hinders their chances of mastering English. Yet some make the adjustment very well.

Around the school there are Moroccan pupils who are extremely charming and cooperative. The majority, however, exhibit negative qualities including arrogance, overaggressiveness, lack of consideration for others and disregard for authority. Ethically, their standard of behaviour is lower than that of other pupils. They tend to lie and cheat a little more easily and bargaining for marks has become a way of life. Some of them have adopted the notion that it is "us" against "them" and that any mode of behaviour is justified. Yet, their attitude toward the school itself is not a hostile or unfavourable one. Rather, their unacceptable conduct is due to a lack of understanding and respect for what may conveniently be described as "the Canadian way."

Socially and personally Moroccan teen-agers have a highly satisfactory self-image. They are concerned about personal appearance and place great emphasis on social relations with members of the opposite sex . In this latter respect they are considerably more advanced than the rest of the student body. Also important to Moroccan youth are flashy clothes, jewellery, dancing and pop music. In short, they want to be where the action is.

Socially, young Moroccans keep largely to themselves and are well adjusted among their own group. But they speak French and make only a token effort to integrate into the English

milieu unless it serves their purpose to do so. Unfortunately, because they are somewhat poorly adjusted socially outside their circle of peers, problems arise when they come into contact with others.

Chapter VI

Analysis of Results

This chapter attempts to examine possible explanations for the relatively poor adjustment Moroccan immigrant pupils are making in certain areas of the school environment, particularly academic achievement, discipline and social integration.

What follows is a consensus of ideas expressed in literature on the subject and by school personnel who have worked in close contact with Moroccan high school students over a period of years. Consideration is given to cultural, social, historic, geographic and economic factors, all of which shape the frame of mind of any immigrant group.

While it is conceivable that some of what is stated here may not be an accurate assessment of the situation, the interpretations offered are consistent with observed experiences and past history.

A. Economic Level of the Immigrants

The simplest explanation one can offer for the poorer achievement, discipline and integration of Moroccan students is that we have compared a lower class group of pupils from the North African nation with a middle class group from Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. Economically, at least, this does not appear to be the case. While both groups of parents may have

had to settle initially for a lower rung on the economic scale in Canada than they formerly occupied, an examination of the occupational structure of the fathers of the pupils under study in their former homelands establishes the fact that both groups are middle class. Roughly 60 per cent of the Moroccan men held positions as accountants, bookkeepers, supervisory officials and businessmen in various fields of trade and commerce. About 40 per cent of the non-Moroccans were similarly employed while 30 per cent of each group were engaged in skilled trades. The chief difference between the two sets of parents rests in the fact that none of the Moroccan heads of family was trained in a profession while the basically European group included four engineers, two pharmacists and a lawyer.

Over all, the difference in former employment between the Moroccans and the non-Moroccans is slight, and one can safely consider the two immigrant groups as middle class from an economic point of view. The Moroccan-born newcomers to Canada represent a considerably higher element of society than the 100,000 who settled in Israel before 1956.

B. Education in Morocco

Perhaps the Moroccan students received a relatively poor education in North Africa, and this accounts for their inability to master the present curriculum. Several of the teachers interviewed shared the opinion that a poor school system is responsible

for the lower achievement of this group considering the fact that these Francophone pupils appear to have as much ability as other new Canadians. A look at the education programme for the non-Moslem element of the Moroccan people shows this suggestion to be erroneous.

Under the protectorate, the growth of a large European population that considered itself permanent produced the need for educational facilities in Morocco similar to those in France. Thus there was set up a primary and secondary school system patterned after that developed in metropolitan France. In fact, education in the French zone of Morocco was considered to be a branch of French education with many students returning to the mother country to pursue higher education. All laws and regulations which governed education at home applied equally to these schools for Europeans in Morocco. This system also met the needs of the Moroccan upper class.

With regard to educating the Jews of Morocco, in 1915 the French authorities signed an agreement with the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), based in Paris, under which the Alliance took over responsibility for most of the pupils in Jewish schools in return for an annual subvention. The grant covered roughly three-quarters of the cost of operating a network of modern schools; the balance was provided by the Central Committee of the AIU. In this way the AIU became the major educational institution for Jews in Morocco and provided

elementary schooling for the vast majority of Jewish children. At the time of Moroccan independence, the curriculum consisted of five hours a week of Hebrew teaching and twenty-five hours of French instruction. In the upper grades, Arabic teaching was gradually introduced for one and a half hours weekly.[1] The French curriculum in both the state-run Franco-Jewish schools and in the schools of the AIU was virtually identical with European primary education and prepared pupils for the same examinations. The Alliance schools were staffed by well trained, competent instructors employing teaching methods common in western countries. Administration was carried out in Morocco by a delegation of the AIU responsible to the Central Committee in Paris.[2]

In consideration of the high quality of education provided by the private schools operated by the Alliance, the suggestion that Moroccan-born students were poorly educated in their homeland has to be ruled out.

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[1] World Survey of Education, Vol. II: Primary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1958), p. 728.

[2] In recent years the Moroccan government has carried out vast educational reforms in an attempt to eliminate a system which perpetuated social and cultural differences and has set about to create a modern organization with equal opportunity for all Moroccans regardless of cultural, regional or economic background. In the process of setting up this unified state-run network with a distinctly Moroccan character, most of the Alliance schools have been absorbed by the Ministry of Education. Today the AIU, whose existence in Morocco dates back to 1862, faces the prospect of disappearance.

C. A Mixture of Cultures

One is also tempted to attribute the difficulties many settlers from Morocco are having in adapting to a new society to their originating in an eastern country whereas the group with which they are being compared is western. In reality Moroccan Jewry had a western outlook and sought to emulate the French. Politically and culturally they identified with the west - France, Israel and the United States - thus differentiating themselves from the Arab element with whom they had shared an oriental style of life for hundreds of years.

The immigrants who have come to Canada from Morocco are quite westernized. The male adults have been educated and possess specific skills which render them likely to obtain gainful employment. In addition, their knowledge of the French language enhances their acclimatization possibilities.

Unfortunately, they have not shed their eastern outlook completely. Their ability and willingness to adjust their lives to the requirements of Canada are to a considerable degree determined by characteristics which they acquired long before they emigrated. One must not lose sight of the fact that until the present century many Moroccan Jews lived in ghettos, under miserable conditions, deprived of all opportunity for education or a decent life. Even their adoption of the French language dates back only one generation. Their grandparents spoke Arabic.

In many ways their way of life and cultural patterns resemble those among whom they lived.

Although the North Africans that have come to Canada were middle class in Morocco, they were middle class only in a financial sense. Socially and culturally there was a great discrepancy between them and the culturally advantaged Europeans.

Most likely, the adjustment difficulties Moroccan youngsters are facing can best be explained by the cultural background and scale of values of their parents. As a result of identifying with the poor and uneducated Moslem population in several respects, many of the values of Moroccan families living in the Outremont-Côte des Neiges area are neither western nor middle class. Indirectly this has had its effect on the children's incentives to progress in school as well as on their educational skills, accomplishment, deportment and integration.

D. Family Responsibility and Values

The principal finding of a study by Amber and Lipper is that many patterns of Moroccan Jewish family life are based on a traditional social structure and responsibility to the extended family whereas North American family patterns are diffuse, informal and based on the individual needs of the nuclear unit.[3]

In North America the typical middle class family idealizes the traits of initiative, hard work and materialism. Education is acknowledged as the prime instrument in realizing social and occupational mobility. Emphasis is on individual achievement. In Morocco, family goals are more important than the goals of

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[3] Phyllis Amber and Irene Lipper, "Toward an Understanding of Moroccan Jewish Family Life." (Unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, School of Social Work, Montreal, 1968.)

individual members.

The difference between the oriental and western points of view is explained thus: In North America children are expected to work towards developing both individuality and independence. They are expected to make their own decisions including the choice of a career instead of yielding to family aspirations. In Morocco children are considered to have a financial responsibility to the family which emphasizes its occupational aspirations. Whereas parents aspire to education for their children, the concept of responsibility places the family's economic need ahead of individual achievement. In addition, Moroccan youth have a social responsibility to provide a link between families through marriage.[4]

The influence of European culture has made considerable inroads on the traditional concept of the family and has created a growing generation gap between the educated younger Moroccan element and the older element who may still cling to a past era. Among Moroccan immigrants in Canada, remnants of a former way of life clash sharply when they come into contact with modern ideas.

