

ABSTRACT

A PROFILE OF THE SUCCESSFUL GREEK IMMIGRANT STUDENT IN MONTREAL

Leonidas C. Bombas

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the educational aspects of the positive side of "immigranthood", an area totally neglected by the social scientists in the field. The central question that this research addressed, was: Why some immigrant students "get through" while the great majority of them have difficulties and problems both inside and outside the school?

One hundred students of Greek origin (8-13 years) were given a culture fair intelligence test (IPAT), a self-esteem inventory (CSEI) and an especially constructed questionnaire. Next, based on CSEI scores, two groups (Low-High) of twenty nine children each were formed, and the parents of these 58 Ss were interviewed by phone in a semi-structured interview schedule. Teachers' ratings were also obtained. Significant correlations were obtained between measures of academic performance (AP) and self-esteem (SE) (hypothesis #1), and AP in the regular English and the Greek school (hypothesis #2). Significant differences and trends were also obtained between the "Low" and the "High" groups (children and parents alike) in measures of children's life style and measures of parental interest-involvement (hypothesis #3). Thus, all three hypotheses of the study were confirmed. Finally, a general profile of the academically successful Greek immigrant student was drawn on the basis of the obtained correlates.

Acknowledgements.

I am grateful to my advisor Dr. Joti Bhathagar for his guidance, understanding and encouragement. I express my sincere thanks to the principal, vice principal and the teachers of the school where the study was conducted for their help and co-operation, and to the FCAC for the financial support of the study. But most of all, I am thankful to all children and parents who participated in the investigation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, immigration is a very old phenomenon among all peoples of the world. Our civilization has witnessed, from time to time, either massive movements of whole nations or migrations of smaller groups - be those families, communities, or individuals.

The U.S.A., Canada, Germany, Australia, Sweden, Belgium, France, and Great Britain received many immigrants during the first seventy years of the twentieth century. The migrative trend from poor nations reached its peak after World War II. The Ministry of Culture and Recreation of the province of Ontario (1974) in one of its reports entitled "Papers on the Greek community" stated, "the western-type development needed a cheap labor force and obtained it through immigration. Between 1961 and 1970 one tenth of the Greek population emigrated" (p.2).

The long term consequences of those international "transactions" were to be realized much later when the second and third generations of immigrants were to face immense difficulties in all aspects of their lives - difficulties for which there had not been any preparations at all. And it was during the 1950's and 60's that the migrative trend intensified around the globe:

The fifth and sixth decades of this century witnessed large scale emigration of workers to

rapidly expanding economies of the industrialized west.....A distinctive feature of the post-World War II emigration has been a much larger flow of immigrants from developing countries than has traditionally been the case. (Bhatnagar, 1975, p. 52)

According to the existing literature, the most common reasons for migration were economic circumstances, adventure, and political pressures. On the whole, economic reasons seemed to be the principal causes of migration during the last 20-25 years. And as H. Seywerd (1955) says of receiving societies: "Our motives for having immigrants are primarily economic" (p. 34). Most immigrants came from not only poor nations, but from the poorest rural regions of their economically suffering countries, a fact that had a great impact on the subsequent life and adjustment into the new society. On the average, immigrants were unskilled, poor, and uneducated. They left their country to improve their lot at any cost. Rightly, they think they have nothing to lose - at least in economic terms.

The ancestors of the immigrants to the United States were, for the most part, peasants living in the agricultural communities of European post-feudal society. This society was post-feudal in the sense that the peasants either owned some land of their own, or at least had been emancipated from the worst rigors of the feudal system. The peasant villages of Ireland, Germany, Italy, Poland or the Balkans were not the most comfortable places in the world (Greely, 1971, p. 37).

As it has been reported in many studies on

immigrants, they were not only poor and unskilled when they lived in their country of origin but, in addition, they were poorly educated. Most had no education at all or, at the best, they had completed a few grades of the elementary school. This was particularly true for immigrants who left their country immediately after World War II. Around the 1970's the various receiving nations - Canada among them - imposed restrictions on immigration and through several governmental policies a more strict "filtration" process was under way. Prospective immigrants were asked to meet several criteria, level of education being one of them. In Canada, from 1970 on, mastery of a specific skill or craft, some knowledge of the language, and a relatively wealthy sponsor were considered a plus in the selection of new immigrants. An illustration of that switch in governmental policies regarding immigration could be observed upon examining next the latest figures of Statistics Canada (1979).

The total number of immigrants admitted to Canada during the year 1976-1977 was 142,156. For the year 1977-1978 the number was 106,512, and for the year 1978-1979 only 82,115 immigrants came to Canada. An analogous decrease is reflected in the number of immigrants admitted to the province of Quebec (28,120; 17,123; 14,344 respectively). Anthony Richmond (1967), in his comprehensive study of the "Post-War Immigrants in Canada" remarks that among the different groups of immigrants, "the Italian and

other immigrants from mediterranean countries had the lowest level of education of all post-war immigrants into Canada (p. 39).

The section of "Census of Canada" (1971) which deals with "Ethnic Origin of Canadians" states in its introduction:

With the exemption of some 300,000 of Canada's Native Peoples, today's entire Canadian population consists of immigrants and their direct descendants.....Canadian history, as commonly presented, deals primarily with the growth of European settlement since the establishment of the first French colonies in Quebec (p. 1).

Canada is often called "A Nation of Immigrants". A large number of post-World War II immigrants coming from many different countries chose as their new home one of the ten Canadian provinces which extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The province of Quebec in Eastern Canada, the province of Ontario in Central, and the province of British Columbia in Western Canada appear to be the provincial "attractors" of the newcomers all around the world. According to Statistics Canada (1979), the grand total of immigrants who settled on Canadian soil during the 112 years of Confederation has been 11,159,659. Of course, not all these newcomers remained in Canada permanently. There are reliable indications that a fair number of those immigrants (especially during the early years after the two wars) crossed the borders seeking new homes in the U.S.A.

On the other hand, official figures do not include in their estimates the relatively high number of the so called "illegal" immigrants who have come to Canada through various channels.

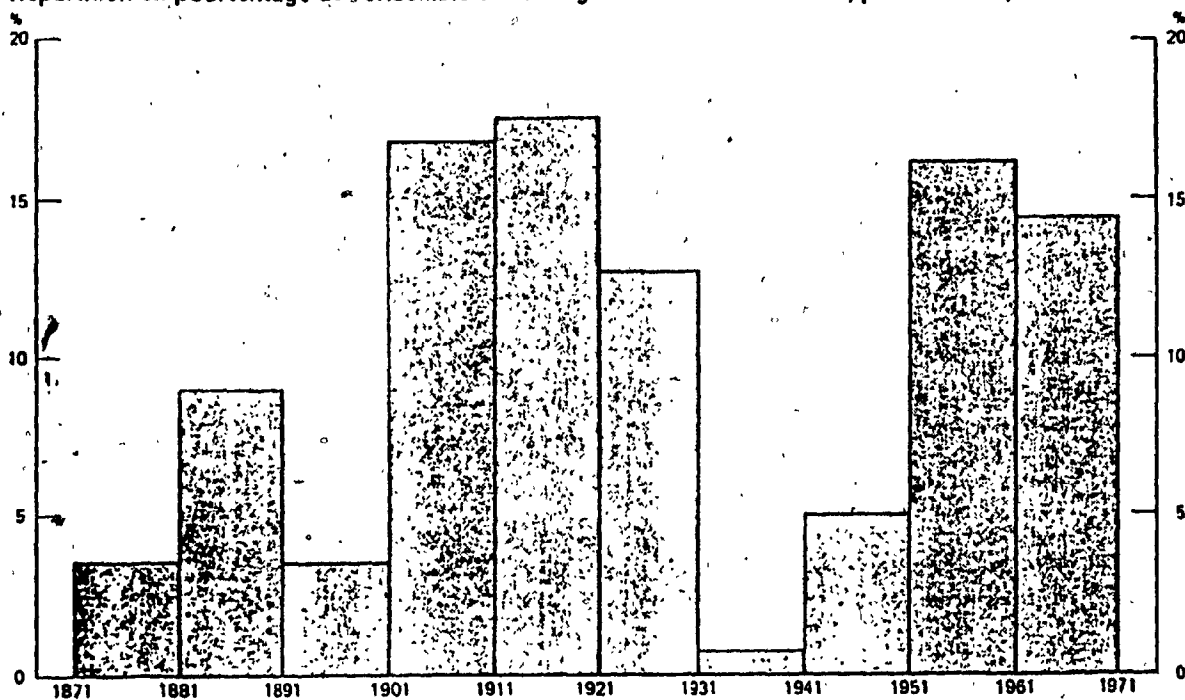
A close examination of the immigration trend to Canada during the last 29 years reveals that 4,373,044 immigrants from many countries have come to Canada. Chart 1.1 shows the percentage distribution of total immigrants arriving in Canada, per decade 1871-1971. As it can be seen the two "peaks" of immigration are between 1901-1931 and 1951-1971. In the case of Quebec, 476,703 immigrants have settled in the province during the years 1961-1979 - Montreal being the leading provincial city in the immigrants' settlement preferences. Other metropolitan and/or urban Canadian cities have traditionally "attracted and welcomed" the cheap immigrant labor (e.g. Toronto, Vancouver).

The children of all immigrants were to face tremendous problems in all aspects of social life, problems that could not be foreseen at the time of migration. Today, one of the most serious problems that immigrant children face is the educational challenge which, for the most part, leads to educational failure. The problems that have always been associated with the immigrant population are very real and serious. It is fortunate that, finally a number of concerned people have come to realize and address the particular problems and difficulties of immigrants. Still, there are many instances where the

CHART I.I

Percentage Distribution of Total Immigrants Arriving In Canada, Per Decade, 1871-1971

Répartition en pourcentage de l'ensemble des immigrants arrivés au Canada, par décennie, 1871-1971



reality about immigrants is kept - for a great number of reasons - in the dark and beyond the public's concern. Hawkes (1966) in discussing the immigrants' situation in England, says that: "the main hindrance to public concern has been the unwillingness of national and local authorities alike to reveal the extent of the immigrant problem at all" (p. 18). Beck (1975) has argued in a similar vein when studying the situation of the various immigrant groups in Canada.

Life in the New Country

Regardless of all the publicly declared policies on immigrants' rights and the very much publicized concept of multiculturalism - e.g. Canada - the blunt truth is that immigrants have always been treated as strangers, marginal people with no country, aliens, and people with criminal propensities. This is true for virtually all the so called "host societies". And it is not the case, as many officials would argue, that only isolated and few instances of discrimination against immigrants has taken place. There has been constant suspicion and fear, aggression, rejection, and even, attacks by the members of the host societies against all immigrant populations and some specific groups in particular.

Upon arrival the immigrants' hopes and optimism are extremely high, yet life in the new country - especially during the first couple of years - is very far from ideal or even humane.

At one time or another, in public utterances and letters to the editor, immigrants have been called animals, criminals, murderers, spies, sex perverts, communists, dogs, fascists, jabberers, scum of Europe, dirty pigs, atheists, etc. One cannot just dismiss this as the expressions of sick minds, which they probably are. They are also the extreme reactions of people who feel threatened by the the stranger (Seywerd, 1955, p. 40).

The same kind of attitudes and behaviors towards immigrants have been reported in several studies of public opinion.

It has been evident, throughout the long history of immigration, that although immigrants are legally accepted in a country, the native people of that country are not convinced that they really need the immigrants or want them. "Immigrants are a special kind of stranger - they have a definite legal status and are offically labelled as aliens" (Kovacs and Cropley, 1975, p. 3), and more so, immigrants have been treated as inferior human beings. It is beyond any doubt that all this ill-treatment is very well perceived and fully experienced by the immigrants themselves. The difficult process of adjustment and integration into the new society are hindered by the unfair and unjust attitudes towards the immigrant population. And this is true for the great majority of immigrants in most receiving countries: "Adjustment is made more difficult by the attitudes of Canadians which sometimes needlessly but inevitably complicate what might otherwise be normal and

natural growing together of natives and newcomers (Seywerd, 1959, p. 39).

Hall (1955) in his article "Migration to Canada" discusses how the immigrant is viewed by the non-immigrant community:

For many people in this country immigration has another and more personal twist to it. The experience of being an immigrant has a unique character. By definition the immigrant is never the equal of the native born person. Those born in a country feel a sense of ownership, and tend to look on the immigrant as something of an inferior (p. 7).

It should be pointed out that even people born in the new country of immigrant parents, are still considered to be immigrants (or of immigrant origin) when it comes to educational, occupational and other aspects of social life. Those people are citizens of the new country by birth but the label immigrant with all its side effects remains in effect. And it is not - ~~as~~ some would argue - simply a convenient and fictitious creation of the social scientists who study immigrants. It is fact of life for a good period of time. On the other hand, it is absolutely true that the question of "who is an immigrant" has not been settled once and for all and perhaps it cannot be settled in a strictly objective sense, neither by the "host" societies, not by the immigrants themselves, nor by the investigators who study immigrant related issues.

The Definition of the Term Immigrant

Even today, when interest concerning the immigrant reality and the multifaceted problems associated with that reality has been - for a number of different reasons - undoubtedly awakened, the very basic issue of "who is an immigrant" is far from settled. This line of argument is well expressed in the discussion of C. Beck (1975) when he poses the questions:

How long must a foreign born person be in a country before he ceases to be an immigrant, a newcomer? Is a 13 year old child who was born in the new country of immigrant-parents to be considered an immigrant? Do some groups tend to be regarded as "foreign" for longer periods than others? (p. 6)

In 1971 the school council of the Island of Montreal focused on length of residence when it defined an immigrant as a person who had come to Canada within the five preceding years (Panunto, 1977, p. 4). But other school boards and authorities have, at times, defined an immigrant quite differently. For example, the language most often spoken at home has been used as a criterion to define an immigrant regardless of the place of the parents' origin. The fact is that the definition of the term immigrant might vary not only from one country to another but from province to province in the same country as well. And this has been so, partly at least, because of the investigators themselves who study immigrants. Panunto (1977) remarks that "the literature does not reveal unanimity in the definition of the term immigrant. Several factors have been used to define immigrant

status, but investigators do not always agree in which of the factors are important" (p. 4). Usually, the different investigators attempt to work out a definition of their own about immigrant status, a definition that would best serve and fit the design and the meaningfulness of the study under consideration. In other words, somebody may be included in the population "immigrants" in one study and be excluded from that same population in a subsequent study. For John Power (1967) an immigrant child is "one who has at least one parent of overseas origin and who is in need of special educational treatment because of the inadequacy of his/her English" (p. 39).