E. Factors Affecting Motivation

The notion of responsibility to the larger family rather than an accent on individualism could be one reason why the motivation of Moroccan immigrants, both parents and children,

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[4] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

does not appear to be as strong as that of other new Canadians. The commercial structure of Morocco and nationalism in Quebec may also be responsible.

In Morocco, Jews as a group occupied a middle position between the Europeans at one extreme and the Arab population at the other. Their cultural background helped them maintain this position.

Under the protectorate, Moroccan Jews attended schools where instruction was provided in French. This gave them two advantages over the Moslem majority, few of whom received any education until after independence. In 1948, when large scale Jewish emigration from Morocco began, only 4.8 per cent of the total number of Moslem children of primary school age were attending classes compared to figures of 64.3 per cent for the Jewish population and 97.6 per cent for the Europeans.[5] Secondly, the ability to speak French in North Africa was a stepping stone. By virtue of this knowledge of the French language, Jews could secure white collar positions with relative ease. Success was assured without too much determination or effort since there was little competition from the Arabs.

An explanation for the lack of a tradition of learning among Moroccan Jewry may also be found here. Many were engaged in trade or commerce where profit depended upon a sharp business sense rather than accomplishment at school. Even those who

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[5] Mohammed K. Harby, Technical Education in the Arab States ("Educational Studies and Documents," No. 53; Paris: UNESCO, 1965), p. 17.

performed white collar work did not have to spend extensive periods being educated. Primary education was all that was really needed to advance. Secondary schooling does not appear to have been a feature of Moroccan life. For the 1961-1962 school year, only 76,395 were attending secondary institutions compared with 950,389 receiving primary education.[6]

Upon their arrival in Canada, Moroccan immigrants find a situation similar to that which prevailed at home. Their fluency in one of the country's two official languages at a time when a strong feeling of nationalism is sweeping Quebec gives them immediate status without the difficulty most new Canadians must go through to learn a new language. Therefore, they do not have to start at the bottom nor do they initially have to work as hard as other new Canadians to maintain this advantage.

F. The Integration of Moroccan Immigrants

In a sense, the French factor in Quebec and the unique cultural background of the Moroccan newcomers account for the unique position they occupy with regard to social integration. It is their desire to maintain their language and culture while simultaneously integrating with the united Jewish community of Montreal. This is in keeping with the Canadian tradition of cultural pluralism and the integration of immigrants as contrasted with the United States' "melting pot" concept which strives to

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[6] World Survey of Education, Vol. IV: Higher Education. (Paris: UNESCO, 1966) p. 797.

assimilate all immigrant groups into the dominant English-speaking culture. Canada is often described as a "cultural mosaic" -- a culturally diversified nation living in harmony.

For the Jewish immigrants who had previously settled in Montreal during the past hundred years, the decision of whether to merge with the French community or with the English-speaking Jewish people was purely an academic one. The Moroccan faces a real dilemma. Should he integrate with the English, with the French, or with both? The problem is further complicated by the religious distinctiveness of the North Africans. Leaders of the Sephardic element seek integration into the larger Jewish community while at the same time preserving their Sephardic personality. Their attempt to unite all Sephardim in Montreal in one synagogue under one spiritual leader has not come to fruition as yet.

The Moroccans feel themselves to be in an ideal position to bridge the gap between the English and French communities. Proud of their cultural background and the status it has given them, they wish to retain the French language. Yet they have not really been accepted by French Canadian society which is predominantly Roman Catholic and they may never be truly absorbed.[7] On the other hand, their complete acceptance by the

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[7] Evidence exists that in the matter of employment these French-speaking émigrés have not been accepted by non-Jewish firms. In 1969, the Jewish Vocational Service found employment for 1,300 people, including a number of North Africans. Jewish firms are the principal employers of Moroccan immigrants, having hired 86.6 per cent of the African Jews who were placed. "J.V.S. Places 1,300 in 1969," Your Community News, XXIV, No. 3 (March 16, 1970), 3. Montreal: Allied Jewish Community Services.

English-speaking Jewish sector appears dependent on their acquiring fluency in the language of the latter. At present they are in limbo between the two communities and have merely become another of Quebec's minority groups. Only the future can tell whether the Francophone Jews are destined to bridge the gap between the two cultures or are likely to remain alien to both the English-speaking Jewish population and the French-speaking Catholic community of Montreal.

As yet the parents have made little effort to integrate with the English-speaking Jewish population. The language problem seems to be the major impediment for their successful adjustment in this respect, though there is the distinct possibility that once the initial pressures of resettlement have been relieved they will learn the English language and involve themselves in community activities.

The difficulty which their parents are having has likely influenced the Moroccan adolescents attending high school and perhaps delayed their integration with Canadians of their own age. During their first years in this country, Moroccan-born teen-agers stick together and appear proud of the differences that separate them from other pupils. Their pride and cohesiveness often give way to negative characteristics such as over-aggressiveness. This may be one way of compensating for the fact that they are a marginal group that has not yet established a secure place for itself.

G. The Patriarchal Family Structure

It is possible that the most serious difficulty facing Moroccan immigrants stems from the breakdown of the traditional hierarchical family structure where roles are based on age and sex.

In Morocco, the family was patriarchal. The father, the supreme head of the household, was the authority figure and decision maker as well as the source of economic support. The role of enforcing discipline was also his, and his strictness was feared and respected. Mothers lacked authority, and both mothers and daughters were subordinate to the male members of the family. The arrival of European education, French culture and industrialization weakened the hold of the parents somewhat, and various socialization functions of the family were lost to institutions. But the influence of the family was still strong and children had not approached anywhere near the degree of independence they have in America.

Because the old way of life still has a grip on Moroccan parents, intra-family clashes result when eastern ideas come face to face with the western concept of egalitarian family relationships where the supreme authority of the father is not recognized, where women participate in decision making and frequently seek roles outside the home, and where children are encouraged to assert themselves and to develop individuality and independence.

The disappearance of the control Moroccan parents once had may also explain the breakdown in discipline among Moroccan youngsters.

Moroccan parents taught respect and "expected their children to be well-mannered, obedient, modest, respectful of elders -- what the French call 'sage' (well behaved)."[8] Thus they are quite concerned with the way children treat their parents in North America. The situation is confused by the fact that the parents themselves, once strict overseas, often ease up because they feel permissiveness is the American way. Their children, emerging from a more restricted atmosphere, tend to abuse this newly acquired freedom.

A further source of worry to Moroccan parents is the hold of the adolescent peer group and the desire of their children to identify with it. The peer group cult which encourages and supports the concept of independence from the family is an entirely new phenomenon for these adults.

The situation is summed up well by Amber and Lipper:

> The focus of dependence on, and responsiblity to, the Moroccan family may well come into conflict with the stress on self-determination of children which is found in the new society. It is assumed that obedience and respect, emphasized in primary socialization by Moroccan parents, will not be reinforced by socializing agents outside the family in the new society. For instance, adolescent peer group values and contemporary youth behaviour contradict the compliance norms of traditional Moroccan life.[9]

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[8] Amber and Lipper, p. 86.

[9] Ibid., p. 132.

The conflicts that arise when the established family value system is challenged by norms of behaviour in the community are not unique to Canada. Twenty years ago Israel experienced similar difficulty. Commenting on the situation faced by oriental immigrant children who had to choose between the autocratic power of their fathers and the position of children in the modern Israeli state, Isaac wrote:

> If they try to adopt the approved behaviour pattern of other children they are likely to risk severe punishment at home. Thus they are exposed to the impact of two irreconcilable forms of behaviour. The resultant conflict and frustrations often preclude the development of a well-balanced personality, and lead to emotional disturbances, juvenile delinquency and asocial behaviour in general.[10]

H. Economic Difficulties

Economic problems have led to a further breakdown in traditional roles. Part of the authority of the Moroccan father stemmed from his role as breadwinner. In Canada financial difficulties are common and the Moroccan father often finds himself subservient to a better educated son who has taken over responsibility for economic support of the family.

Despite the fact that many Moroccans have been employed in white collar positions and skilled trades, often at a level of responsibility, their technological knowledge is geared to a much less sophisticated economy. In Canada their skills and

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[10] W.D. Borrie, et al., The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, pp. 250-251.

experience are often not acknowledged, producing feelings of frustration and bitterness.

The economic adjustment process is especially difficult among the larger Moroccan families, but this problem is no different from that of many Canadian families where one wage earner must support several people. Both sets of families cannot become self-sufficient and there is little room for mobility.

Because of this period of economic insecurity, many Moroccan families are initially dependent on financial assistance from the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada. A large percentage of the students in the Moroccan-born sample admitted that their families have received such help from JIAS, some for as long as three to five years. At all three high schools under consideration, students often produce letters from JIAS stating that the family is on welfare and requesting that the school waive the $7.00 "athletic fee" or the $15.00 summer school fee. Some school personnel have wondered aloud whether the need is genuine since Moroccan youngsters are well dressed and certainly do not give the impression of being in need. Others have been left with the feeling that the incentive of the Moroccans has been reduced by their ability to partake of the community's affluence without having to work for it.

I. Moroccan Concept of Charity

In order to better understand the attitude of these recent arrivals, an examination of the traditional pattern of charity is in order. In Morocco, the Jew was dependent on being given services with a minimum of motivation to obtain them for himself. An onus was on the wealthy to provide for the poor in terms of education, religion and social welfare. There was a direct relationship between the recipient and the donor who were known to each other.

In the 1940's the customary pattern of dependence by the needy on the rich was transferred to large international Jewish organizations such as the American Joint Distribution Committee, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Services and the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training which made their appearance in Morocco and provided religious education, immigration aid, vocational training and general welfare services. Participation by the native population in the planning and provision of services on a voluntary basis was rather limited. Thus "there was a tradition of expecting these benefits, however minimal, without the common western concept of participating in or involvement with the quantity or quality of service."[11]

In North America, the Jewish community is organized for fund raising and all members have a responsibility to contribute towards the establishment of needed services.

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[11] Education Committee, Women's Federation of Allied Jewish Community Services, "French-Speaking Jewish Immigrants and Their Use of Jewish Social Agencies and Women's Organizations," p. 3.

So far there appears to be no evidence of the Moroccan community in Montreal trying to help itself. Despite a desire by Moroccan leaders to lighten the burden of existing social welfare agencies and unite all North Africans for their own collective well-being and religious and cultural survival, little has been accomplished to meet the needs of the Moroccan population.

One must not lose sight of the fact that the Moroccan community in Montreal dates back only to 1956. Moroccan immigrants do not find on their arrival in Canada well established relatives and friends who can provide monetary help and facilitate their adjustment. Their fellow countrymen are themselves recent arrivals. Under the circumstances, the incoming North Africans must rely on the excellent facilities of the Allied Jewish Community Services whose agencies have been restructured to deal with Moroccan newcomers.

J. School Discipline

An examination has already been made of how the breakdown of the patriarchal family structure has undermined discipline in the home. A parallel situation exists at school where Moroccan youngsters are experiencing difficulty adjusting to a less rigid system.

In Morocco, teachers were authoritarian and strict and students were more in hand. In Canada, Moroccan-born students no longer fear teachers and tend to interpret lenience as a sign

of weakness. If strong discipline is not enforced, they suspect that the teacher lacks control and often they try to take advantage of the situation. Moroccan pupils become especially boisterous when the majority of the class consists of their fellow countrymen.

K. Parent-Teacher Relationship

As has been stated earlier, teachers have interpreted the failure of Moroccan parents to consult them as a lack of interest in the school progress of the pupils. Amber and Lipper have examined the concept of parent-teacher relationships in Morocco where social distance separated the home and the school and where contacts between the two were few. They explain why Moroccan parents in Montreal do not have as close a relationship with the school and teachers as Canadian parents do.

> Family relations with North American teachers are generally egalitarian and informal: it is common for teachers and parents to share problems and concerns regarding children. In Morocco, on the other hand, the relationship between the family and the teacher is predominantly hierarchical. The teacher is removed from the family situation, is highly respected - even feared by the parents - and has the sole responsibility of educating the child.[12]

Nor have Moroccan parents been accustomed to help with homework. Amber and Lipper obtained their information by interviewing thirteen key respondents ranging in age from the late teens to sixty-nine years.

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[12] Amber and Lipper, p. 128.

> In no instance was it reported that the father assisted the children with homework. This was due to his own lack of education, in some cases, but also to the fact that helping children, in this sense, was not part of the father role. Even those fathers who were very orthodox and well educated in the religious sphere, for example, hired private rabbis or sent their sons to be educated in the synagogue. It was the job of these people, not the father, to teach and assist.[13]

L. Non-Moroccan Immigrants

In many respects the non-Moroccan immigrant students, mostly of European origin or background, are making an adjustment to the school environment that is superior to that being made by Moroccan-born pupils. To place the difficulties of the latter group in perspective, an examination of factors in the background of the non-Moroccans is in order.

Unlike the economic difference between Moroccan Jewry and the Arab population, there was little that distinguished European Jewry from the rest of the natives in their countries of origin. They had nothing to fall back on but their ambition to succeed which could only be satisfied through education and hard work. Hence they placed greater emphasis on both these virtues, gaining status and recognition by self improvement and occupational mobility.

Upon their arrival in Canada they have an easier time adjusting and integrating than many Moroccan families. Because European groups have a long history of migration to Canada, the

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[13] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

new arrivals are able to receive support, both moral and material, from already established relatives and friends. Thus they are less dependent on welfare and most are able to manage their way to material independence within six months to a year at the longest. The relatively small size of the family contributes greatly to their becoming self-supporting very rapidly. Because the women are not as tied down to household chores as Moroccan women who must care for several children, they are able to contribute to support of the family. Indeed many of these women hold positions outside the home, particularly during their first years in the new country.

Culturally and socially the orientation of the non-Moroccan families is completely western, not a fusion of oriental and occidental traits. The dominance of the European culture and personality in the western hemisphere and the fact that the region imposes English upon them as the language of daily use help link these newcomers with the larger Jewish community of Montreal. In addition, they share a value system with Jews of all classes which respects learning, initiative and effort. The foundation for much of their achievement is a close family relationship where the parents are willing to make great sacrifices for the education and advancement of the next generation. The children are pushed to succeed in school by parents who are deeply interested and who take great pride in any sign of accomplishment and advancement. It is very likely that the influence of such a value system leaves an indelible impression

on the student element which benefits in many ways. For example, the interviews indicated that the non-Moroccan Jewish homes are richer in intellectual resources such as encyclopedias, atlases and globes to name but a few. Moreover, the children of these homes participate in more recreational and cultural activities with their families as a group than is the case among the Moroccan-born population.

M. Desire to Return Home

Interestingly enough, there is no direct relationship between the effort pupils are making to fit into the new environment and their inclination to remain in Canada.

Although the Moroccan-born students feel that they were better off economically in North Africa, they have no desire to leave Canada. Only two members of this group expressed a preference to return "home" if it were possible, and in one of these two cases this was a reference to Israel where he had lived for a few years rather than to Morocco. Most Moroccan pupils realize that they cannot really go back to North Africa even if they were so disposed. They also recognize the opportunities that Canada presents. Yet their past history and traditional family values impede their attaining success as quickly as other new Canadians.

On the other hand, the non-Moroccan immigrants as a group were not so certain that they want to make their home in Canada despite being better off here financially. This doubt fades the longer they have been here. Seventeen of those interviewed

admitted a wish to go back to their former country of residence. In all but two instances this meant Israel, either where they had been born or where they had lived before coming to Canada. Only four of these seventeen students had been in Canada longer than five years. Indeed, some expressed a firm determination to return to Israel as soon as they are old enough. Notwithstanding the fact that many members of this group identify more fondly with Israel rather than Canada, they make a more determined effort to learn the language, to integrate and, above all, to succeed. No doubt past experience and family values are in a large way responsible.