The factors that have been most often considered in defining the term immigrant are the length of residence in the new country, the language spoken at home, the acquisition or not of the new citizenship, and the origin of one or both parents. According to the Gendron Commission (1972) an immigrant is "any person who comes from another country with the intention of settling in Canada, who has been granted legal immigrant status but who has not yet acquired Canadian citizenship." Yet, some other investigators have based their definition only in the number of years spent in the new country. Often it is thought that ten to twelve years are enough for a newcomer to be excluded from the immigrant population. Furthermore, it is assumed that after the 10-12 years residence period the person has

"lost" the immigrant status and has adopted the native people's life style and social characteristics. Such assumptions have been challenged and disputed as being unrealistic, not founded on facts, and not serving the cause of immigrants' welfare.

In a growing number of studies - especially in recent empirical studies - some socio-cultural and psychological factors have been taken into consideration when defining the term "immigrant". Investigators have rejected the idea of "length of residence" and "legal status" as accurate and suffice indices of immigranthood. They tend to consider such factors as level of integration into the new society, personal and social adjustment, mastery of the new language, and level of acculturation when "listing someone under the category immigrant." This new approach seems to be more pragmatic and more explanatory when trying to define, study, and understand immigrants and their problems. Nonetheless, the question of "who is an immigrant" still remains a matter open to consideration and discussion. That is why in each single study the investigator tries to fully describe what is meant and how the term immigrant is defined and used.

Residential Segregation - Social Relations

The immigrant comes to the new country with little preparation for the kind of life that he will have to face. The traditional pre-industrial village background provides

the poorest preparation for easy integration. C. Beck (1975) points out that "many immigrants do not come to the new country with a clear set of interests that they then pursue in a systematic and determined fashion. In fact immigrants are often in a considerable state of confusion about their interests" (p. 7). The well documented hostility, rejection, unfriendly attitudes and behaviors of the native people on the one hand and the unpreparedness and agony of the unknown by the immigrant on the other, make the phenomenon of residential segregation an inevitable consequence. Residential segregation, so much characteristic of all poor and suffering people - immigrants being one group of them - has been observed all around the world.

The natural tendency of the newcomer in a strange land is to look for familiar things.....Immigrants, for the most part, choose to live among other immigrants....The pockets of ethnic groups in the cities are pockets of relative poverty. Hence, a community of immigrants and their descendants is largely a community of the lower class. (McLeod, 1968, p. 8)

Greely (1971) remarks that, on the whole, "in the strangeness of the new environment, the individual or his battered and bedraggled family looked around for someone with whom he had something in common - hopefully a place in the big city where previous migrants from his village had settled" (p. 39). Immigrants tend to live in close proximity to each other - this is true especially during the

first years in the new country - and they choose big cities and the metropolitan areas to settle. In these urban centers they can find jobs more easily - even if these jobs are the least paid, at the bottom of the "prestige scale", and unwanted by the native population. Further, some investigators have argued that even without the usual geographic contiguity, social and psychologically contiguous ethnic communities persist.

Immigrants, with all their "poor" experiences come to the new country and settle nearby "brothers", people who by virtue of common origin share the same "poor" experiences. The resultant residential segregation and the relative isolation of immigrants from the rest of the people in the new country provide the conditions for the kind of social relations and social structure which so distinctly characterize the various ethnic groups. Each particular ethnic group, under the overall influences of immigranthood, is "transformed" into an ethnic community with its own unique institutions, social network of relationships, culture, and language. Numerous associations of every kind, ethnic schools and churches, celebrations of homeland festivities and holidays, ethnic dances, friendships and visiting patterns are all expressions and products of the ethnic community - be that a community of Italians, Chinese, or Greeks. And it is not without a specific and essential function that all these social institutions and relations exist,

The immigrant community is beachhead in the new society which provides the new immigrant with a basis of familiar relationships and interactions on which he may begin his new life. It gives him an identity and the security of living according to familiar patterns among familiar people. Within this framework operate the ethnic associations, the ethnic churches, and the ethnic recreational facilities (Norris, 1971, p. 38).

The existence of ethnic associations and institutions and the official recognition given the ethnic communities - under the pressures of the immigrants themselves and some interested groups - made it very easy for an immigrant to obtain employment within his own ethnic group "boundaries" and to confine his social relationships (Richmond, 1967, p. 141). It is reported that in Toronto, for example, a member of the Greek community can "get along" in all aspects of his or her social life without having to speak a single word of one of the two official languages. Informal observations and day to day life would attest that the same kind of daily life exists for a great number of Greeks in the Montreal area. Thus, it is not only the geographical isolation that comes with the residential segregation pattern of immigrants but, in addition to that, social and psychological isolation as well. On the negative side then, all this isolation of immigrants makes the process of adjustment and integration to the new country more difficult. As June Derrick notes in her discussion of minority group children, "the social and psychological problems that

membership of a minority group entails possibly grow rather than diminish over the years, at least in the lifetime of the first generation of immigrants and their children" (1966, p. 12).

The members of an ethnic community having and enjoying their own "social completeness" within the community, do not go (on the whole) beyond the "borders" of the community for social interactions and relationships. Further, - in most cases - they do not let any "foreign intruder" get inside the community. When they do let some "outsider" in, he is under constant suspicion and "surveillance". It is an ongoing mistrust, mutual fear, and avoidance that stands between the immigrants and non-immigrants. Empirical studies and personal reports alike confirm this kind of constant tension and mutual indifference that exist in both groups.

The mutual understanding that is so essential for adjustment and integration into the new society is not a common phenomenon and practice, neither on the part of immigrants nor on the part of the indigenous population. Thus, although the ethnic communities do serve very positive purposes for the life of the immigrant and enrich the culture of the new country, these same communities however - when operating under their strict traditional principles and rules - hinder personal and social adjustment and limit opportunities for future integration and harmonic coexistence between immigrants

and non-immigrants. All the negative "side effects" of the structure and operation of ethnic communities discussed so far become more intensified and more disastrous for the lives of children born of immigrant parents and for the socio-educational processes of these children.

There are a lot of immigrant students in this country. Toronto, for example, has a large population of immigrant students:

As of September 1976, the Toronto Board of Education operated 146 elementary and secondary schools, staffed with 5,400 teachers who served a total student population of approximately 95,000. Our 1975 Every Student Survey revealed that almost 50% of those students did not claim English as their mother tongue. A little over 9,500 students reported Italian as their mother tongue, or learned English and Italian at the same time; about 7,200 reported Portuguese; about 6,200 Greek; about 5,800 Chinese; and about 13,400 some other language (Green, 1977, p. 10).

The educational aspect of immigrants and their children should not be overlooked and left without elaborate discussions and concrete suggestion. As will be discussed in the next chapter the majority of immigrant children in all receiving countries face many problems in coping with school demands. Empirical data, however, is still limited. As the OECD has said: "The relative lack of information about migrant groups and their educational and labour market needs dismays us in the light of the

current importance of the problem" (1975, p. 17).

Kersbaue (1970), the president of the Federation of the ethnic presses at the time, had made it very clear in one of his articles in the Hellenophone magazine "ECHO" that:

It is very difficult - if not impossible - to find a Canadian classroom (especially in urban cities) in which there are not children from many countries of the world. Despite this reality, the teaching centers only around very few countries without reference to others. Students are not encouraged to become interested in the multi-cultural traditions of their classmates. Even worse, our youth would never be in a position to appreciate the importance of all civilizations of other ethnicities for the benefit of our own national character and heritage (April, 1970, p. 22).

The educational aspects of the immigrants in general, and of the immigrant in Canada in particular, are of tremendous significance. Even though, as it has already been discussed, during the recent years new legislation and policies from the receiving countries have reduced the number of migrant people and this "migrative trend" of the fifties and sixties, migration is not disappearing (with all its related problems and concerns) from the world scene.

17,000,000 people are looking - today - for a better and more descent life outside their native ~~land~~ according to recent estimates of the United Nations Committee. These people are forced (as has always been the case) to leave their country because of hunger, of political persecutions,

poverty, and the different forms of oppressive dictatorships that exist all around the world.

For many of them, West Germany seems to be the first choice available. Within the three last decades W. Germany has received 4,000,000

"foreigners" and 150,000 persons who were looking for political asylum. (Ethnikos Kirix, 1980, October, 7)

Thus, migration, this very ancient characteristic, seems to be well on to the 21st century, and the concern for the education of immigrant children ought not to "fade" away among all interested people.

CHAPTER 2

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AT SCHOOL

The life of the immigrant children must be seen and examined against a backdrop of their parents' life style. In other words, all the problems, difficulties, and processes that characterize immigrants in the new country during and after their long efforts to get settled and adjusted in the foreign environment have great influence on the immigrant children's lives. The way that these children come to think, to believe, and to behave is greatly determined by their parents' experiences - the continuous and legitimate process of socialization holds true and operative for non-immigrants and immigrants alike.

Children are not the exact miniature copies of their parents but, for the most part, immigrant children carry with them the misfortunes, the mistrust, and the rejection experienced by their parents. This is so from the very early years of childhood when the young offspring of immigrants start playing in the neighborhood or in other public areas. As the immigrant child reaches school age and begins the formal educational process all the "handicaps" of immigranthood show up. As Mary Ashworth (1975) states: "To date, immigrant parents have had little voice in the education of their children....On the whole, the public is largely ignorant of what happens to New Canadians after they arrive in Canada, believing that in some mysterious

way most of them learn English with no difficulty and that if they do not then the government is to blame for not ensuring that they spoke English before they came"(pp. 37-38). The greatest "blow" that the immigrant child faces in the "host society" comes in the form of an educational reality. However, although the documentation on the education of immigrant children has been greatly extended during the last 15-20 years still much empirical evidence is lacking. This is especially true for the Greeks in Montreal, a population that this study is intended to examine.

Although the phenomenon of immigration is not a new phenomenon, systematic, scientific research into the education of immigrants is quite a recent experience. Mary Ashworth (1975) in her Canada-wide study on the educational processes of immigrants admits that, "our approach to immigrant education is generally unsystematic and ill informed" (p. VIII) and that it is only during the last fifteen years that empirical evidence has started to accumulate. In a similar vein of argument B. Panuto(1977) remarks emphatically that "inspite of the large number of children for whom English is a second language in Montreal very little research exists on factors affecting their educational progress" (p. 1).

One of the principal reasons for this seemingly lack of empirical studies might very well be the fact that the education of immigrants is a very "touchy" area. In other words, when studying the very nature of schooling that immigrant children have - or ought to have - one is bound to deal with humanistic, political, social, economic, ethical, and religious issues, issues that have been proven to be controversial by themselves. However, this kind of argument must not be employed to justify avoidance and negligence of the subject. As J. Bhatnagar (1970) notes: "the education of immigrants, an area full of emotive content, is desperately in need of hard research to uncover objective evidence" (p. 153). The need for up-to-date information about migrant children has been also described as "desperate" by the social scientist A. Cheyney (1976, p. 221). He stresses the need for documented evidence to be gathered so that appropriate action can be taken.

In the great majority of existing studies on the education of immigrant children researchers have demonstrated the "problematic" nature of the immigrants' schooling. Fortunately, there is today a good deal of evidence from Australia, Germany, the U.S.A., Great Britain, Canada, Sweden, and Belgium that shows and illuminates the overall situation of immigrant students. For example, in the U.K.,

The sad fact that emerges from the studies reviewed in this paper is that many ethnic minority children

are performing at a level significantly below that of English children, and although the length of education in the UK appears to be a significant factor in determining primary school performance, many environmental factors which can depress performance still remain important (Verma, 1981, p. 64).

On the whole, immigrant students do not perform well in school subjects - as it is indicated by teachers' ratings and school grades - when compared with their non-immigrant schoolmates. This finding has been documented across different social contexts by various researchers regardless of the origin of immigrant students, and despite variations within the various ethnic groups and variations between the various ethnic groups. Rogers and Wright (1969) draw the attention of the researchers to that point, since "the evidence that the pupils for whom English is a second language are not a homogeneous group is important though not unexpected" (p. 12). It would be then a great mistake to develop a packaged "education treatment" for all ethnic groups without considering the subtle - cultural and other - differences among the various groups.

Generally, immigrant students have been found to lag behind in academic achievement, to show a low level of self-concept, and demonstrate a low level of adjustment (according to J. Bhatnagar's (1970) definition, adjustment includes: social acceptability, personal satisfaction, having objective self-concept, and freedom of anxiety) when compared with non-immigrant students. Culture shock

and conflict, language problems, feelings of not belonging and insecurity, ill trained teachers, and the educational policies and practices have been very often identified and criticized as the principal reasons for this "overall lag" shown by the vast majority of immigrant students. It has been also argued repeatedly in the related literature that immigrant children are like - in many respects - and ought to be treated likewise with the so called culturally disadvantaged and/or deprived children.

A great number of researchers, however, have explicitly presented the legitimate argument that though there might be some resemblances between the two populations (immigrant and culturally disadvantaged children) it would be a big mistake to uncritically generalize across the two groups of children. Nevertheless, the fact is that immigrant students are not as good as non-immigrants in the most valued aspect of education, namely academic performance. And this has been very well documented in Canada and all around the world where immigrant children can be found.

Academic Achievement

J. Bhatnagar (1975) in reviewing the literature on the school performance of immigrant children notes that "studies in many parts of the world indicate that, on the whole, immigrant children's attainment at school is considerably less than that of the children of the indigenous population" (p. 54). On the whole, immigrant

children perform less well than local children in the standardized achievement tests.

A. Grande (1973b) notes that "a high percentage of children with an ethnic background read at least one or two years behind expected grade level. This phenomenon exists in all grades from one to six" (p. 37). Similarly, in a survey conducted in the year 1966 and reported by M. Ashworth (1975), it was found that among the "....most backward pupils in the first and second years in seven secondary schools revealed 175 children, 73% of whom were immigrants" (p. 65). Noble and Ryan (1972) studied the Greeks in Australia and reported that the "Greek migrant child may obtain readiness (for that learning deemed appropriate in the host culture) later than the Australian child and learn more slowly" (p. 44).