Chapter VII

Conclusions and Recommendations

The final chapter briefly summarizes the situation in which Moroccan students presently find themselves at school and examines their aspirations for the future as well as the sources of some of their difficulties. An effort is also made to suggest suitable recommendations which might help future newcomers to Canada cope more easily with educational and social problems that confront them in the school setting.

A. Conclusions

As a result of having listened to feelings and ideas of the Moroccan-born students during the course of interviews, the writer is convinced that these future citizens are genuinely interested in meeting new people, being involved in activities, learning Canadian customs and integrating with the larger student body. They want to become part of the new scene in every respect.

Several factors make it difficult for them to acquire a true sense of belonging. One is the strong influence of the family. Another is the difficulty newcomers experience making "Canadian" friends.[1] The North Africans find Canadian children

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[1] In this section the term "Canadian" will be used to denote both native-born individuals as well as those who are of foreign birth but have lived in this country several years.

very reserved and difficult to get to know. When the latter do not offer their friendship, the newcomers sense rejection and are left with the impression that Canadians do not want foreign friends.[2]

Other considerations also affect the Moroccan pupils during their early days in this country. They are unfamiliar with the new customs, many of which appear strange. The language is a problem. Even when they do learn some English they are too shy to use it for fear of making mistakes and being laughed at. In short, they are aware of their foreignness and feel that they do not really belong. Consequently they keep to themselves, speak French, and exhibit negative forms of behaviour.

B. Recommendations

A concentrated effort by school authorities and teachers who have an understanding of these North African immigrants can do much to alleviate the difficulties the latter are experiencing within a short period of time.

In one sense the school system reinforces their exclusiveness and retards their integration by segregating Francophone pupils for one period a day in special French classes. It is the feeling of some teachers that the total benefit to these students would be greater in a regular French programme where they would be mixed with a cross section of the school population. The ability of the Moroccans to compete on equal terms with other

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[2] The same comments were made by the non-Moroccan students.

pupils in at least one aspect of the curriculum would do much to boost their self-confidence. At the same time their superiority in oral French would enable them to help their classmates and thereby enhance their self-respect.

The students interviewed were in agreement that a knowledge of English is the key to both academic success and social development. At present, some inner-city schools provide all day "total immersion language baths" for recent arrivals who speak no English. Others, such as Outremont High School, provide one or two periods daily of extra English for foreign-born students. These classes, conducted at an appropriate level of difficulty, are small in size so that there is sufficient opportunity for oral work. In respect of teaching the new language, the pupils feel that the school has done an adequate job in the past and is continuing to do so.[3] However, they realize that much of this valuable work is undone once the new Canadian leaves his English class and reverts to speaking French. Many of the Francophone pupils would welcome the necessity to speak English and only English while at school. Because of the presence of the French-speaking peer group, the motivation and encouragement to do so will not come from within this group and must be imposed in subtle ways.

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[3] The students interviewed all speak English with reasonable fluency. None are any longer in special language classes.

The function of the school goes beyond mere language instruction and formal education. The school has a prime role to play in integrating the immigrant child in the new society. So far, aside from extra English instruction, little has been done to bridge the gap between what they were accustomed to overseas and what is expected of them in Canada. The Moroccan newcomers need indoctrination in the Canadian way of life, particularly in values and attitudes that are foreign to them. At present they know little about the geography and history of their new country. They are especially anxious to become familiar with Canadian customs and socially acceptable modes of behaviour, both within the school and outside. To put it simply, some students do not know right from wrong. Others are confused over things most students take for granted such as what constitutes a satisfactory standard of work.

At the same time, the rest of the student body could be made more aware of the new Canadians in their midst and given an appreciation of the life and culture of the areas from which the foreign students originate. During the 1970-71 term, non-credit interest courses will become part of the curriculum. If a course in African studies can be offered, there is no reason why similar studies about Canadian customs or Moroccan culture cannot be offered to fill the void for those who are interested or have need of such information.

The guidance department could be especially instrumental in helping to orient the newly arrived immigrants to both the

school and to Canadian ways. For example, a programme of individual and group guidance could be instituted for new Canadians experiencing behaviour problems or other adjustment difficulties. Also, by providing an opportunity for native and foreign-born students to discuss their attitudes and life experiences in an intimate setting, much can be done to narrow the social distance between these two factions of the school population.

In addition, there is a need to involve the new Canadian pupils in activities of various sorts since their uneasiness in a new environment produces a reluctance to take the initiative in participation. For example, the physical education department could make a conscious effort to reach out for those people who do not come on their own and get them to take part in sports. The same might be done by staff members conducting extra-curricular programmes. A sympathetic teacher taking small groups of new Canadians on regular trips to various points of interest around the city would be especially useful in acquainting them with their new surroundings.

Activities of this sort, earnestly undertaken by those interested in helping new Canadians, would do much to help the latter feel at ease in their present environment. Not only would they meet new people but they might also get close to a staff member with whom they could identify and with whom they could discuss their problems. Caution must be taken when setting up these activity groups to include members from

different ethnic backgrounds. Unless the participants are forced to converse in English, the undertaking could be prevented from contributing its full value.

The role of the student body in the socialization process of immigrant youth is equally important. Moroccan-born newcomers want and need Canadian friends. The latter appear reluctant to extend their friendship. One method through which the established student could be encouraged to aid in the adjustment of the émigrés is to set up a "big brother" society in which a Moroccan student is paired for a week at a time with a Canadian student of the same sex and in the same grade. Duties of the big brother could include walking the new Canadian home from school, spending the lunch hour with him, helping with homework and perhaps even engaging in recreational activity together. The process could be repeated at regular intervals with a different big brother. To encourage the Canadian students to participate and give of their time, a system of rewards must be an integral part of this scheme. Just as school letters or crests are awarded to those proficient in athletics, so should badges be presented to those who are willing to perform this service.

A public relations programme organized by the school board and conducted in French would also be a welcome contribution. In this way Moroccan parents could be made more conscious of the programme being offered in the school and the implications it holds for their children. The Protestant School Board of

Greater Montreal has already appointed a Greek-speaking teacher to act in a liaison capacity with the Greek community. A similar appointment, even on a part time basis, could be useful in improving communication with the French Moroccan community.

The suggestions offered in this section appear practicable, but only if they are well planned, well organized and carried out by personnel who are sincerely dedicated toward making Canadians out of immigrants. Though the comments seem to be directed at the Moroccan element in particular, they are equally applicable to the entire foreign-born student population. Nor are the recommendations intended to aid solely the newest arrivals who have been here a matter of weeks or months. The needs of individuals vary. Much of what is said could be of benefit to those who have been here for two or three years and perhaps longer.

If effective, the programme suggested could conceivably accelerate substantially the adjustment period of newcomers to our country and to our school system. Once the children have adapted themselves to the new environment they can be most influential in helping the adult members of the family in the process of cultural integration.

The Moroccan immigrants have much to offer Canadian society. Anything that can be done by teachers and the student body to facilitate their integration and make their school experience more meaningful and valuable will be of benefit to all concerned.

C. Implications for Further Research

This study has attempted to examine how the French-speaking, Moroccan-born high school population is adapting to the English-language high schools of Montreal. The areas of academic achievement, attitude toward school, personal and social adjustment, and discipline are among the topics covered. In some aspects of their adjustment to a new environment, the Moroccan group compares favourably with a matched group of Jewish new Canadians; in others the Moroccans are faring poorly.