Little et al (1968) studied the performance of 1068 ten year old immigrant children in 52 London schools after the completion of tests which would decide their secondary school placement or their stream placement in a comprehensive school. The subjects were assigned to one of seven ability groups of English, mathematics and verbal reasoning. Table 2.1 gives the percentage of above and below average scores for the various groups.

Table 2.1

Percentage of Above and Below Average on Tests

	<u>English</u>	<u>Verbal reasoning</u>	<u>Mathematics</u>
Above Average	50	50	50
English			
Below Average	50	50	50
Above Average	21	18	21
Immigrants			
Below Average	79	82	79

J. Bhatnagar (1970), in a study conducted in England has demonstrated that immigrant children score significantly lower in tests of academic achievement than the native born students. He compared immigrant (West Indians and Greek and Turkish-cypriots) and British born students in measures of academic achievement, level of self-concept, and adjustment. In all three measures the immigrant children fell far behind the native students. Similar findings have been reported by other researchers in the field who have studied immigrant students in several receiving countries (Dungworth in Germany, Lipkin in Israel, Cohen in the U.S.A., Townsend in Great Britain, Toronto Board of Education in Canada, Taft in Australia). Saint (1963) has also reported a very poor school attainment for the immigrant children of his study.

D. Selakovich (1978) reports that the Immigration Commission conducted a big survey of more than two million students in 30 of the largest cities in America. The

survey discovered that school failure and retardation in grade level for children of foreign-born parents was 40% compared to 28% for children of native-born American whites. More so, in another instance Selakovich (1978), in summarizing his view on the academic achievement of immigrant children remarks that:

Whatever motives existed for providing schooling for immigrants and all poor children, the schools experienced huge failures. A review of the research on how well the children of immigrants did in school tends to support this, even though some groups and some schools did better than others. (p. 29)

B. Panunto (1977) notes that:

Studies on the school achievement of ESL and immigrant children (Asphy, Morrison and Butcher, 1970; McFie and Thomson, 1970; Little, Mabey and Whitaker, 1967) all indicate that such children function below average on school subjects, tend to drop out of school before completing high school, and have social and emotional problems of adjustment (p. 30).

Children of Greek immigrant parents in the English speaking schools of Montreal experience the same pattern of failure in school performance. The author, through personal communication with the Greek liaison officer at the P.S.B.G.M., has confirmed this failure for a substantial number of Greek immigrant students.

However, the fact that there have been some studies which did not find any significant difference in measures of

academic achievement between immigrant and non-immigrant students should be mentioned. There have been reported findings which showed the immigrant students to be ahead of their non-immigrant classmates. According to these studies, immigrant students might start school with some deficits but when they reach grade three they are doing equally well as - sometimes better than - the native born, non-immigrant students. Rogers and Wright (1969) advance such an argument in a series of studies conducted in Toronto schools. In comparing monolingual (non-immigrant) students and ESL (immigrant) students they concluded that:

In comparison to the monolingual pupil, the ESL pupil starts school with a considerable performance deficit presumably due to his lack of fluency in English. This deficit is overcome by grade 3 at which time he is, if anything, ahead of his monolingual classmates (p. 82).

Even with such arguments and experimental findings it would be a mistake to dismiss the bulk of evidence that shows the various difficulties that immigrant children have in school attainment.

The reasons given by the researchers for the low academic achievement and the general difficulties that characterize immigrant students must be discussed in considerable length. No action for improvement can be taken before these reasons are examined in great detail. A comprehensive discussion of the factors which hinder the academic performance and adjustment of immigrant children

should be concerned with both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. These factors shall be considered next.

Non-Linguistic Factors of Underachievement

Townsend (1971) has suggested that the underachievement of minority group children ought to be linked not only to linguistic factors but to non-linguistic ones as well. This is not to say that linguistic and non-linguistic factors can be separated completely since there is a great deal of overlapping between the two sets of factors. As non-linguistic factors relevant to the education process of immigrant students have been considered the level of self-concept, personal and social adjustment, the culture shock and/or conflict, the biased intelligence achievement tests, the teachers' expectations, and the placement procedures and practices that "feed" the special and remedial classes with immigrant students. Purbhoo and Shapson (1974) in discussing the educational significance of non-linguistic factors, say that:

Only more recently has it been recognized that the academic failure of children from ethnic communities might result from other factors such as alienation, anomie, low self-concept or more basically, not knowing the dominant culture (p. 2).

These views have been shared by many researchers in the field of immigrant education and a great number of studies have been turning their attention towards that direction. (Adler, 1967; Bhatnagar, 1970; Masseman, 1975; Rogers, and Wright, 1969). Jensen's argument of genetical

inferiority in intelligence as the principal reason for the immigrant students educational failure does not find much support among the different investigators and has initiated many controversial discussions - something that is not unfamiliar to Jensen himself and his theories of genetically determined intelligence.

a) Cultural shock - conflict, self-concept, adjustment

On the whole, the immigrant child is caught between two differing ways of life, two differing systems of values, norms, and priorities. On the one side it is the home which exerts its powerful influences upon the immigrant child and on the other side it is the school with its own obligatory demands which very often become - or are perceived to be - hostile to the immigrant child. This is the "climate" in which the immigrant child has to strive continuously for a descent and healthy survival.

As every child, the immigrant child is born within a family which has certain characteristics, a particular culture, which is a whole way of life, and is learned through the everyday socialization - a continuous and often painstaking process - a process that takes much time and "comes naturally" to every child. And culture, "whether the culture of a particular ethnic group or the culture of a level of social status, or a combination of both, has a profound influence on a child's intellectual performance as well as his attitudes and values" (McLeod, 1968, p. 29).

Recalling the very fact that family is the first socializing agent, a child learns from the very early years of his life that specific patterns of talking, of thinking, of believing, and generally, of behaving are natural and adequate, functional, worthy, and essential to survival. The child constantly receives reinforcements by both parents and the immediate home environment for interpreting, defining, and indicating the social reality according to the family's socialization instructions. Denizen (1973) notes that "social objects (such as children) carry no intrinsic meaning. Rather meaning is conferred by processes of social interaction - by people" (p. 21). Likewise, the immigrant child has learned the whole culture of his parents, neighborhood, ethnic community and has also learned - at least through the early years - to enjoy and appreciate that culture.

When the child comes into contact with another culture which is different from his own the process known as culture shock becomes operative. The child in the new, foreign, and unfriendly environment feels like a "fish out of water" and the negative consequences of the shock hinder healthy development and normal growth. Similarly, the child born in the new country of immigrant parents, although he does not experience the shock of abrupt placement in a new milieu, still has to face this new milieu when he leaves his home environment. The culture shock might be milder in the later case but the conflict

of opposing cultures has great impact on the child's personality, self-concept, adjustment, and achievement. In either case, the immigrant child meets the "alien" culture and its values outside his home and particularly inside the school.

Upon entering school the ongoing process of socialization not only discontinues abruptly but it also appears - under different pressures - as unworthy, dysfunctional, and ridiculous. Olejarczyk (1971) remarks that culture conflict and the sense of not belonging are felt most painfully by the second generation, which Robert Park has defined as "marginal men". In another instance Olejarczyk (1971) says of immigrant children:

.....not being allowed to act as a natural bridge between two cultures and two social groupings,, lacking often a deep insight into their ancestral culture, they develop an inferiority complex which they display in various ways. This is a common and widespread phenomenon among all ethnic and immigrant groups and one of the best documented (p. 288).

Discussing the problem of cultural conflict in the Canadian context S. Ramcharan (1975) characterized this conflict as a major problem:

One of the major problems faced by new Canadian children in Toronto schools is that of cultural conflict....The culture of the home and the community - including the attitudes, values, style of life, and behavioral patterns the child learns in the family environment - is totally alien to what he is presented with in the school

environment (p. 99).

The immigrant child is continuously reminded of his culture and the unworthiness and relative inferiority of that culture. The conflict is always present "and does not disappear, for the immigrant child is faced with it every time he returns from school to his immigrant household" (Beck, 1975, p. 15). The intense pressures of that conflict are felt by the immigrant child who must "carry the burden" of two, often incompatible, cultures and pay a very high price. This price is particularly visible in the case of school achievement and performance. The strong societal emphasis on cultural assimilation forces immigrant children to choose those parts of their native culture that they must retain and those that they must give up. The culture shock/conflict have detrimental consequences for the school attainment and the levels of self-concept of immigrant children. L. Kovacs (1975) suggests that the basic effects of ethnic discriminations:

....is one which may broadly be termed loss of "social status". The term is used here to refer to group recognition of the individual's own sense of membership and ability to control his or her own interrelationships with other people and his or her life (p. 22).

The culture shock/conflict experienced by the immigrant child prevents -- among other things -- the fulfillment of one of the most basic human needs: the need to belong.

A. Cheyney (1971; p. 6) says: "....from my viewpoint as a migrant child, the most characteristic element of my life may be summarized in a brief sentence: I did not belong."

The immigrant child, caught between two differing and often diametrically opposite cultures, feels insecure about his identity. He feels that his culture and he himself are unworthy - under the constant pressures to comply and be assimilated and "lost" into the new culture. Negative attitudes and devaluation of the self come to be dominant features of the immigrant child's self. As far as education is concerned, there is a constant home/school "war", a war that decisively - and adversely - affects the child's perception of himself. James Banks (1977) points out that "ethnic characteristics are a part of basic identity. When a person denies his ethnic culture he rejects an important part of self" (p. 9). Similarly, M. Potts (1972) considers a positive attitude towards oneself essential to healthy growth:

One of the most vital needs of the human organism is the need to see oneself as a worthy person, to think well of oneself. This need must be met before an individual can be free to expend his energy on learning, aesthetic appreciation, and personal growth (p. 33).

The immigrant child frequently becomes alienated from his own group and that of the dominant culture as well. He develops a negative self-image which can be harmful to

himself and others with whom he associates.

The strong interrelationship between level of self-concept and academic achievement has been very well documented for all students - immigrant included - (Lamy, 1965; Bhatnagar, 1970; Wettenberg and Clifford, 1962). As it was discussed earlier, immigrant students do fail at school but they do not fail simply because of their deficiency in English: "they fail too because their own self-concept is under attack in an educational system which devalues the culture and language of their parents and community" (Derrick, 1966, p. 47). Thus, the educational significance of self-concept is beyond question among all the researchers and the low level of self-concept that is shown by immigrant children has been rightly linked to their cumulative deficits in education.

Very closely related to - possibly caused by - the culture shock/conflict and to the low level of self-concept that permeate the entire life of immigrant children is the notion of adjustment. Personal and social adjustment - as those defined by Bhatnagar (1970) elsewhere - are hindered even more by the low level of the immigrant parents' education, the parents' occupations and the parents' - for the most part - rural origins:

A great number of new Canadians are faced with a double-culture conflict: they have to adjust, not just to the English language and the Canadian way of life, but to the city itself and industrial society. The educational problems

of their children are thereby compounded.

(McLeod, 1968, pp. 14-15)

Masemann (1975) notes that immigrants hold the lowest in prestige jobs, a fact that has negative influences on the children's academic career:

In addition, the low prestige level of parents' jobs and the lack of general respect among Canadian-born students for Italian, Greek, or Portuguese culture, reported in interviews with immigrants, are evidence to the student that he is an outsider (p. 120).

All the difficulties and problems experienced by the immigrant child in the field of personal and social adjustment create a series of psychological states and processes which combined with the culture shock/conflict and low level of self-concept affect him negatively.

Under these adverse conditions the socio-emotional and intellectual capacities of immigrant children can in no way develop to their full potential. Their personality is under constant attack. The host society as a whole and the school in particular are constantly attacking in various ways and with different means the personality of immigrant children with catastrophic results for the welfare of these children:

The result is sometimes a situation in which the immigrant children fall somewhere between the two cultures, fitting well into neither, being alienated from both. This state of dual alienation is the key issue in adjustment problems of

immigrant children (Kovacs, 1975, p. 51).

b) Policies and Practices of Public Schools

Traditionally, the school systems and all the schools' personnel - in all countries with immigrant students - have done almost nothing concrete to ameliorate the serious and multidimensional problems of those children. With very few exceptions, school policies and practices have worsened and aggravated the problems initially faced by immigrant students. Teachers have made their "substantial contribution" to this worsening by strictly obeying the rules and regulations of the schools and the people responsible for educational programming. Immigrant children have been - and still are - paying a heavy price for those unfair policies and practices. It has been very well documented in the literature that immigrant children have been treated very badly and unjustly by their teachers, principals and even janitors and classmates. It is also true that, in many instances, ignorance and not intent might be the reason for such mistreatment. But, whatever the reasons for wrong policies and practices, the damage is done and the negative consequences are great.

At times, immigrant children have been labeled "slow", "handicaped", "problematic", "mentally inferior", "uneducable",by their own teachers in front of all other classmates. Immigrant children have been placed in remedial classes - the euphemistically called "special classes" - and have remained there for their whole school

life. The criteria for placing immigrant students in those special classes have never been clearly defined - except in the case of the intelligence tests which have been challenged and attacked as being biased and lacking objectivity and validity when used for testing immigrant children. Ramcharan (1975), Haynes (1971), Banks (1977), and many other researchers have argued that:

There appears to be evidence that the number of immigrant children being admitted to the special schools for the educationally subnormal is on the increase, but the criteria for transferring these children is likely to be haphazard and based on restricted samples of their mental functioning. One cannot help wondering therefore if some of these children are really in the right school. If they are inappropriately placed this could have a crucial bearing on their achievements throughout life (Haynes, 1971, p. 23).

The label "slow" which is often attached to the immigrant student (the same occurs with non-immigrants but to a lesser degree and frequency, and for other reasons) remains unchanged in almost all his school life. The well known principle of "self-fulfilling prophecy" begins to operate. Thus, the "slow" labeled student behaves in all social settings - school included - as if he really were of low intellectual functioning (which is not true for the vast majority of immigrant students). The teacher expects very little from the "slow" learner, and even worse, the teacher teaches less since there is no point in

teaching more than what the student can learn. J. Bibb notes that teachers very often ask, "why bother spending time, effort and money to get results showing what you already know - that the migrant child receives scores placing him at the bottom end of the class?" (Bibb, 1972, p. 179).

Similarly, A. Castaneda (1974) lays the blame on the public educational system because,

American public education has failed to provide the content that would enable minority children to develop healthy self-identities, to minimize cultural or value conflicts, or to learn by means of those preferred modes of cognition and motivation which are the result of their home and community socialization experiences (p. 17).