An attempt has been made to provide possible explanations for the difficulties the North Africans appear to be experiencing. Since it is the intention of the writer to provide interested educators with an overall picture of the Moroccan high school element, this study covers a wide scope and is highly generalized. Further research is obviously necessary if one is to be more specific in identifying the degree to which each of the factors indicated as a source of difficulty actually interferes with the satisfactory adjustment and integration of Moroccan-born adolescents. Four such projects are suggested.

a) Much has already been said about the French atmosphere in Quebec and the attraction it has for Francophone settlers. In the final analysis, it is difficult to state whether a knowledge of the French language in reality aids or impedes the ability of the Moroccan immigrants to adjust successfully to Canada. A study comparing the Moroccan Jews of Montreal with the much smaller Moroccan community of Toronto might provide the answer.

b) Considerable attention has also been given to the traditional Moroccan concepts of the patriarchal family structure and responsibility to the extended family. Amber and Lipper have studied Jewish family life in Morocco using émigrés in Montreal to obtain their data. Exactly what changes have these established ideas and the accompanying value system undergone as a result of coming face to face with North American norms? A similar study of Moroccan families who have been in Canada five and ten years could be very revealing.

c) As a group, Moroccan-born high school students are achieving lower grades than other new Canadian pupils. In addition, they are integrating poorly and are less respectful of school authority. Are these phenomena particular to the secondary school setting or are they common throughout the elementary school as well? An examination of the situation in the feeder schools of Outremont and Northmount is in order.

d) As stated earlier, some Moroccan pupils are excelling in their studies and are extremely cooperative and obedient. They are a constant source of delight to their teachers. What factors distinguish them from the majority of their former countrymen? Are family size or the educational and occupational background of the family accountable? Are the age at which they arrived in Canada or the fact that they have spent several years in another country contributing factors? A study similar to the present one using samples of high achieving and low

achieving Moroccan pupils could isolate those experiences in their background that are responsible for success at school.

A P P E N D I X E S

Appendix A

OUTREMONT HIGH SCHOOL
GUIDANCE QUESTIONNAIRE (1969-70)

I. NAME: SURNAME _____ (FIRST NAME) _____

HOMEROOM: NUMBER _____ TEACHER _____

LEVEL OF ENGLISH _____

ADDRESS _____ PHONE NO. _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ AGE AS OF SEPTEMBER 1 _____

PLACE OF BIRTH: COUNTRY _____ CITY _____

IF BORN OUTSIDE CANADA: YOU ENTERED CANADA: MONTH _____

YEAR _____

LAST 2 PLACES WHERE I ATTENDED SCHOOL: 1. _____

2. _____

SEX: MALE or FEMALE _____ RELIGION _____

II. I RESIDE WITH: BOTH PARENTS _____ FATHER _____ MOTHER _____

GUARDIAN _____
(GIVE NAME AND RELATIONSHIP)

WHAT LANGUAGE IS SPOKEN AT HOME? 1ST _____

2ND _____

FATHER: (BIRTHPLACE) COUNTRY _____ LIVING NOW? _____

MOTHER: (BIRTHPLACE) COUNTRY _____ LIVING NOW? _____

FATHER'S OCCUPATION _____

DOES YOUR MOTHER WORK OUTSIDE THE HOUSE? _____
IF YES - GIVE OCCUPATION _____

NO. OF SISTERS _____ AGES _____

NO. OF BROTHERS _____ AGES _____

HOME CONDITIONS: NO. OF ROOMS _____ NO. OF PEOPLE _____

GUIDANCE QUESTIONNAIRE (Continued)

III. Check any of the following spare time activities which you do regularly (everyday or frequently during a week)

READ _____ RADIO _____ T.V. _____ PLAY AN INSTRUMENT _____

DRAW _____ PAINT _____ HANDICRAFT _____ COLLECTION OF _____

ATHLETICS (specify which) _____

EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES _____

WHAT PART-TIME JOBS (if any) HAVE YOU HAD IN THE PAST TWO YEARS? _____

FAVOURITE SCHOOL SUBJECT _____ WEAKEST SUBJECT _____

CHOICE OF CAREER: 1. _____ 2. _____

DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU HAVE THE ABILITY TO ATTAIN YOUR CHOICE OF CAREERS? _____

HEIGHT _____ WEIGHT _____

THE MOST SERIOUS ILLNESS I HAVE HAD WAS _____

AT AGE _____

UNDERLINE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING IF THEY ARE NOT NORMAL:

HEART LUNGS POSTURE EYESIGHT HEARING HANDS

Is there any special information about you that you feel it is important for your teacher or guidance counsellor to know?

_____

_____

SIGNATURE: _____

Appendix B

Place of Birth of Pupils Attending OHS (1969-1970)[a]

Place of Birth	No. of Pupils	Place of Birth	No. of Pupils
Argentina	2	Iran	1
Barbados	5	Iraq	2
Belgium	3	Israel	41
Brazil	7	Italy	4
Canada	506	Jamaica	7
Chile	1	Japan	1
China	32	Lebanon	1
Cyprus	2	Morocco	117
Czechoslovakia	13	Netherlands	2
Denmark	1	Poland	13
England	7	Romania	21
Egypt	22	Scotland	2
Finland	2	Spain	4
France	2	Trinidad	4
Germany	2	Tunisia	5
Greece	86	Turkey	18
Guyana	1	United States	14
Haiti	1	U.S.S.R.	4
Hong Kong	22	Viet Nam	2
Hungary	35	Yugoslavia	1
India	1		
		TOTAL	1017

[a] All statistics in the appendices are based on 1017 responses to the guidance questionnaire.

Appendix C

Religion of Pupils Attending OHS (1969-1970)

Religion	Canadian-Born	Foreign-Born	Total
Jewish	259	266	525
Protestant	114	43	157
Roman Catholic[a]	79	24	103
Greek Orthodox	32	91	123
Armenian Orthodox		15	15
Russian Orthodox	7		7
Orthodox (did not specify)		2	2
Armenian Apostolic		5	5
Armenian Gregorian		3	3
Atheist	3		3
Baha'i	1	2	3
Buddhist	3		3
Church of God		1	1
Confucian	1	3	4
Hindu		1	1
Jehova's Witness		1	1
Moslem		6	6
New Testament of God Church		1	1
N.P.N.C.[b]	5	15	20
No religion	2	10	12
No answer		22[c]	22
TOTAL	506	511	1017

[a] Roman Catholic pupils do not normally attend Protestant schools in the province of Quebec unless they are willing to pay school fees. A special agreement entered into by the Outremont Catholic School Commission and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal accounts for the large number of Catholic pupils at OHS.

[b] Certain religions are entered on the school register as Non-Protestant Non-Catholic. Thus twenty pupils, accustomed to this procedure, described their religion in this manner instead of specifying.

[c] Fourteen of the pupils who did not answer this question were from either Hong Kong or China.

Appendix D

Main Language Spoken at Home
by Pupils of OHS (1969-1970)

	Canadian-Born	Foreign-Born	Total
Arabic		5	5
Armenian		19	19
Chinese	9	52	61
Czech		2	2
Danish		1	1
Dutch		1	1
English	416	69	485
Estonian	1		1
French	19	127	146
German	3	2	5
Greek	19	88	107
Hebrew	1	24	25
Hungarian	6	37	43
Italian	2	5	7
Japanese		1	1
Latvian		1	1
Lithuanian	1		1
Polish	7	9	16
Portuguese		2	2
Rumanian	1	14	15
Russian	6	2	8
Slovak		10	10
Spanish	1	9	10
Swedish	1	1	2
Turkish		8	8
Ukrainian		5	5
Vietnamese		2	2
Yiddish	10	12	22
Yugoslav		1	1
No Answer	3	2	5
Total	506	511	1017

Appendix E

Place of Birth and Date of
Arrival in Canada of Moroccan-Born
Pupils at OHS (1969-1970)

Year	Casa-blanca	Rabat	Tangier	Marra-kech	Else-where	Total
1969	2					2
1968	4		1		1	6
1967	9	1	1	1	2	14
1966	6	1	1			8
1965	13	4	2	2	2	23
1964	17	6	1	1	1	26
1963	3	1				4
1962	1	1			1	3
1961	2	3				5
1960	3	3				6
1959	2	3				5
1958	5					5
1957	3	2	1	2		8
1956	2					2
TOTAL	72	25	7	6	7[a]	117

[a] Safi - 3
Fez - 2
Tiznit - 1
Did not specify - 1

Appendix F

Place of Birth and Date of Arrival in Canada of Non-Moroccan Foreign-Born Jewish Pupils Attending OHS (1969-1970)

Place of Birth	1951	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	Total
Argentina														2						2
Barbados								1										1		1
Brazil												1								1
Chile																				1
Czechoslovakia									1							1	2	5	1	9
England																	1			2
Egypt						1	3					2	1	1		4				12
Finland																		2		2
France			1						1											2
Greece						1														1
Hungary						9	9	2					3	1			1			25
India														1						1
Iraq													1							1
Israel	1					1			7	7	1	2	3	3		4	5	3	3	40
Italy															1	1				2
Poland							1	3	1	2			2			1				10
Romania										2	1	1	2	1	2	6	1	4		20
Russia								2	1			1								4
Spain				1																1
Tunisia						2	1		2											5
Turkey							1													1
United States			1			1		3		1			1				1			8
TOTAL	1	0	2	1	0	15	15	11	13	12	2	7	13	9	3	17	11	15	4	151

Appendix G

Place of Birth and Date of
Arrival in Canada of Moroccan
Sample Group

	Casablanca	Rabat	Tangier	Marrakech	Safi	Total
1967	5	1		1		7
1966	5	1	1			7
1965	8	2				10
1964	10		1	1	1	13
1963	2	1				3
1962	1	1				2
1961	1	1				2
1960	3	3				6
Total	35	10	2	2	1	50

Appendix H

Place of Birth and Date
of Arrival in Canada of
Non-Moroccan Sample Group

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	Total
Argentina					2				2
Chile			1						1
Czechoslovakia							1	2	3
Egypt			1		1		2		4
Hungary				3	1			1	5
Iraq				1					1
Israel	4		1	3	1		3	4	16
Italy						1	1		2
Poland	1			1			1		3
Romania	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	12
Russia			1						1
TOTAL	6	1	5	9	6	3	12	8	50

Appendix I

Student Interview Forms

Name _____ Grade level _____

Age _____ No. of years in Canada _____

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* Questions with asterisk are intended for Moroccan students only.

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1. Countries lived in: _____ _____ Canada
2. Schooling (grades - age): _____ _____ _____
3. Religious education: _____ _____ _____
4. Language of instruction: _____ _____ _____
5. Knowledge of English when entering Canada: _____

   Source (if any): _____
6. Length of time needed to become functional in English: _____

   * Did the French environment of Montreal hinder your learning English? _____
7. Reason for leaving country of birth: _____
8. Reason for selecting Canada as the country to resettle: _____

   _____
9. Would you like to return permanently to your country of birth?

   _____ Why? _____
10. What kind of agency or private help did you receive when settling in Canada? _____
11. Father's occupation: Overseas _____ In Canada _____
12. Mother's occupation: Overseas _____ In Canada _____

Student Interview Forms (Continued)

13. In which country were you and your family best off with regard to:

    a) housing? _____

    b) financial conditions? _____

    c) educational opportunity? _____

    d) opportunity to make friends? _____

14. Language used: At home _____ With friends _____

15. * Why are you attending an English language school?

    _____

16. In what language do you listen to or watch the following?

    a) Radio _____ b) Television _____ c) Movies _____

17. What newspaper do you receive regularly at home? _____

18. Which of the following do you have at home?

    a) Dictionary _____ b) Atlas _____

    c) Encyclopedia _____ d) Collection of books _____

19. Do you and your family participate in any activities or visit any places as a group? _____ Specify: _____

20. Siblings: Age, education, occupation of brothers: _____

    _____ sisters: _____

21. School involvement: Clubs and teams: _____

    Activities: _____

22: Future plans: Education: _____

    Occupation: _____

23. Place of birth of closest friends: _____ _____

    _____

Student Interview Forms (Continued)

24. How interested are your parents in your school work?

Mother: No Interest ___ Father: No Interest ___

A little interest ___ A little interest____

Very much interest ___ Very much interest ___

Which of your parents attended "Meet the Teachers Night" in November? _____

Do your parents attend Home and School meetings? _____

25. What difficulties or problems have you had since your arrival in Canada with regard to the following?

home _____

school _____

social life _____

personal problems _____

26. What suggestions would you like to see put into effect to help future new Canadians both socially and academically?

_____

27. Other comments: _____

_____

28. Appointment for testing: During school _____ After school _____

Appendix J

Teacher Questionnaire

Indicate to what per cent of Moroccan-born students the following statements apply. Base your responses on pupils presently enrolled in your classes.

		76-100%	51-75%	26-50%	0-25%	Not Sure
1) They learn the English language as quickly as other new Canadians.	(1					
2) Their academic achievement compares favourably with that of other new Canadians.	(2					
3) They are better able to achieve at their true level of ability in Regular classes than in General courses.	(3					
4) They exhibit as much effort and industry as other new Canadians.	(4					
5) They are as motivated to succeed in school as other new Canadians.	(5					
6) They derive as much benefit from the curricular and extra-curricular programmes as other new Canadians.	(6					
7) They are as interested in pursuing higher education as other new Canadians.	(7					
8) Their parents show as much interest in their school progress as parents of other new Canadians.	(8					
9) They are as cooperative and respectful in class as other new Canadians.	(9					
10) They are as respectful of school rules and regulations as other new Canadians.	(10					
11) They are as well disciplined as other new Canadians.	(11					
12) Their standards of moral and ethical behaviour are as high as those of other new Canadians.	(12					
13) They integrate with the rest of the student body as well as other new Canadians.	(13					
14) They are as well adjusted personally as other new Canadians.	(14					
15) They are as well adjusted socially as other new Canadians.	(15					

Teacher Questionnaire (Continued)

What explanation is there for the superior (or inferior) school performance of Moroccan students? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Additional comments about Moroccan students: _____

_____

_____

_____

THE SCHOOL INVENTORY

By HUGH M. BELL

Published by
STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Stanford, California

NAME	SCHOOL

SEX	DATE	SCHOOL CLASS

DIRECTIONS TO STUDENT

On the following pages you will find a list of questions concerning things about this school which may or may not be satisfactory to you. We should like to know what things about this school you like and what you dislike. *Your answers will be treated with the strictest confidence and in no case will they be used to cause you any embarrassment.* If you will answer these questions honestly and thoughtfully, the school will endeavor to improve the conditions which your answers indicate need improvement.

There are no right or wrong answers. Indicate your answer by drawing a circle around "Yes," "No," or "?" Try to answer all questions either "Yes" or "No." If you are certain that you cannot answer "Yes" or "No," then use the question mark.

There is no time limit, but work rapidly.

SCORE	DESCRIPTION	REMARKS

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Leland Stanford Junior University

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

Yes No ? Do you like all of the subjects you are now taking in this school?

Yes No ? Have you found the students in this school friendly and willing to "meet you halfway"?

Yes No ? Do you think this school places too much emphasis upon grades?

Yes No ? Do you think that too much importance is attached to the possession of money and good clothes in this school?

Yes No ? Do you find that most of the subjects which you are taking are very interesting?

Yes No ? Have you found that some of your teachers are easily "upset" over trifles?

Yes No ? Do you think that the students in this school are "snobbish"?

Yes No ? Do you think that all of your teachers are "up to date" in their ideas and actions?

Yes No ? If you were able to do so, would you like to attend some other school than the one you are now attending?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers refuse to change their attitude toward you once they have made up their minds that you are "no good"?

Yes No ? Do you think that your school activities are controlled by too small a group of students?

Yes No ? Do most of your teachers make their lesson assignments definite and clear?

Yes No ? Do you feel that some of your teachers hold a "grudge" against you?

Yes No ? Would you like to take a different group of courses than those in which you are now enrolled?

Yes No ? Do you think that there are too many social cliques in this school?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers are very hard to get acquainted with?

Yes No ? Is this school providing the kind of preparation that you want for your chosen occupation?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers feel that they are superior to their students?

Yes No ? Do some of your teachers "talk over the heads" of their students?

Yes No ? Have you been able to get into the school activities in which you are interested?

Yes No ? Would you like to quit school and go to work?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers lack physical strength to do their best work?

Yes No ? Are some of your teachers nervous and easily excited?

Yes No ? Does this school provide adequate opportunity for you to meet and make friends?

Yes No ? Are some of your courses very boring to you?

Yes No ? Are some of your teachers very sarcastic?

Yes No ? Do you have difficulty in keeping your mind on what you are studying?

Yes No ? Do you find that most of your teachers are systematic and orderly in the way they conduct their classes?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers are narrow-minded?