Noble and Ryan (1975), in discussing the education of immigrant children in the Australian context, remark that there exists "...an educational system and a teacher preparation system which have not been geared to making sufficient provision for groups with significantly different languages and cultural backgrounds" (p. 41). James Banks (1977) advances the argument one step further by suggesting that the school's policies and practices are not only responsible for the academic failure of ethnic minority students but for their unsuccessful functioning in a non-academic community as well. "The educational system is indeed one reason why immigrants have not acquired the skills necessary to overcome much of their culturally determined existence" adds J. Bibb (1972, p. 163). There have been reported cases where teachers in multiracial

schools lacked the elementary knowledge about the cultures of their students "to the extent of not knowing which languages their pupils and their families speak" (Derrick, 1966, p. 49).

c) Ability

As has often been the case with the poor native children, the so called culturally deprived or disadvantaged, some educators and psychologists have argued that the academic failure of immigrant children ought to be attributed - to a great extent - to genetic factors. In other words the argument has been put like this: Immigrant students perform as they do at schools not because of any environmental problems and difficulties but rather because of their low level of intelligence. The level of intelligence, being genetically determined, cannot be "altered" via any environmental improvements and that is proven by the continuous educational failure of immigrant and poor children - who do not "respond positively" to the various educational programs aimed at these children's educational improvement.

This kind of argument is largely based on the controversial theories of Arthur Jensen of the alleged intellectual inferiority - genetically determined - of some groups of people.

The polemics of Jensen and his theories and the whole controversy surrounding these matters will not be discussed here. However, it should be stressed that many researchers dealing with the education of immigrants have

challenged the Jensenian view and have expressed quite opposite viewpoints. R. Goldman (1967) says that "when the immigrant child is being investigated it is in fact, a cumulative deficiency in education itself that is being examined" (p. 7), while James Banks (1977) in categorical fashion dismisses the validity of intelligence tests because:

Standardized intelligence testing often serves to deny minority youths equal educational opportunities. The results of such tests are frequently used to justify the alleged noneducability of certain minority students and to relieve their teachers of accountability (p. 31).

Vernon, a leading authority in the field of mental measurement, rejects the idea of intellectual inferiority based on biological determinants. In a report published by the Department of Education and Science of Great Britain (1971) Vernon's views have been quoted:

.....On the whole the evidence suggests that genetic differences in brain potentiality between different groups of mankind are rather small. He is convinced that the differences in the results in attainment and intelligence tests related directly to various aspects of their educational environment or cultural experience, and not to brain potential (p. 68).

Goldman (1967), in a strong attempt to "diffuse" the genetic argument altogether, stresses the point that immigrants not only are intellectually "normal" but, in addition, they are people with special qualities and high ambitions:

If the evidence from any other immigrant movement in the world's history is to be taken as good evidence, it is already established that it is generally the people with initiative and drive and with a high ability who leave a poor and difficult situation to find something more promising. They tend to have, either genetically or by environmental influence, more intelligent children than those who remain at home. It therefore seems anomalous that fairly large numbers of these above average children are relegated to backward or retarded or remedial classes labelled in terms of the educationally sub-normal (p. 8).

Language

It might be argued that, by definition, immigrant children start school in the new country with a serious social and cultural handicap. They do not speak the language of the country which is so essential for the entire educational process and academic achievement in particular. The problem of language is a very serious one and it is experienced not only by the children born abroad but also by those children born in the new country of immigrant parents. There is evidence that suggests that even children, who speak a dialect of the English language, attending public schools in England face similar problems (maybe less severe) as all other immigrant students. The educational and developmental significance of the knowledge of language is beyond any question. Language is closely related to cognition, to comprehension, to the formation of concepts, to learning. As such, the language handicap experienced by

immigrant children has profound and lasting influences on their educational careers.

Admittedly, at the level of language, many programs have been developed - as is the case in Great Britain, Canada, the U.S.A. - aimed at teaching the immigrant child all the necessary aspects of the new language as it is used by schools. And it is this area of language teaching alone which has been the center of almost all programs aimed at ameliorating the educational misfortunes of immigrant children. Across different English speaking contexts there have been numerous Teaching English as a Second Language programs (TESL) which have helped various immigrant groups considerably. However, the literature suggests that whatever success these TESL programs might have had, the situation of immigrant students has not been elevated significantly. On the whole, these TESL programs have tended to focus only in language difficulties of the immigrant students, forgetting thus the non-linguistic factors - previously discussed - and their direct relevance and significance for the improvement of the education of immigrants. The TESL programs have so far been only partially successful because of their rather narrow and lopsided approach.

In recent years, after the partial success of TESL programs and under the growing pressures and demands of immigrants themselves, a series of new programs were developed and implemented in some schools. In these recent

programs - very much influenced by the new discoveries of educators and psychologists on bilingualism and multilingualism - attempts have been made to use the child's mother tongue as a medium of school learning, adjustment, and integration. The programs try also to take into consideration some non-linguistic factors and the overall philosophy behind those programs is one that says: Let the child first learn his mother tongue, let him be proud of it, let him feel that school is not an enemy of the family-home, let the child move "smoothly" - with the help of the mother tongue - to the new language, environment, society. So far, the outcomes of these programs have been encouraging and immigrant parents, students, and teachers seem all excited and optimistic about the future. In Toronto there are a number of schools with immigrant students attending this kind of program on an experimental basis. The government of Quebec also has, since November 27, 1978, been introducing into the Quebec educational system courses dealing with the language and culture of origin of certain of Quebec's minorities, i.e. the Portuguese, Greek and Italian.

Since June, 1976, The Bureau de Coordination des Classes d'Accueil has drawn up a working plan and set up the project for teaching languages of origin, usually called PELO. As it has been described in a governmental brochure, PELO has three general objectives for the first year of the primary course: 1) linguistic objectives; 2) socio-psycholinguistic objectives; and 3) cultural objectives.

Because PELO is still at the experimental stage it is hardly possible to present results with certainty. However, what is certain (from observations and personal involvement of this investigator) is the fact that the large majority of the Greek community of Montreal along with the community organizations concerned with education have responded negatively to this program. In the case of the Greeks, disagreement can also be confirmed by the fact that the government of Quebec decided not to extend the PELO as it had been originally planned and publicized. The objection of the Greek community was strong regarding the methods and the strategy employed by the planners of the program and not for the program itself and its objectives.

In short, much needs to be done for the improvement of the education of immigrants. Immigrants and non-immigrants alike ought to seriously consider and work towards that end. New comprehensive programs must be developed where linguistic and non-linguistic factors are incorporated in a meaningful and pedagogical way. Education of immigrant children must be seen and realized as an actual social phenomenon and the best feasible solutions must be pursued with courage and honesty. Many researchers agree that the education of immigrants must not be seen and dealt with in isolation but, as Townsend (1973) notes, in a more global fashion:

The necessity to make special arrangements for immigrant pupils within our schools has only

become apparent during the last decade, and it faces the educational system with new and quite unfamiliar problems....And the problems are far from being purely educational: local authorities and schools face the reality that the solutions they propose will be judged with the wider social context (p. 46).

CHAPTER 3

GREEKS IN MONTREAL AND THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

One of the most ancient characteristics of Greeks is migration. Greek immigrants exemplify the already discussed trends and peculiarities of all migrant people. The legendary and powerful immigrant is a constant vision of every prospective Greek migrant when he prepares to leave Greece. This was more true of the early immigrants and those who left Greece during the years 1950-1970. Most Greek immigrants envision an "Onassis career" in the new land, or at least a much better life than the one they had in Greece - at least a "miniature" of the so called Greek tycoon. This initial vision and all related hopes and aspirations remain, for the most part, at the level of theory. The life in the new country and all the agonies, trials, and humiliations experienced by the majority of Greek immigrants around the world cannot be compensated for by any kind of material and ephemeral wealth. Unfortunately, there has not been much research regarding Greeks in Canada and as E. Gavaki (1977) points out "as far as Greeks in Canada are concerned, the literature is not only meager but also lacks sociological focus and an integrated scheme of analysis" (p. 13).

The Greeks who came to these shores were mostly from rural areas, very poor, unskilled, and uneducated. According to E. Kavouriaris (1974, pp. 35-50) the migration

of farmers increased from 2,784 persons in 1959 and 6,205 in 1961, to 32,675 in 1969 and 28,510 in 1970. Along with the rural population that left Greece for a better life in the industrially developed countries, two other categories of the Greek population have followed the mass exodus of the fifties and sixties. Those two categories were the unemployed or partially employed urban population, and those working but for very low wages and under terrible conditions. In the year 1962 out of 84,054 persons that emigrated 6,203 or 7.35% were farmers, 23,571 or 28% were without any occupation, and 47,267 or 55.6% were workers in industry or light industry. Of the last category however, the majority, 40,431, had no skills. Furthermore, as can be seen in the 1970 figures, out of 92,681 persons that left Greece, 28,510 or 30.8% were farmers, 42,066 or 45% were without any occupation, and 15,723 or 17% were workers in industry or light industry. Another finding of Kavouriaris - not unexpected - demonstrates the progressive increase of women in the migration "enterprise". In 1960 only 30.3% of the Greek immigrants were women, while in 1971 the proportion of female immigrants increased to 47% of the total.

Giannacopoulos (1977) in his study of The Development of the Greek Ethnic Minority in Quebec discusses the existing conditions at that time (fifties and sixties) in Greece, and he advances the argument that "economic improvement" was the principal reason for the mass

migration of Greeks to Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, etc. "Approximately one million people left Greece in the post war period" (p. 58) in their attempt to find a better and more prosperous place to live. Matzouranis (1974, pp. 39-42) presents some very revealing figures about the conditions in Greece after World War II and the Civil War. In the 1950's a full quarter of the Greek population was unemployed or underemployed. Forty-seven per cent of the population was illiterate or semi-literate, while medical care and social services in general were far from adequate. For example, in the year 1956, 25% of pregnant women delivered without any assistance from a doctor or nurse. A number of necessary and important every day facilities were absent or inadequate in the whole country, including Athens, the capital. A study done in 1958 checked 60,000 housing units in the Athens area and discovered (among other things) that 28% of these houses had no kitchen facilities and 36% had no electricity.

"The first Greeks who came to Montreal, according to Yeroagrios of British Columbia, were Panayotis Nonis and Theodore Lekas. Both were from Kranidi and came to Montreal in 1843" (Vlassis, 1953, p. 137). These two "villagers" were destined to be the pioneers of the subsequent Greek immigration movement to all Canadian provinces. They became the first "links" of the immigration chain which so much characterizes Greek immigration. As is the case with the immigrants from other ethnic groups, Greeks came

to Canada in large numbers during the years 1950-1970. According to the 1971 census of Canada (population by mother tongue and sex) in the year 1951 there were 8,035 (4,934 males; 3,102 females) Greeks in Canada. By the year 1961 this number increased to 10,455 (21,871 males; 18,584 females) and by 1971, 104,455 (55,000 males; 49,455 females) Greeks had settled on Canadian soil. It is of interest to note the sex ratio between males and females in the early 1950's and in the early 1970's. The difference between males and females becomes smaller partly because whole families emigrated from Greece (contrary to what had been the case of earlier immigrants where the head of the family, the father, would have emigrated) and partly because Greek girls were "needed" for the lone Greek males of the late forties, fifties and early sixties.

As it can be seen on Tables 3.1 and 3.2 the number of Greek immigrants admitted to Canada varies depending on the criterion employed for the collection of relevant information. Thus, while - in the same year, 1971 - the figure by mother tongue is 104,455, the Greeks in Canada by ethnic origin is 124,475. On the other hand, the total number of Greek immigrants who came from Greece to Canada during the period 1946-73 is 115,837.

Today, it is estimated that there are more than 70,000 Greeks in the Island of Montreal and the neighboring Island of Laval. The monthly review "Le Metequé" reports that there are about 70,000 Greeks on the Islands of

TABLE 3.1
POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP, CANADA, 1921-71

Ethnic Group	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
British Isles	4,868,738	5,381,071	5,715,904	6,709,685	7,996,669	9,624,115
English	2,545,358	2,741,419	2,968,402	3,630,344	4,195,175	
Irish	1,107,803	1,230,808	1,267,702	1,439,635	1,753,351	
Scottish	1,173,625	1,346,350	1,403,974	1,547,470	1,902,302	
Other	41,952	62,494	75,826	92,236	145,841	
French	2,452,743	2,927,990	3,483,038	4,319,167	5,540,346	6,180,120
Austrian, n.o.s.	107,671	48,639	37,715	32,231	106,535	42,120
Belgian	20,234	27,585	29,711	35,148	61,382	51,135
Chinese	39,587	46,519	34,627	32,528	58,197	118,815
Czech and Slovak	8,840	30,401	42,912	63,959	73,061	81,870
Finnish*	21,494	43,885	41,683	43,745	59,436	59,215
German	294,635	473,544	464,682	619,935	1,049,599	1,317,200
Greek	5,740	19,444	11,692	13,565	56,475	24,475
Hungarian	13,181	40,582	54,598	60,460	126,220	131,930
Indian and Eskimo	113,724	128,890	125,521	165,607	220,121	312,760
Italian	66,769	98,173	112,625	152,245	450,351	730,820
Japanese	15,868	23,342	23,149	21,663	29,157	37,260
Jewish	126,196	156,726	170,241	181,670	173,344	296,915
Lithuanian	1,970	5,876	7,789	16,224	27,629	24,535
Negro	18,291	19,456	22,174	18,020	32,127	34,445
Netherlander	117,505	148,962	212,863	264,267	429,679	425,945
Polish	53,403	145,503	167,485	219,845	323,517	316,430
Romanian	13,470	29,056	24,689	23,601	43,805	27,375
Russian	100,064	88,148	83,708	91,279	119,168	64,475
Scandinavian	167,359	228,049	244,603	283,024	386,534	384,795
Danish	21,124	34,118	37,439	42,671	85,473	75,725
Icelandic	15,876	19,382	21,050	23,307	30,623	27,905
Norwegian	68,856	93,243	100,718	119,266	148,681	179,290
Swedish	61,503	81,306	85,396	97,780	121,757	101,870
Ukrainian	106,721	225,113	305,929	395,043	473,337	580,660
Yugoslav	3,906	16,174	21,214	21,404	68,587	104,955
*Other European	17,945	9,392	9,787	35,616	88,190	194,850
Other Asian	10,459	14,687	16,288	18,636	34,399	129,450
Other and Unknown	21,436	9,579	42,028	170,401	210,382	171,645
TOTAL**	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429	18,238,247	21,568,310