Yes No ? Have you frequently found the ventilation poor in some of your classrooms?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of the women instructors in this school show favoritism toward boys in their classes?

Yes No ? Are most of your teachers successful in putting across their subject matter?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers expect too much of you?

Yes No ? Do you find that most of your teachers are very interesting to know personally?

Yes No ? Do you find that this school tends to make you unhappy?

Yes No ? Have you experienced considerable difficulty preparing your lessons for your classes?

Yes No ? Have you found that the speaking voice of some of your teachers is irritating to you?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers are lazy?

Yes No ? Do you find your school work dull and uninteresting?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers lack force of character?

Yes No ? Do you think that the disciplinary cases are handled fairly in this school?

Yes No ? Do you think that the principal and teachers in this school lack patience when dealing with students?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers allow themselves to become too familiar with some students?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers hold themselves aloof from the students and do not mix freely?

Yes No ? Do you think that the principal of this school is too strict with students?

Yes No ? Have you found that principal and teachers in this school tend to act as if they were always right and you were always wrong?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers assign too long lessons?

Yes No ? Do you think that this school is run as if it were a prison?

Yes No ? Have you been able to choose the subjects you like in this school?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers act as if they were bored with their work?

Yes No ? Do some of your teachers produce a feeling of fear in you?

Yes No ? Do you find it rather easy to get well acquainted with your teachers?

Yes No ? Do you think that your school makes a mistake when it sends home without your permission a report of your scholarship?

Yes No ? Are you often frightened by the way some of your teachers call on you in class?

Yes No ? Have some of your teachers criticized you unjustly?

Yes No ? Do you like the teacher who has been designated as your counselor?

Yes No ? Do you dislike intensely certain teachers in this school?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers show partiality toward certain students?

Yes No ? Do you think that your teachers require too much work to be done outside the regular class period?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of the men teachers in this school show partiality toward girls in their classes?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers are susceptible to "apple polishing"?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers lack a sense of humor?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers treat you as if you were a small child?

Yes No ? Do you feel that most of your teachers have confidence in your ability to succeed?

Yes No ? Have you found that some of your teachers are very "bossy"?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers make you feel as if you did not care whether you learned anything in their classes or not?

Yes No ? Do you find that all of the teachers in this school are cheerful and pleasant to meet?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your classes are very monotonous?

Yes No ? Do you think that the principal of this school allows the students sufficient opportunity to participate in the administration of the school?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers fail to stimulate in you the desire to do your best work?

Yes No ? Do you find that some of your teachers apparently take delight in making you feel embarrassed before the class?

Yes No ? Do you have the feeling that some of your teachers dislike their jobs?

Yes No ? Do you find that your teachers are honest and straightforward in their dealing with you?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers show a lack of interest in school activities?

Yes No ? Do you think that some of your teachers lack enthusiasm for their work?

Yes No ? Do you find that your teachers are always ready to help you individually with your school work?

On the space below please list specific suggestions which you may have for the improvement of your school.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Intermediate • GRADES 7 to 10 • form AA

California Test of Personality

1953 Revision

Devised by

WILLIS W. CLARK, ERNEST W. TIEGS, AND LOUIS P. THORPE

Do not write or mark on this booklet unless told to do so by the examiner.

Name.....Grade .....Sex M-F
Last First Middle

School .....City.....Date of Test.....
Month Day Year

Examiner.....(.....) Student's Age.....Date of Birth.....
Month Day Year

I

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS:

This booklet contains some questions which can be answered YES or NO. Your answers will show what you usually think, how you usually feel, or what you usually do about things. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes.

DO NOT TURN THIS PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

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9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS

DO NOT WRITE OR MARK ON THIS TEST BOOKLET UNLESS TOLD TO DO SO BY THE EXAMINER.

You are to decide for each question whether the answer is YES or NO and mark it as you are told. The following are two sample questions:

SAMPLES

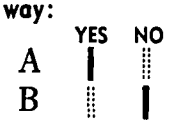
A. Do you have a dog at home? **YES NO**

B. Can you drive a car? **YES NO**

DIRECTIONS FOR MARKING ANSWERS

ON ANSWER SHEETS

Make a heavy black mark under the word YES or NO, whichever shows your answer. If you have a dog at home but cannot drive a car, you would mark the answer sheet this way:



Mark under the word that shows your answer. Find answer row number 1 on your answer sheet. Now wait until the examiner tells you to begin.

ON TEST BOOKLETS

Draw a circle around the word YES or NO, whichever shows your answer. If you have a dog at home, draw a circle around the word YES in Sample A above; if not, draw a circle around the word NO. Do it now.

If you can drive a car, draw a circle around the word YES in Sample B above; if not, draw a circle around the word NO. Do it now.

Now wait until the examiner tells you to begin.

After the examiner tells you to begin, go right on from one page to another until you have finished the test or are told to stop. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes. Now look at item 1 on page 3.

SECTION 1 A

1. Do you keep on working even if the job is hard? YES NO
2. Do you usually finish the things that you start out to do? YES NO
3. Does it usually bother you when people do not agree with you? YES NO
4. Do your friends often cheat you in games? YES NO
5. Is it hard for you to admit when you are wrong? YES NO
6. Do you usually get back the things that you have loaned? YES NO
7. Do you have to be reminded often to finish your work? YES NO
8. Do you find that most people try to boss you? YES NO
9. Is it easy for you to meet or introduce people? YES NO
10. Do you usually help in planning things at social affairs? YES NO
11. Is it easy for you to talk to strangers of the opposite sex? YES NO
12. Do you usually feel sorry for yourself when you get hurt? YES NO
13. Is it easy for you to talk to important people? YES NO
14. Have you found it easy to influence other people? YES NO
15. When you are around strange people do you usually feel uneasy? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 A
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 B

16. Do people seem to think you are going to do well when you grow up? YES NO
17. Do you find that a good many people are mean? YES NO
18. Are the other students glad that you are in their classes? YES NO
19. Do both boys and girls seem to like you? YES NO
20. Do people seem to think that you have good ideas? YES NO
21. Are your friends usually interested in what you are doing? YES NO
22. Are people often unfair to you? YES NO
23. Is it hard for you to get people interested in your problems? YES NO
24. Do you have a hard time doing most of the things you try? YES NO
25. Do you feel that people do not treat you as well as they should? YES NO
26. Do most of your friends seem to think that you are brave or strong? YES NO
27. Are you often asked to help plan parties? YES NO
28. Do many of the people you know seem to dislike you? YES NO
29. Are you often invited to parties where both boys and girls are present? YES NO
30. Do you often feel that you are not as bright as most of your friends? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 B
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 C

31. Are you allowed to choose your own friends? YES NO

32. Do you often have to give up your own plans because of other people? YES NO

33. Are you allowed to do many of the things you want to do? YES NO

34. Do you have enough spending money? YES NO

35. Do you feel that you are punished for too many little things? YES NO

36. Are you usually allowed to go to socials where both boys and girls are present? YES NO

37. Do your folks usually let you help them decide about things? YES NO

38. Are you scolded for things that do not matter much? YES NO

39. Do too many people try to tell you what to do? YES NO

40. Do your folks let you go around with your friends? YES NO

41. Do other people decide what you shall do most of the time? YES NO

42. Do you help pick out your own clothes? YES NO

43. Do you feel that your friends can do what they want to more than you can? YES NO

44. Do you feel that you are not allowed enough freedom? YES NO

45. Do you like to do things that old-fashioned people say you shouldn't? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 C
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 D

46. Do you find it hard to get acquainted with new students? YES NO

47. Are you considered as strong and healthy as your friends? YES NO

48. Do you feel that you are liked by both boys and girls? YES NO

49. Have you found that people often fail to notice you? YES NO

50. Do you feel that you fit well into the school you attend? YES NO

51. Do you have enough good friends? YES NO

52. Do your friends seem to think that your folks are as successful as theirs? YES NO

53. Do you often feel that teachers would rather not have you in their classes? YES NO

54. Are you usually invited to school and neighborhood parties? YES NO

55. Is it hard for you to make friends? YES NO

56. Do you feel that your classmates are glad to have you in school? YES NO

57. Do members of the opposite sex seem to like you as well as they do your friends? YES NO

58. Do the other boys and girls seem to have better times at home than you do? YES NO

59. Do people at school usually pay attention to your ideas? YES NO

60. Do your friends seem to want you with them? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 D
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 E