TABLE 3.2
IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY MAJOR COUNTRIES
OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE, SELECTED YEARS, 1946-73

	1946-50	1951-57	1958-62	1963-67	1968-73	1946-73
EUROPE						
Albania	91	60	9	1	4	165
Austria	2,165	33,917	10,001	8,428	12,489	67,000
Belgium	4,904	21,834	6,248	5,771	4,286	43,043
Bulgaria	259	425	43	58	101	886
Czechoslovakia	6,888	4,022	185	437	3,965	15,497
Denmark	2,673	22,250	5,289	4,490	3,544	38,246
England	122,014	252,524	63,855	152,905	117,322	708,620
Estonia	6,127	4,313	61	12	17	10,530
Finland	806	12,183	3,642	2,439	3,040	22,110
France	4,781	33,938	12,828	31,330	27,437	110,314
Germany, Fed. Rep.	9,984	189,705	46,864	42,705	25,903	315,161
Greece	2,839	22,341	22,420	32,616	35,621	115,237
Hungary	5,297	40,789	4,195	2,453	2,601	55,335
Iceland	35	282	111	59	137	684
Ireland (Republic)	3,297	14,392	3,707	6,086	6,798	34,280
Italy	20,052	166,379	101,181	121,802	54,556	463,970
Latvia	7,759	3,037	50	10	14	10,870
Lesser British Isles	253	1,350	243	238	179	2,263
Lithuania	8,421	1,487	19	6	15	9,948
Luxembourg	—	511	177	220	149	1,057
Malta	1,847	5,167	1,883	4,334	2,360	15,591
Netherlands, The	25,966	103,342	21,434	14,526	12,344	177,612
Northern Ireland	4,858	20,319	4,784	10,568	9,875	50,404
Norway	1,299	6,983	1,585	1,961	1,508	13,336
Poland	62,632	18,773	12,422	8,549	6,388	108,764
Portugal	108	8,115	16,731	32,473	54,199	111,626
Romania	3,812	2,339	645	239	647	7,682
Scotland	32,236	76,219	19,757	52,165	27,010	207,387
Spain	124	1,569	1,989	4,480	4,878	13,040
Sweden	1,810	6,494	1,500	2,538	3,039	15,381

Montreal and Laval. Camil Laurin, the Minister of Cultural Development of the government of Quebec has stated that the 70,000 Greeks in Montreal operate more than 75 local organizations ("La Presse", December 4, 1979). The president of the Hellenic Community of the Island of Montreal has been quoted in the daily "Gazette" as saying that the Greeks of the city number 75,000 (The Gazette, October 15, 1980).

The Greeks in Montreal share many of the characteristics of migrant people discussed so far. In other words, Greeks came to Montreal mainly for economic reasons, they came from very poor, rural, and non-industrial communities, and their educational level has been very low. When migrating, they had no knowledge of either of the official languages (English and French), and they were, for the most part, unskilled and had no preparation for what was to confront them in the new country when they were leaving Greece searching for a better and more prosperous future. That was especially true for the early Greek immigrants to Canada - and Montreal in particular - and it is true also for the people who came to Montreal during the years 1960-1970 and whose children are the subjects of this present research. J. Norris (1971), when studying the Greeks in British Columbia, notes that:

The new wave of immigration began in the early 1950's.

In Greece the privations of the German Occupation and the subsequent civil war had

revived the popularity of emmigration.....
Greeks have come to British Columbia almost
exclusively for economic reasons (pp. 145-147).

Similar argument presents Giannacopoulos (1977) based on
responses to a specially constructed questionnaire to 103
Greeks who live in Montreal.

More than three quarters, 75.7% of the Greek
immigrants of Montreal that responded to the
survey gave economic reasons for their migrations,
5.5% political, 4.8% personal and sentimental
reasons, 11.6% declined to answer the question, and
only 1.9% stated that they migrated wether because
they liked to travel or for adventure.....for
most (Greeks) it was not simply a decision to
migrate in search of better economic conditions,
but it was a forced decision since they were
unable to find employment or when working their
wages were so low that they could hardly support
their families....the survey revealed that 71.8%
of the respondents are of a rural background.....
the majority of the Greek immigrants in Quebec,
67.9% were sponsored by relatives.....and 15%
entered the country illegally either as tourists
or as sailors (pp. 96-99).

M. Stephanides (1971), a Greek immigrant himself, examined
Detroit's Greek community and described the particular
characteristics of the members of that community. He
concluded that "Greek immigration was the result of
economic necessity. Greeks were mainly uneducated and
heavily represented the countryside". Similar arguments
are presented by the Ministry of Culture and Recreation of

Ontario (1974) when stating that in the Toronto area "over 90% of the Greek immigrant come from the working class with a rural background....In many such areas education is limited to no more than grade six" (p. 14). S. Ramcharan(1975) shares the same views about the origin and the education of Greek immigrants: "the majority of these (Greek) immigrants were from rural backgrounds, had less than six years education, and had little or no command of the English language at the time of their arrival to Canada"(p. 96). Giannacopoulos states that: "The post war Greek immigrants in Québec are mainly of rural background, and at time of arrival they had no work skills, their level of education was comparatively low, and most knew neither English nor French. Their main asset has been that they came here relatively young, healthy and willing to work hard" (pp. 99-100).

The particular cultural characteristics of Greeks who came to Montreal, their poor education, lack of knowledge of the new land's language, their economic poverty and rural origin had great influence on their thinking and on their way of behaving in the new society. All these factors greatly determined: their choice of residence, social relations and institutions, jobs and interests, and their children's upbringing and education. In Quebec, Greeks have mostly chosen the city of Montreal (and the surrounding municipalities lately) as their permanent residence. In 1971 there were 38,970 Greeks (by mother tongue) in the

province of Quebec and a whole 38,850 had their permanent residence in the urban regions of the province. The great majority of these Greeks - at that time - were living inside the municipal borders of the city of Montreal. Only 205 Greeks had settled in towns with populations between 100,000 and 499,000 people (Census of Canada, 1971). In reporting population by ethnic groups (Census of Canada, 1971) it is indicated that 42,870 Greeks lived at that time in the province of Quebec, while another 67,025 - the highest of all provinces - lived in the province of Ontario. The interprovincial division of Greeks is illustrated in Chart 3.1 according to the information by Census of Canada (1971). There are - however few - studies which, along with personal accounts and interviews, show the overall situation of Greeks in Canada, and of Greeks in Montreal.

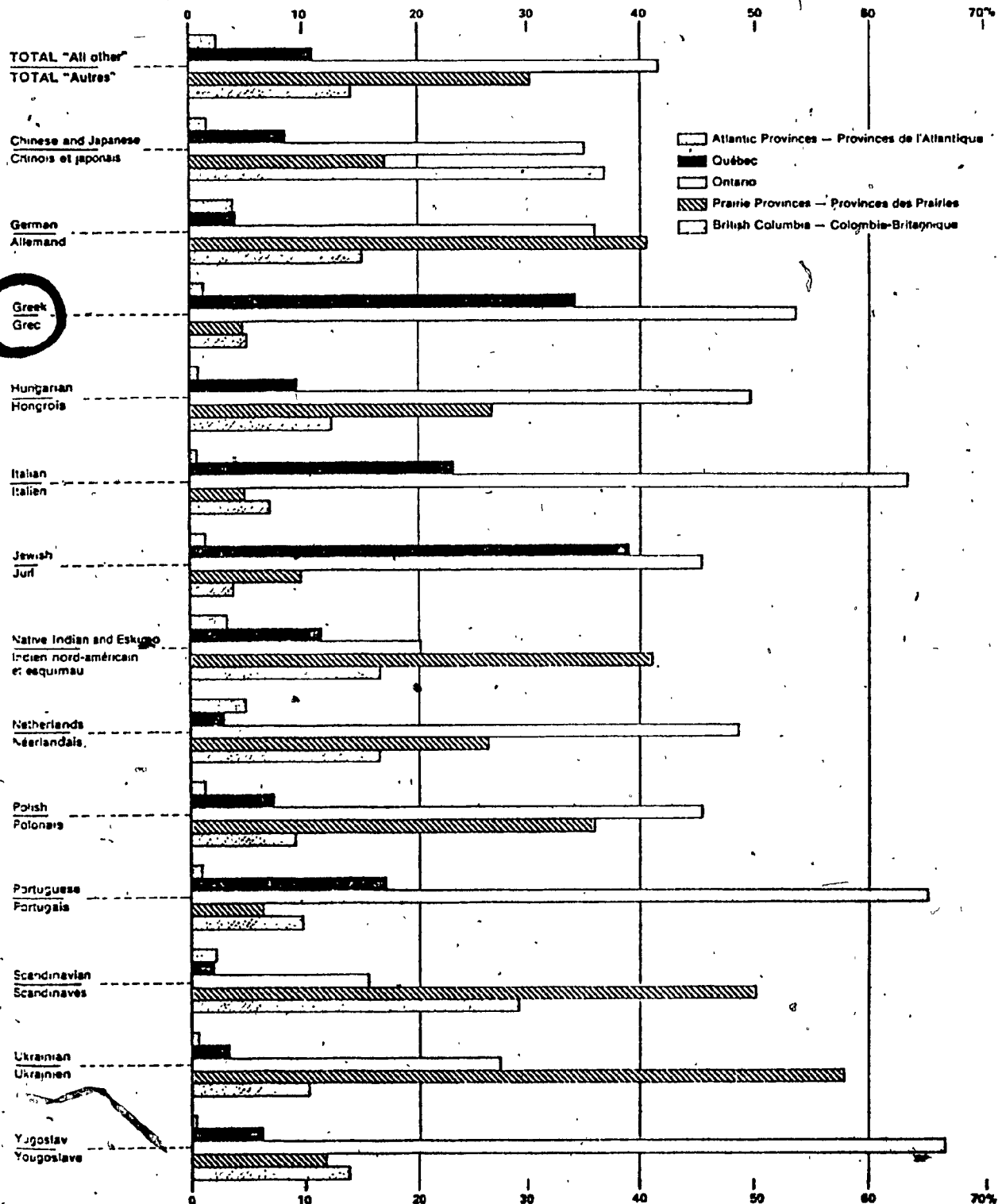
The social organization of Greeks in Montreal center first around the family and secondly around the ethnic community or the ethnic (local) association. Although there is only one official Greek community in the area of Montreal, lately many Greeks have moved out of the city of Montreal and some other Greek Orthodox communities have been established in Laval, the South Shore and St. Laurent. Under the Greek name Kinotis (community) they operate churches, ethnic schools, cultural festivities and some welfare services, although the paid membership is very low. For example, the present executive council of the Kinotis of Montreal was elected by 1061 voters (an unexpected

CHART 3.1

Graphique — 3

Chart — 3
Percentage Distribution of Specified Ethnic Groups by Region, 1971
(Percentage based on ethnic group total(1))

Répartition en pourcentage de certains groupes ethniques par région, 1971
(Pourcentage basé sur le total (1) du groupe ethnique)



(1) Includes Yukon and Northwest Territories. — X compris le Yukon et les Territoires du Nord-Ouest
Source: Table 4. — Tableau 4.

large turnout this last election) - this council supposedly represents at least fifty thousand Greeks.

The great majority of Greeks in Montreal are affiliated, one way or another, to the existing numerous associations in the Greek community. These associations have been established and supported by the people of a specific town or village, while there are few associations which represent people from all over Greece, i.e. the Greek Labour Association, the Hellenic (Kinotis) Community of Montreal, and the Hellenic Federation of Parents and Guardians, and others. Like other immigrant groups, Greeks try to live - not only geographically but socially and psychologically as well - in great proximity to each other. Their ethnic associations, along with a whole series of services and festivities offered in the mother tongue, constitute the world of the Greek immigrant - especially the more recent immigrant -, a world that is "complete" in itself, closed to "outsiders" and quite often suspicious and afraid of everything non-Greek. Here is an illustrative description found in a Hellenophone magazine of Montreal (ECHO, 1970): The Greek immigrant (especially of the fifties and sixties) always carrying with him from Greece the feelings of constant fear and suspicion towards the "host" society and its institutions, does not know that in the new country he has every legitimate right to express his complaints - be these complaints personal or of the group. Living in a world which, to his perception, is

unfriendly and indifferent, the Greek immigrant does not participate in full in the new society and subsequently he turns to his compatriots who share with him nationality, customs, traditions and difficulties. Thus, despite the intentions and goals when in Greece, he becomes "locked" into himself and stays out of a "prosperous" society, a society that he wanted to know, to live, and to enjoy and for which he travelled thousands of miles away from Greece.

In analyzing the social pattern of Greeks in Toronto, Nagata (1969) suggests that the majority are often fragmented and socially isolated. The same pattern of social organization is found in Montreal, an organization which beyond the positive aspects that it offers to the Greek immigrants, this same organization also affects negatively the Greeks and their children by isolating them and keeping them outside the mainstream culture. One of the traditional and persistent characteristics of Greeks - in Greece and in Montreal - is the dominant and unquestionably powerful role of the father in the family.

T. Saloutos (1964) writes:

The father was the master of the family, in fact as well as in theory. He believed in exercising his authority. He is the family head who must be respected and obeyed. Children must submit to his will;.....It was he who put the seal of approval on the prospective marriage of a daughter (p. 89).

There have been reports by some researchers - and this in many instances has been supported by the

author's personal experience - that many Greeks in Montreal do not even need to use one single English or French word in their everyday life. They can - and in fact they do - spend their days and nights for months and years speaking and communicating only in Greek. In the city of Montreal and in suburban areas there are numerous groceries, bakeries, pool rooms and coffee houses, restaurants, stores, lawyers, notaries, insurance brokers and real estate agents, jewellers, doctors (of any specialty), radio and T.V. programs, newspapers and various agencies of social services that conduct their business in the Greek language. Greeks use those services and facilities more often than any other of the kind and by doing so they can feel at home. They "balance out" the feelings of insecurity - or at least they think so - and "tranquilize" their strong feelings of nostalgia for the Greek village left behind and the good "pure" life in the countryside of Greece. M. Stephanides (1972) confirms this pattern of social organization of Greek immigrants across different contexts:

The social life of the Greeks centers around the church, its affiliated organizations, and the regional societies. Usually first generation Greeks place more emphasis on regional organizations in contrast to the second and third generation who tend to join national and religious groups (p. 116).

Undoubtedly, on the negative side, this kind of social organization makes the adjustment and integration of Greeks

very difficult. By being isolated and resentful of everything non-Greek the life of Greeks in the new society becomes monotonous, outside the mainstream culture and frustrated. The children of Greek immigrants bear all the scars of the geographical and socio-psychological isolation and this is greatly reflected in their educational careers.

In Montreal, the Park Avenue (which is often called "Greek Avenue") and the Park Extension areas are the main "ghettoes" where most Greeks live. It is true that today a great number of Greeks - especially those who immigrated 10-15 years ago - have managed to improve their economic lot and have moved out of these "ghetto" areas. Lately, they tend to form some kind of middle class "ghettoes" in the areas of Laval, Ville St. Laurent, Brossard, and the South Shore, while some have moved to other areas as well. Still, Park Avenue and more so, the Park Extension area are full of Greek stores and residents whose mother tongue is the Greek language. In socio-economic terms, those areas are among the poorest sections of the Island of Montreal with the least governmental (federal, provincial, and municipal alike) attention and care.

The Park Avenue and Park Extension areas are today largely inhabited by Greeks and Italians, and an increasingly large number of Chinese..... Recent surveys conducted by the Conseil de Travail, le Conseil des Oeuvres, the Urban Social Re-development Projects, the Montreal Council of

Social Agencies, and the International YMCA, have shown this area to be one of Montreal's most depressed areas. Income, employment, health, housing, and education are all well below the metropolitan norms (Gavaki, 1977, p. 35).

Most of the Greeks who come to Montreal, being poor agriculturalists or shepherds in Greece and without any further skills or education start working in restaurants as dishwashers or kitchen helpers and the cleaning business as cleaners with the lowest wages and without any objection to any kind of "boss": i.e. they might get even less than minimum wages for very hard work and they may work 12-16 hour days or nights. There are many Greeks in Montreal today who possess considerable economic wealth but their "cultural" wealth in a very broad sense is low. It seems that Greeks have been magnetized by the powerful "magic" of the dollar and in the pursuit of money they tend to put everything else aside. Greeks, at least the majority of them, have come to Montreal for economic reasons, and they continue to strive only for economic improvement although exceptions do exist across the whole Greek population of Montreal.

As has been reported by the Greeks themselves they have been treated in derogatory and abusive ways by the non-immigrants, Anglophones and Francophones alike. Very often the Greek culture has been ridiculed and humiliated and the Greeks' inability to speak either of the two official languages has been usually the reason

for attacks and insults. This is not to say, however, that Greeks have done everything at their disposal to ease this kind of ongoing "war" between themselves and the older residents of Montreal. Nevertheless, all this tense situation experienced by the Greeks everyday creates high pressures which in turn hurt deeply the so called "philotimo" which is an integral part of every Greek: "the concept of 'philotimo', which, loosely translated, means self-esteem, forms the core of the Greek personality. One's philotimo can be easily bruised through an act or unkind word" (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1974, p. 4). E. Gavaki (1977) points out the life of the Greeks in Montreal is seriously disrupted and mental illnesses are quite common among them:

Reports from the Allan Memorial Hospital indicate that an unusually high proportion of patients passing through their emergency clinic are Greeks from the Park Avenue - Park Extension area, who are unable to cope with pressure from within and without (p. 36).

Greek husbands may spend long hours at the coffeehouse playing cards or discussing politics while women are obliged to stay home, after work, and take care of everything from cooking and cleaning to children's education and shopping. Thus, "....women become depressed with disastrous results on marital relationships and the mental health of children" (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1974, p. 4).

The Greeks, in their "chase" for economic success, very often forget their children's basic needs and more so their children's education processes. Certainly, no one would take the stand to argue that this "eternal chase" for the dollar by the Greeks in Montreal is something that is to be seen independently of the reasons of migration, of the attitudes and positions of the Greek governments, and of the treatment of the Greek immigrants by the receiving society. This vein of argument was presented in a very recent symposium on Greek immigrants in European countries which was held in Athens and the conclusive remarks of all participants (from Germany, Sweden, Belgium, France, Great Britain etc.) were that:

.....the Greek immigrants all over the world are considered as second class citizens. This is true for both governments involved, the Greek and the host society's government. Greece has no contact whatsoever with the so many Greeks outside the geographical borders of the country except its interest in the money that Greek immigrants send back to Greece. On the other hand the so called host societies - year after year - have always tried to minimize and restrict immigrants' rights and any kind of activities. Thus, 450,000 Greek immigrants in the various European countries are in a very bad situation. These Greek immigrants are confronted with political, economic, educational, and social impasses (TA NEA, 1980, October 6).

Nonetheless, Greek immigrants in Montreal, for the most part, leave everything to the school and the teachers, and they think - they actually insist - that they have

nothing to offer which might help their children's schooling. The "school business" is not something that these Greeks can get involved with. In various ways, non-immigrants might reinforce this apathy shown by the Greeks. The irony in all this is the fact that for many Greeks, immigration - with all its difficulties and problems - has been traditionally seen as the principal avenue for a better education and improvement of their children's future. The stock statement that Greek parents often make with respect to their children is: "We came here for the sake of the children." And, although empirical evidence is almost non-existent, informal observations and discussions with school related people suggest that the children of Greeks in Montreal are performing less well at school when compared with their non-immigrant classmates.

This relative indifference of Greek parents for the education of their children is well illustrated in a very recent (April, 1980) article that was presented in the monthly informational review published by the largest educational organization in the Greek community of Montreal, during the pre-election period for school commissioners:

Finally, the time has come for all of us in the Greek community to realize that we must demonstrate more interest and involvement in all matters related to our children's education. We

must become "activated", so that there will be an analogous representation of our population in all sectors of the educational system (Information, 1980, p. 3).

To make the argument even stronger the article continues with figures that exist today in the PSBGM - representation of the "Greek element" of Montreal in the various sectors and levels of the educational reality (Information, 1980, p. 3):

(all figures are approximate)

Total number of students.....	39,000
Students of Greek origin.....	8,000
Total number of teachers.....	2,500
Teachers of Greek origin.....	120
Principal of Greek origin.....	1
Vice-principal of Greek origin.....	1
School Commissioner of Greek origin.....	1

Admittedly, the way that children are brought up by their parents has great influence on the academic careers of these children. Greeks have their own patterns which they strictly follow in rearing their children.

Among other things, "physical punishment is freely used and children are disciplined also through scoldings, ridicule and appeals to parental sacrifices or family honour" (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1974, p. 3).

It is not uncommon practice to have a baby sent to the grandmother in Greece so that both parents can work. The child is returned to his parents at the age of eight or nine with the result that he doesn't know who his parents are. These children are often confused, disoriented and

5

find it difficult to conceptualize relationship". (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1974, p. 16). On the other hand, there are many cases where the grandmother is brought - sometimes against her will - here to care for the young children of the family. The child-rearing that these grandmothers can offer to prepare the child for the new world out there is far from adequate. More so, the traditional conflict between parents and children of practically all cultures is intensified in Greek immigrant families (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1974).

Thus, it can be seen that the educational difficulties of the Greek immigrants' children start at home, before they even enter grade one. At school these difficulties become more visible and more intense. It would be, however, an injustice not to mention the fact that during the last 3-5 years there have been a number of considerable changes in attitudes and behaviors on the part of the Greeks in Montreal. Although there is no systematically gathered data to demonstrate this change in attitudes and behaviors, personal observations of the author and informal discussions within the Greek community render support to this argument.

More and more Greek parents have begun to participate in the various school committees, more women take the time needed to stay at home and help their children with school work, many more Greek parents have realized the importance of the "parental involvement" aspect in the educational

processes and a large number of parents try to carefully supervise their children and understand their rights and special needs. Additionally, an increasing number of Greek parents join the ranks of the different associations and organizations in putting pressure on governmental bodies for a much better educational system. No impartial observer could deny that there are today quite a few Greeks who have realized their children's difficulties and problems (inside and out of school) and with that recognition in mind they have been constantly striving through all available means to ameliorate the situation. Either as individuals or as organizations they work hard towards a better - not only in economic terms - future for their offspring.

Basically, the educational problems of Greek immigrant children are quite the same and result from the same linguistic and non-linguistic factors discussed in the preceding chapter. Unfortunately, research on the education of Greek immigrant students is almost non-existent - especially for the province of Quebec and the Island of Montreal in particular where about 95% of all Greeks of Quebec live. The educational failure of these children can only be reported and confirmed by personal contacts, experiences and interviews with parents themselves and other school related people. Exact and official figures are not available but, on the whole, there are many Greek immigrant students who face great difficulties at school.

their overall performance is below average, and they are struggling every day to keep pace with their classmates. This is especially true in the "Greek and/or immigrant segregated" schools where failure has been a quite familiar experience.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The central problem of this study was to identify the variables that play a decisive role in helping a number of immigrant students to go against all the well documented difficulties in the educational system and become successful in their academic careers.

The Successful Immigrant Student

So far, the review of the literature on immigrants and their children's education - Greeks included - have been primarily concerned with the overall negative side of immigranthood, a side very true and real. The discussion has been the reflection of the prevailing tendencies when examining immigrants. And these tendencies of all researchers - except perhaps a couple of investigators - have been to identify, examine, analyze, and discuss every aspect of immigranthood that does not "function properly", and results in failure. It seems that researchers, in dealing with the educational issues and problems pertaining to immigrants, have been exclusively concerned with whatever is not well-functioning, ill, unhealthy.

As has been presented, the literature on the education of immigrants suggests that the great majority of all immigrants lags behind in measures of academic achievement when compared with the non-immigrant students.

However, the same body of literature - and personal observations of the author - indicate that there is a small minority (however small) of immigrant students who do "get through" and become successful students. But, unfortunately, this minority of students has not been dealt with empirically by social scientists.

Nonetheless, by making this "small exception" a central theme of inquiry, this present study will focus on the "successful" immigrant students. It should be pointed out that no empirical study - on Greeks or any other immigrant group - of that nature could be located in the existing literature, even after a computer search through the Concordia University libraries.

There are, however, some very recent studies from which a number of instructive parallels could be drawn. Norman Garnezy, for example, has been involved in studies investigating the so called "invulnerables" or "superkids" who:

Whatever their circumstances - they may be the offspring of schizophrenics or children who are abused, extremely poor or otherwise at risk - they respond to stress by developing extraordinary competence (Psychology Today, 1979, p. 53).

Garnezy seems very enthusiastic about this new movement towards the study of wellness rather than pathology and he anticipates that more and more people will eventually get into studying "superkids" who, "know how to make something out of very little; and they bounce back! It

is the recovery phenomenon after stress that is so characteristic of them; they just have a tough bite on life (p. 53). Psychiatrist E. James Anthony (1970), who since 1966 has been studying a group of 300 children at risk for mental illness, describes the "superkids" as those who: "seem not only to be immune to pathological influences in the environment, but almost thrive on them" (p. 54). Samuel Woodard (1979), has been studying why certain black children from inner city districts do not have problems with school performance despite broken homes, poverty, drugs, and racism. Recently, more and more researchers are beginning to discover "invulnerables" everywhere - among the poor, among the handicapped, among orphans, and in minority groups.

There seem to be a number of useful parallels which could be drawn from the above rather new and tentative literature, parallels that are quite relevant for the education of immigrants. Thus,

- 1) On the whole, the home environment of immigrant children is rather poor, unchallenging, prone to educational failure;

- 2) The school environment (school staff, policies and practices) does not appear to be favorable for the immigrant students;

- 3) Social relations, culture conflict, language difficulties, and the parents' low level of education have negative influences on the attainment of immigrant children.

Accordingly, it can be said that immigrant students find themselves in quite similar environments with those "high risk" children. But even so, "superkids" and "invulnerables" are found among immigrant students who against all odds, score high on measures of school attainment.

Thus, against the whole background of difficulties and problems faced by immigrant children at school, and by very carefully and methodically considering the indisputable fact that some of these children do succeed in school, this present research undertook the task to:

- a) Identify correlates of academic success among Greek immigrant students;
- b) Draw a general profile of the academically successful immigrant;
- c) Pinpoint and investigate all possible - relevant - parameters that affect school performance and lie in the reach of immigrants (parents, children, ethnic communities).

It was hoped that at the end of the study a constructive comparison will be made between features of the successful immigrant students and of immigrant students who fall behind in school demands,

In short, this study was ultimately aimed at demonstrating that even in the existing educational systems, immigrant students are not in a completely hopeless situation.

Sample

The total sample population of the study consisted of Greek immigrant students who could master quite fluently both the Greek and English languages. In order to determine correlates of academic success two groups of about 35 students were contrasted in a number of measures. These two groups were differentiated on the basis of the students' academic performance - high and low performers in school subjects according to their respective teachers' evaluations. The variables that were assumed to elucidate the relevant educational correlates of success were: a) level of self-esteem, b) parental interest and involvement, and c) the life style of the students themselves. The factor "general intelligence" was controlled by balancing the IQ scores of the two groups (low and high performers).

The reason for choosing the above variables as "the dependent variables" of the study stemmed from the focal emphasis put on this entire research, an emphasis on what the immigrants themselves (children, parents, the ethnic community) could possibly try to do in order to improve the performance of the Greek students in the schools of Montreal.

The first variable, the level of self-esteem, had been found in previous studies to correlate significantly with academic success and these findings have been discussed in the introductory section. The fact that the level of self-esteem can be influenced to a great extent, and quite probably changed, for the better by the parents has been

elaborately discussed by S. Coopersmith in his monumental work The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. In summarizing his views Coopersmith (1967) states that: "Parental warmth, clearly defined limits, respectful treatment.....are the summarized answers to the very important question: 'What are the conditions that lead an individual to value himself and regard himself as an object of worth?' " (p. VII).

And in another instance he points out emphatically that "Parents influence their children not only by what they are and what they believe but especially by what they do. The codes of behavior they set before their children, both by tuition and example, serve as guides to achieving success and power" (p. 100). It is success and power that elevate the feelings of worthiness which he holds for himself.

"These children (preadolescents) are still highly dependent upon their parents and are very likely to employ the family context and its values to judge their own worth" (p. 6), Coopersmith states.