61. Is it hard for you to talk to classmates of the opposite sex? YES NO
62. Do you often feel bad because you are not doing well? YES NO
63. Do too many people try to take advantage of you? YES NO
64. Do you feel that most people can do things better than you can? YES NO
65. Have you found that many people do not mind hurting your feelings? YES NO
66. Would you rather stay away from parties and social affairs? YES NO
67. Have you often felt that older people "had it in for" you? YES NO
68. Do you have more problems to worry about than most boys or girls? YES NO
69. Do you often feel lonesome even with people around you? YES NO
70. Have you often noticed that people do not treat you as fairly as they should? YES NO
71. Do you worry a lot because you have so many problems? YES NO
72. Have you noticed that many people do and say mean things? YES NO
73. Have you often thought that younger boys and girls have a better time than you do? YES NO
74. Do people often say things that hurt your feelings? YES NO
75. Have you made some bad mistakes that are hard to forget? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 E
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 F

76. Do you frequently have sneezing spells? YES NO
77. Are you troubled because of having many colds? YES NO
78. Are you often bothered by headaches? YES NO
79. Are you often not hungry even at meal time? YES NO
80. Do you sometimes have stomach trouble without any apparent reason? YES NO
81. Do your eyes hurt often? YES NO
82. Do you often have to ask people to repeat what they just said? YES NO
83. Are you often troubled by nightmares or bad dreams? YES NO
84. Are you sometimes troubled because your muscles twitch? YES NO
85. Do you find that many people do not speak clearly enough for you to hear them well? YES NO
86. Do you sometimes stutter when you get excited? YES NO
87. Do most people consider you restless? YES NO
88. Do you usually find it hard to go to sleep? YES NO
89. Are you tired much of the time? YES NO
90. Do you often forget what you have just read? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 F
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 A

91. Is it wrong for one to avoid work that he does not have to do? YES NO

92. Is it always necessary to keep promises and appointments? YES NO

93. Is it all right to make fun of people who have peculiar ideas? YES NO

94. Is it necessary to be kind to people you do not like? YES NO

95. Is it necessary to be courteous to disagreeable persons? YES NO

96. Should people have the right to put up "keep off the grass" signs? YES NO

97. Does a student have the right to keep the things that he finds? YES NO

98. Should a person always thank others for small favors even though they do not help any? YES NO

99. Is it all right to take things that you really need if you have no money? YES NO

100. Should rich boys and girls be treated better than poor ones? YES NO

101. Is it all right to laugh at people who are in trouble if they look funny enough? YES NO

102. If you know you will not be caught is it ever all right to cheat? YES NO

103. When people have foolish beliefs is it all right to laugh at them? YES NO

104. Is it important that one be friendly to all new students? YES NO

105. Is it all right to make a fuss when your folks refuse to let you go to a movie or party? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 A
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 B

106. When people annoy you do you usually keep it to yourself? YES NO

107. Is it hard for you to say nice things to people when they have done well? YES NO

108. Is it easy for you to remember the names of the people you meet? YES NO

109. Are you usually willing to play games at socials even if you haven't played them before? YES NO

110. Do you usually enjoy talking to people you have just met? YES NO

111. Do you often find that it pays to help people? YES NO

112. Is it hard for you to pep up a party when it is getting dull? YES NO

113. Can you lose games without letting people see that it bothers you? YES NO

114. Do you often find that you can't be bothered by other people's feelings? YES NO

115. Do you find it hard to help plan parties and other socials? YES NO

116. Do you find it easy to make new friends? YES NO

117. Do you prefer to have parties at your own home? YES NO

118. Have you found that most people talk so much that you have to interrupt them to get a word in edgewise? YES NO

119. Do you find it easy to help your classmates have a good time at parties? YES NO

120. Do you usually talk to new boys and girls when you meet them? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 2 B
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 C

121. Is it all right to take things when people are unreasonable in denying them? YES NO

122. Do you often have to push younger children out of the way to get rid of them? YES NO

123. Do you disobey your teachers or parents when they are unfair to you? YES NO

124. Do your classmates often force you to fight for things that are yours? YES NO

125. Have you found that telling lies is one of the easiest ways for people to get out of trouble? YES NO

126. Do you often have to fight for your rights? YES NO

127. Do your classmates often try to blame you for the quarrels they start? YES NO

128. Do children often get so "fresh" that you have to "crack down" on them? YES NO

129. Do people at school sometimes treat you so badly that you feel it would serve them right if you broke some things? YES NO

130. Do you find some people so unfair that it is all right to be mean to them? YES NO

131. Is it all right to take things away from people who are unfair? YES NO

132. Are some people so mean that you call them names? YES NO

133. Do you sometimes need to show anger to get what you deserve? YES NO

134. Do you feel that some people deserve to be hurt? YES NO

135. Do you find that you are happier when you can treat unfair people as they really deserve? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 C
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 D

136. Are your folks fair about it when they make you do things? YES NO

137. Do members of your family start quarrels with you often? YES NO

138. Do you have good reasons for liking one of your folks better than the other? YES NO

139. Do your folks seem to think that you will be a success? YES NO

140. Do your folks seem to think you do your share at home? YES NO

141. Do your folks seem to feel that you are interested in the wrong things? YES NO

142. Have you often felt as though you would rather not live at home? YES NO

143. Do you often have good times at home with your family? YES NO

144. Do you prefer to keep your friends away from your home because it is not attractive? YES NO

145. Are you often accused of not being as nice to your folks as you should be? YES NO

146. Do you have some of your fun when you are at home? YES NO

147. Do you find it difficult to please your folks? YES NO

148. Do you and your folks agree about things you like? YES NO

149. Do you sometimes feel that no one at home cares about you? YES NO

150. Are the people in your home too quarrelsome? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 2 D
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 E

151. Have you found that your teachers understand you? YES NO

152. Is some of your school work so hard that you are in danger of failing? YES NO

153. Do you like to go to school affairs with members of the opposite sex? YES NO

154. Would you stay away from school more often if you dared? YES NO

155. Do some of the boys and girls seem to think that you do not play as fair as they do? YES NO

156. Are some of the teachers so strict that it makes school work too hard? YES NO

157. Do you enjoy talking with students of the opposite sex? YES NO

158. Have you often thought that some of the teachers are unfair? YES NO

159. Are you asked to join in school games as much as you should be? YES NO

160. Would you be happier in school if the teachers were kinder? YES NO

161. Do your classmates seem to like the way you treat them? YES NO

162. Do you have better times alone than when you are with other boys and girls? YES NO

163. Do you think the teachers want boys and girls to enjoy each other's company? YES NO

164. Do you have to keep away from some of your classmates because of the way they treat you? YES NO

165. Have you often thought that some teachers care little about their students? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 E
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 F

166. Do you often visit at the homes of your boy and girl friends in your neighborhood? YES NO

167. Do you have a habit of speaking to most of the boys and girls in your neighborhood? YES NO

168. Do most of the boys and girls near your home disobey the law? YES NO

169. Do you play games with friends in your neighborhood? YES NO

170. Do any nice students of the opposite sex live near you? YES NO

171. Are most of the people near your home the kind you can like? YES NO

172. Are there boys or girls of other races near your home whom you try to avoid? YES NO

173. Do you sometimes go to neighborhood parties where both boys and girls are present? YES NO

174. Is it necessary to be nice to persons of every race? YES NO

175. Do you have good times with the boys and girls near your home? YES NO

176. Are there several people living near you whom you would not care to visit? YES NO

177. Are there people in your neighborhood whom you find hard to like? YES NO

178. Are there any people in your neighborhood so annoying that you would like to do something mean to them? YES NO

179. Do you like most of the boys and girls in your neighborhood? YES NO

180. Do some people in your neighborhood think you are odd because you go to church? YES NO

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Section 2 F
(number right) .....

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