The other two variables (parental interest and involvement, and children's life style), were measured via interviews and questionnaires which were made up of such questions that would elicit information about attitudes aspirations and behaviors of the parents and children themselves. Additionally, performance in the part time Greek community school was assessed. The investigator of this study (a Greek by nationality and teacher for 6 years in the community schools), through personal contacts and many communications with the parents during the past three

to four years had been told - as one would expect - that due to a number of factors, and primarily the language factor, Greek immigrant parents are better able and equipped to help their children's school processes in the community school than in the ordinary English school.

In summary then, the entire research was carried out as follows: a) all Ss were given the intelligence test, self-esteem inventory and especially constructed questionnaire; b) teachers' ratings for the Ss academic performance in both schools (English and Greek) were obtained; c) on the basis of SE scores (because of the non-availability of English school performance ratings) and by balancing IQ scores the two groups of "high" and "low" academic performers were selected and the parents of these two groups of Ss were interviewed by telephone in a semi-structured interview.

Subproblems were indicated by the following questions:

- 1) Do means exist by which some immigrant children, when faced with the hardships at school, not only cope effectively, but they "reverse" the hardship into motivation for success?
- 2) Are parental interest and involvement in the whole educational process among the principal factors that correlate with immigrant students' academic success?
- 3) Is there any correlation between the success in the part-time Greek school and the regular English school?

4) How is level of self-esteem related to academic performance?

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Measurement Instruments</u>
IQ	IPAT Test of "g" Culture Fair Scale 2, Form A
Socio-economic status	Father's occupation
Academic performance in the community school	Final school grade
Self-esteem	Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory
Life-style (children)	Questionnaire (Appendix B)
Parental interest and involvement	Interview based on Questionnaire (Appendix D)
Academic Performance in the English school	Teacher's rating scale (Appendix C)

On the basis of all the previously discussed literature, the following hypotheses were made:

Hypothesis #1: It was hypothesized that among Greek immigrant students there is a positive relationship between academic performance and level of self-esteem.

Hypothesis #2: It was hypothesized that among Greek immigrant students there is a positive relationship between academic performance in the regular (English) school and the community school.

Hypothesis #3: It was hypothesized that among Greek immigrant students there is a positive relationship between academic performance and parental interest and involvement (Appendix D) and between academic performance and life style of the students (Appendix B).

Definition of terms

- 1) Greek Immigrant Student: For this study, "immigrant student" will be defined as a child both of whose parents were born in Greece.
- 2) Successful Immigrant Student: An immigrant student who is rated by his/her teacher(s) as showing average or above average performance when compared to the rest of the class.
- 3) Community Schools: The part time Greek schools (afternoons or Saturday mornings) in which students are taught, for three and a half to four hours weekly, reading and writing Greek, and a little history, geography, and religion. These schools operate in different areas across the Island of Montreal.
- 4) Parental Interest and Involvement: Involves helping with school work, buying books for the child (other than those required by school), coming into contact with the school's personnel (e.g. parent teacher's interviews), knowing the child's strengths and weaknesses in school subjects, having control over the child's home schedule, taking the time needed to help his child with school work, and discussing any matter honestly and seriously with his child.

5) Life-Style (children): Involves reading school books (and extra school books), feeling comfortable with parents and getting help from them, finding somebody at home who is willing to help out with everyday problems, participating in class discussions, attitudes towards education and aspirations for career.

6) Unsuccessful Immigrant Student: An immigrant student who is rated by his/her teacher(s) as showing below average performance when compared to the rest of the class.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred Greek immigrant children made up the total sample of this study. Fifty four of these were boys and the other 46 were girls. Their age range was from 9 years to 12 years, with a mean age of 10.44 years. All subjects were drawn from the same school which belonged to an English Protestant Board in Montreal and this school was located in an area where a large number of immigrants - especially Greek immigrants - live. According to some of the teachers in the school it was estimated that at the time of the study 90-95% of the students were of Greek origin. The socio-economic status of the Ss - determined by the father's occupation - was that of working class level. None of the fathers could be placed in the first four classes using the Blishen (1965) criteria and scale.

The Ss were selected in the following manner: After obtaining the necessary permission and approval of the School Board's special committee, the principal and the teachers of the school, and the Parents' School committee, the investigator spoke to the teachers - in a prearranged meeting - of grades three, four, five and six, explaining the whole scope of the study and asking for their cooperation in selecting the sample. At the end of this specially held meeting it was decided that each individual parent had to give his/her written permission for the child to participate.

in the study. Thus, after three days, a letter - in both the English and Greek languages (Appendix A) - was handed to the teachers of the above grades. The letter was in turn distributed to all students asking them to bring it back signed by their parents. Out of about 200 such letters distributed to classrooms (two sections in each grade) only 117 were returned to the teachers and subsequently handed in to the investigator. Three of these letters expressed the respective parents objection for their children's participation in the study, while 14 other letters were disregarded because they came from non-Greek parents - something that was not relevant to the design of the study.

The total population of this study consisted of the remaining one hundred children. Of these 100 Ss, thirty six were selected as the Ss in the Phase II of the study, thirty two in the Phase III, and fifty eight in the Phase IV. All 100 Ss were included in the Phase I of the study. All Ss spoke Greek and English fluently and most of them knew the investigator as one of the teachers in the part time Greek school.

Test Materials

IPAT Culture Fair Intelligence Test: (1933-63)

The title on the test is Test of "g": Culture Fair: 3 levels, prepared by R. B. Cattell and A.K.S. Cattell.

Scale 2, Form A (1949-63) of the IPAT (Institute for Personality and Ability Testing) Culture Fair Intelligence Test was used to obtain a measure of

intelligence of all Ss. Scale 2 is designed to be used for testing children of the ages 8-14 and average adults. This scale consists of four subtests: Series (12 items), which requires that the examinee complete a sequence of four drawings by choosing one from among five options; Classifications (14 items), which requires that he pick out one of a set of five drawings that is different from the rest; Matrices (12 items) requiring the selection of a drawing to complete a matrix; and Conditions (8 items), which requires that the examinee select from among five drawings of overlapping geometric figures the one in which one or two dots could be placed to fit the specifications of a model. At the beginning of each subtest there are 3 example items one of which is accompanied with the correct answer aiming at helping the examinee to figure out the "mechanism" under which each subtest of items works.

The entire IPAT Culture Fair (formerly "Free") Test has been designed on the basis of Cattell's theory of fluid, general ability in contrast to the traditional concepts of crystallized intelligence. R. Cattell has pointed out that the relationship of Spearman's "g" (the "g" factor upon which all intellectual activity is dependent and which is common to all so called mental activity) to Thurstone's "primary mental abilities" (multiple group-factor theory of primary mental abilities) could well be explained as the existence in every individual of an inherent general ability which, by practice and experience, becomes directed in different

degrees to different areas, distinguishes two kinds of general ability, fluid and crystalized.

Cattell believes that his modification of the Spearman-Thurstone techniques provides evidence for two fundamental types of intelligence, both of which are underlying general-order factors. He distinguishes two kinds of general ability, fluid and crystalized. Fluid general ability is seen as the capacity for learning and adaptation, which is relatively independent of education and experience. Crystalized intelligence, on the other hand, is the result of experience-acquired knowledge and the development of intellectual skills. The two are necessarily related to the learner. Cattell's concept of fluid intelligence is comparable to "g", which Spearman defined as the ability to grasp relationships quickly. Cattell notes that the two major kinds of intelligence (fluid and crystalized) are composed of some elementary abilities, called "primary" mental abilities. The number of these primaries is small. Only about 30 can be accepted as really well-established.

Tannenbaum (1965) in reviewing the IPAT states that this test is "a tool that enables psychometrists to depart from allegedly antiquated practices in mental measurement" (p. 453) and he presents a variety of ways in which the two characterizations of mental activity (fluid and crystalized) differ:

a) Crystalized intelligence (g_c) is reflected in

cognitive performance that has become patterned through earlier learning experiences. Fluid ability (g_f), on the other hand, manifests itself through adaptive mental behavior in situations so unfamiliar that previously learned skills can be of no help in guiding such behavior.

b) Diversity in cultural interests and opportunities produces more individual differences in g_c than in g_f , even before biological maturity (age 15-25) has been reached.

c) Both types of ability reach their growth peaks at different ages, g_f leveling off sometime in early adolescence, while g_c may continue to grow in late adolescence and early adulthood, depending on the length of participation in cultural pursuits.

d) Standardized tests measuring g_c show a much smaller sigma than does a test like IPAT, measuring g_f . The reason is that in a given subculture the previous learning experiences which strongly influence g_c scores are so circumscribed that they tend to reduce the variance at a given age level. One example of the restrictive nature of learning activity may be found in the typical classroom where a wide range of potential is funneled into narrow-range performance as bright pupils are restrained from moving ahead and dull pupils are pushed to achieve more than they can.

e) With g_f rooted relatively more in heredity and physiology and g_c based relatively more on environment and experience, the latter type of measure will show greater fluctuation in test norms over the years.

Plenty of criticisms have been voiced as to whether or not the so called "culture free" intelligence tests are really free of cultural influences and environmental biases.

These criticisms have brought about the change in the name of the tests from "culture free" to "culture fair" tests. But even as "culture fair" reviewers are very critical of the tests and their aimed goal:-

No one yet has produced a satisfactory culture fair test, and we need to see the evidence bearing on the extent to which the Cattell test meets its goals of providing a test of "g" that is minimally susceptible to cultural influences. The manuals are woefully inadequate in meeting this requirement.As one of the manuals states, pictorial tests still involve cultural influence, while performance tests often avoid intelligence in avoiding culture (Milholland, 1965, p. 720).

The IPAT Scale 2 Form A is a test of non-verbal ability and in its attempt to achieve cultural fairness the test is constructed to include mostly nonverbal material, universally unfamiliar, and some commonplace material, universally familiar. The effects of social class, ethnicity, and even nationality on test results are said to be filtered out.

Scale 2 was standardized on 4,328 subjects from various parts of Great Britain and the U.S.A. No breakdown by age is noted. Evidence of validity is impressive, as far as it goes. Subtest correlations with Spearman's "g" (general mental capacity) range from .52 to .99 on American samples and from .78 to .83 on British samples. Full test correlations are reported on the order of .59 with ACE, .84 with the Wechsler-Bellevue, anywhere from .56

to .85 with the Stanford-Binet, and an average of .73 with the Otis group test. Both Scales 2 and 3 show moderate internal consistency. Split-half and test-retest coefficients exceeded .80 in most samples tested. Immediate test-retest correlations of the full test were .82 and .85 on American and British samples, respectively. A striking finding is that when the tests (IPAT) were given twice to a complete age group of 10 years in a city of 300,000 (retest interval, 14 years) no significant difference was obtained either in mean or standard deviation. This result contrasts with that obtained with other tests, e.g. the Binet test which, when used in the Scottish Survey, showed an increase of 2.28 points of IQ over a period of 15 years (1932-1947).

The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory: The instrument chosen to measure the self-concept of the children was Stanley Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory (1967). The Coopersmith instrument was chosen primarily because of its wide use (Butcher, 1967; Clark and Trowbridge, 1971; Coopersmith, 1967; Zirkel and Moses, 1971), because it is designed for use at the elementary school level, and because of normative data available. Reliability and validity data on CSEI are described in Coopersmith (1967):

The test-retest reliability obtained for the Self-Esteem Inventory after a five week interval with a sample of 30 fifth-grade children was .88 and the reliability after a three-year interval with a different sample of 56 children was .70.

The CSEI is a self report inventory consisting of

this phase of the procedure. Twenty nine of these children were at the low 29% of the CSEI scores whereas the other twenty nine children were at the top 29% of the CSEI scores. The intelligence factor was controlled between the two groups by balancing the mean scores of the Ss in the IPAT (64.68/64.79).

Each of the 58 parents (either father or mother) was contacted by the investigator himself through telephone. Most of these contacts were made in the morning hours in order to avoid, as much as possible, the presence of the children during the interview. After having established a "workable atmosphere" and having thanked the parent for the help and cooperation the actual interview (in a very friendly and informal manner) was carried out using the questions of the PQ as the principle basis of departure for the whole conversation. Upon request, further explanations and elaborations were provided by the investigator. The answers were recorded at the same time with as much detail as possible.

On the average, each such interview lasted about 8-10 minutes and effort was made so that the respondent would answer all fourteen questions which made up the "interview skeleton". Parents were not interrupted or stopped from discussing further details or expressing his/her point of view in general terms.

All interviews were conducted in Greek. Upon calling the home of each child, the investigator asked to

speaking to one of the parents. The parent who came first to the phone was interviewed. Of those called, not one refused to participate in the study.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

Phase I

All the findings of the Phase I were to be used for the subsequent Phases II, III, IV, where the experimental hypotheses were involved. However, some general points and important highlights of all the measures collected through Phase I of the procedure are examined and discussed because of their educational relevance and their overall pertinence to the study.

The score of every child tested in the CSEI was determined. The mean score of all 100 Ss in the CSEI was 69.07. All girls (N=46) as a group had a mean score of 71.39 whereas the boys (N=54) as a group had a mean score of 66.75. Furthermore, Table 6.1 shows the mean scores, the SD and the variance in the CSEI of all age groups separately and combined.

TABLE 6.1

Mean, Standard Deviation and Variance in CSEI scores.

Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
All Subjects (N=100)	69.48	14.16	200.53
Boys (N=54)	67.70	14.47	209.59
Girls (N=46)	71.56	13.53	183.17
9 year olds, both sexes (N=26)	68.53	15.30	234.25
10 year olds, both sexes (N=23)	70.60	12.71	161.72
11 year olds, both sexes (N=32)	69.75	13.38	179.19
12 year olds, both sexes (N=19)	68.94	15.43	238.22
9 years old (N=12), boys	58.66	14.70	216.34
10 years old (N=16), boys	72.37	9.64	93.00
11 years old (N=16), boys	72.37	13.39	179.34
12 years old (N=10), boys	63.63	9.76	95.86
9 years old, (N=14), girls	77.00	10.96	120.34
10 years old, (N=7), girls	66.57	15.02	225.66
11 years old, (N=16), girls	67.12	14.44	208.64
12 years old, (N=9), girls	74.88	14.25	203.25

As can be seen in Table 6.1 the girls of 9 and 12 years of age are quite ahead of the respective age groups of boys, whereas the group of boys of the ages 10 and 11 take the lead from the groups of girls in the CSEI. A closer examination of Table 6.1 indicates that the 9 years group had the lowest mean score of all groups (Boys=58.66) and also the highest of all the groups (Girls=77). As can be seen in Table 6.2 CSEI measures between boys and girls of the age of 9 years is significant at the .01 level ($t=3.67$, $df=24$, $p .01$).

These findings are quite similar to those obtained by Coopersmith (1967) in his study with 1,748 children attending the public schools of Connecticut. "...The mean for the males was 70.1, S.D. 13.8, which was not significantly different from that of the girls - 72.2, S.D. 12.80" (p. 10). On the whole, girls at this age level seem, for a number of reasons, to value themselves more positively than boys do. This self-assuring attitude of girls could be one of the factors that influence the pre-adolescent girls school performance in light of the existing evidence about the positive relationship between level of self-esteem and academic attainment. The point that should be also kept in mind is the fact that correlation does not imply causation and more so that high self-esteem might be the expression, the result of good school performance. At any rate, Coopersmith (1967) notes that teachers not only differ in the way they assign scores (or grades for that matter) to

their pupils (boys and girls) but they even have a tendency to rate girls higher.

TABLE 6.2

Significance of Differences Between Means in CSEI

Groups contrasted	Difference	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
All boys vs. all girls	1.36	98	NS
All 10 year olds vs. all 9 year olds	.50	47	NS
All 10 year olds vs. all 11 year olds	.24	53	NS
All 10 year olds vs. all 12 year olds	.38	40	NS
All 9 year olds vs. all 11 year olds	-.34	56	NS
All 9 year olds vs. all 12 year olds	-.08	43	NS
All 11 year olds vs. all 12 year olds	.19	49	NS
9 year olds-Girls vs. Boys	3.67	24	1%
10 year olds-Girls vs. Boys	1.00	21	NS
11 year olds-Girls vs. Boys	1.11	30	NS
12 year olds-Girls vs. Boys	1.62	17	NS

The test score of each subject in the IPAT was determined and then converted to standardized scores because of the age range of the children tested. The mean of all 100 standardized scores was found to be 71.91 while the girls (N=46) as a group had a higher mean than that of the boys (N=54) as a group. Table 6.3 shows further analysis of the IPAT measures.

TABLE 6.3

Mean, Standard Deviation, and Variance in IPAT (standardized) scores.

Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
All subjects (N=100)	71.91	32.88	1081.64
All boys (N=54)	69.64	32.66	1066.72
All girls (N=46)	74.56	32.98	1088.20
Nine years old, both sexes (N=26)	72.50	41.66	1736.13
Ten years old, both sexes (N=23)	59.00	35.07	1229.90
Eleven years old, both sexes (N=32)	73.62	25.91	671.60
Twelve years old, both sexes (N=19)	83.84	27.25	759.54
Nine years old (N=12), boys	72.83	39.32	1546.63
Ten years old, boys	60.56	35.15	1236.05
Eleven years old, boys	72.75	24.29	590.43
Twelve years old (N=10), boys	75.40	27.38	777.84
Nine years old (N=14), girls	72.21	36.57	1337.79
Ten years old (N=7), girls	55.42	34.63	1199.48
Eleven years old (N=16), girls	74.50	27.38	749.75
Twelve years old (N=9), girls	93.22	23.91	571.70

It is of interest to note the progressive increase in IPAT scores as the children pass from 9 to 12 years of age. But of equal interest is the fact that the 10 year old children (both sexes) show a substantial decrease in their RCPM scores. More so, both groups with the lowest and highest mean score in the IPAT consist of girls of 10 years and 12 years respectively (55.42/93.22). Table 6.4 shows the differences between group means.

TABLE 6.4

Significance of Differences Between Means in IQ (IPAT).

Groups contrasted	Difference	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
All girls vs. all boys	.74	98	NS
All 10 year olds vs. all 9 year olds	-1.27	47	NS
All 10 year olds vs. all 11 year olds	-1.80	53	NS
All 10 year olds vs. all 12 year olds	-2.45	40	5%
All 9 year olds vs. all 11 year olds	- .14	56	NS
All 9 year olds vs. all 12 year olds	-1.08	43	NS
All 11 year olds vs. all 12 year olds	-1.33	49	NS
9 years old - girls vs. boys	- .04	24	NS
10 years old - girls vs. boys	- .31	21	NS
11 years old - girls vs. boys	- .18	30	NS
12 years old - girls vs. boys	1.41	17	NS

The pattern of responding in the IPAT presents a number of interesting similarities with the way the same Ss responded to the CSEI. The highest mean score in the IPAT (93.22) was obtained by girls and the highest mean score in CSEI was also obtained by girls (77.00). It is true that in the first case it is the 12 year old groups whereas in the latter it is the 9 year old group. This is a finding that needs further research and investigation. But the 12 year group had the second highest mean score (74.88) in the CSEI a point that in no way weakens the argument that girls seem to be leading the self-esteem and the IQ (as measured in this study) race. Such a finding was not unexpected bearing in mind the literature on the topic which suggests that there is a positive correlation between level of self-esteem and IQ scores. A point in case of this correlation is the Trowbridge (1964) study which reported a significant positive correlation between self-concept and IQ.

The responses to all the questions in the CQ were tabulated and all the individual responses were summarized in Table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5

Total number of responses to CQ (the 19 items only) by all 100 Ss.

	Never	Sometimes	Always
1) I like reading books.	1	52	47
2) I do my homework.	1	8	92
3) My parents trust me.	3	37	60
4) I feel good about being Greek.	3	27	70
5) My parents ask me about my school work in detail.	9	47	44
6) My father helps me with my school work.	30	65	5
7) I participate in class discussions.	10	40	50
8) My parents buy me books.	4	52	44
9) I read extra school books.	9	53	38
10) My mother helps me with my school work.	35	52	13
11) My father helps me with the homework from Greek school.	25	46	29
12) My mother helps me with the homework from Greek school.	13	55	32
13) When I come home from school someone older is waiting for me. If yes, who?	30	27	43
14) I get what I want.	4	87	9
15) I feel comfortable with my parents.	4	20	76
	Disagree	not sure	always
16) Education is important in everyday life.	1	12	87
17) I want to go to university.	7	28	65
18) My teachers are satisfied with me as a student.	7	38	55
19) I would like to go to another school.	71	23	6

TABLE 6.6

Total number of responses in the CQ (19 items only of all 54 boys

	Never	Sometimes	Always
1) I like reading books.	1	33	20
2) I do my homework.	0	7	47
3) My parents trust me.	3	15	36
4) I feel good about being Greek.	3	12	39
5) My parents ask me about my school work in detail.	3	25	26
6) My father helps me with my school work.	14	36	4
7) I participate in class discussions.	6	18	30
8) My parents buy me books.	3	28	23
9) I read extra school books.	7	29	17
10) My mother helps me with my school work.	18	29	7
11) My father helps me with the homework from Greek school.	12	28	14
12) My mother helps me with the homework from Greek school.	8	29	17
13) When I come home from school someone older is waiting for me. If yes, who?	19	13	22
14) I get what I want.	3	45	6
15) I feel comfortable with my parents.	3	8	43
	Disagree	not sure	agree
16) Education is important in everyday life.	0	9	45
17) I want to go to university.	7	14	33
18) My teachers are satisfied with me as a student.	6	18	29
19) I would like to go to another school.	32	17	5

TABLE 6.7.

Total number of responses in the CQ (19 items only) of all 46 girls.

	Never	Sometimes	Always
1) I like reading books.	0	19	27
2) I do my homework.	0	1	45
3) My parents trust me.	0	22	24
4) I feel good about being Greek.	0	15	31
5) My parents ask me about my school work in detail.	6	22	18
6) My father helps me with my school work.	16	29	1
7) I participate in class discussions.	4	22	20
8) My parents buy me books.	1	24	21
9) I read extra school books.	2	23	21
10) My mother helps me with my school work.	17	23	6
11) My father helps me with the homework from Greek school.	13	18	15
12) My mother helps me with the homework from Greek school.	5	26	15
13) When I come home from school someone older is waiting for me. If yes, who?	11	14	21
14) I get what I want.	1	42	3
15) I feel comfortable with my parents.	1	12	33
	Disagree	not sure	agree
16) Education is important in everyday life.	1	3	42
17) I want to go to university.	0	14	32
18) My teachers are satisfied with me as a student.	1	19	26
19) I would like to go to another school.	39	6	1

TABLE 6.8

Total number of responses to the three final items (20, 21, 22) of the CQ from all 100 Ss.

20: On weekdays I watch T.V. for 3.66 hours a day. (mean)

21: When I grow up I want to become: Doctor (16), teacher (11), mechanic (9), secretary or nurse (8), hockey player (6), architect (4), lawyer (2), don't know (4), pilot (4), dentist (2).....

22: Father's occupation: Restaurant (30), skilled workers (20), cleaners (10), no professionals.

Tables 6.5, 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8 provide general information about the children tested, about their attitudes and habits, about their aspirations and their parents cooperation with school related work. Although all this information is of great importance and highly educationally relevant - this will be discussed in detail in later sections - there are some particular pieces of information that "strike" the eye. A whole 30-35% of all children receive no help from either parent in the ordinary English school, while only 30-32% of all parents help their children in the Greek school, a finding that does not seem very encouraging. Very high percentages of children do their assigned homework regularly (92%), feel good about their Greek origin (70%), feel comfortable with their parents (76%), want to go to university (65%), and recognize the practical importance of education (87%). It is also of great educational importance to note from Table 6.5 that almost half of the children (43%) always find someone home when returning from school, that 71% of these children feel always satisfied

with the school they attend and that only 1% expressed total dislike of reading books.

An examination of both Tables 6.6 and 6.7 indicates that, on the whole, the pattern of responding of both groups is not that different. It can be seen however that there do exist some differences in a couple of instances. For example, while 36% of the boys, or approximately 67%, feel that they are trusted by their parents, only 24 of the girls or a percentage of 52% feel trusted. In response to the question #13 a percentage of 35% from the group of boys said that an older person was "never" waiting for them to return from school whereas only 23% of the group of girls chose the "never" answer. In another question (#17) 13% of the boys said that they didn't want to go to university. No girl chose the answer "disagree" for this particular question.

A visual inspection of the total number of choices that both groups made shows that although there are not many differences, the group of boys made 405 choices "not sure/sometimes" out of 1900 whereas the group of girls made 364 such choices. This last point and the different pattern of responding might be indicative of something very characteristic to each sex.

Phase II

In order to determine any possible relationship between academic performance in the ordinary English school and the level of self-concept of the children, the mean score of the 36 students - for whom teacher's

evaluation was obtained through the teachers' rating scale - was calculated. Similarly, for these 36 students their mean score in the CSEI was determined. Table 6.9 shows the means, standard deviations and variances of both AP and SE of the 36 students. The relationship between the two measures was determined by using the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient. The calculation of the coefficient showed a value of $r=.816$, a very high positive correlation between AP and SE, which is significant at the .001 level ($t=8.230$, $df=34$, $p < .001$). This finding confirmed the first hypothesis of the study which, based on previous research, with immigrant and non-immigrant children, had suggested that there was a positive relationship between the way one feels about him/herself and his/her school performance.

TABLE 6.9

Means, standard deviations and variances in measures of academic performance in the ordinary English school and the self-esteem inventory for the 36 students.

	mean m	standard deviation s	variance s^2
AP	70.00	26.66	711.11
SE	70.94	15.60	243.40

When the correlation coefficient - using exactly the same statistical analysis - of the IQ score and AP scores was calculated, it was found to be highly significant, $r=.696$ ($t=5.650$, $df=34$, $p < .001$). This figure compared with the correlation of SE and AP ($r=.816$) shows in the most

eloquent way the tremendous educational significance of the self concept among the children and more so among the immigrant children. The statistically significant positive high correlation between SE and AP which is in full accordance with the existing literature on the topic must be very seriously considered and discussed at full length. Because of the specific nature of the Ss (immigrant children) this obtained correlation becomes of even greater significance.

Similar correlations between SE and AP have been obtained by a great number of investigators. Walsh (1956) on the basis of her findings concluded that low achievers perceived themselves as less free to pursue their own interests, to express their feelings, and to respond adequately to their environment. Low achievers perceive themselves as more restricted in their communications with their world. An unfavorable view of self that goes with poor achievement is already established in many children before they enter first grade, according to a study by Wattenberg and Glifford (1964). The findings in the authors' words, indicated that "measures of self concept and of ego strength taken at the kindergarten were predictive of reading achievement two and one-half years later" (p. 47).

Coopersmith's (1967) theoretical position that the way one views himself is a significant variable in his performance found full support in the findings of this study,

findings that confirmed the hypothesis about positive correlation between SE and AP. The tremendous educational relevance and significance of self concept (as it has been already discussed in previous sections) for the Greek immigrant children in the schools of Montreal is now - more than ever - beyond doubt. Further educational considerations and implications regarding this correlation will be presented in the next chapter.

Phase III

The second hypothesis of the study was to be tested through the procedure of Phase III. For the 32 children - out of the 36 for whom there was an AP score - for whom a score of AP in the community part time Greek school was obtained the mean score of both measures (AP in English and Greek school) was separately calculated and it is shown on Table 6.10 along with respective standard deviation and variances.

TABLE 6.10

Means, standard deviation and variance of AP scores in English and Greek schools.

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Variance</u>
AP	m	s	s ²
English	71.87	18.29	334.71
Greek	85.000	10.03	100.75

Any possible relationship between measures of AP in the English and Greek school was determined by the calculation of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient. The correlation between the measures was found to be statistically

significant, $r=.377$, a coefficient that, demonstrates a positive relationship ($t=2.22$, $df=30$, $p<.05$) between the grades one student gets in his/her ordinary English school and the part time Greek school. This finding was in agreement with the second hypothesis of the study which, based on informal observations and community consensus (because of lack of empirical studies in that area), hypothesized that success in the Greek school goes "hand in hand" with success in the English school. Learning the mother tongue, the customs, the culture and the Greek tradition do not harm school performance in the regular school. The obtained significant correlation leaves room for reconsideration of the role of the community schools and their functions (especially by those who very often and hastily reject these schools) if we intend to improve the educational lot of Greek immigrant children.

Phase IV

The final phase of the study was aimed at providing data to confirm or reject the third hypothesis which stated that there was a positive relationship between AP in the English school and parental interest and involvement and also between AP and the life style of the students.

As it was explained in the method section for this hypothesis the scores on the CSEI were used instead of AP whereas measures of parental interest and involvement and the life style of students were obtained through questionnaires and interviews. This analysis took place for both groups of children and parents (the low and high SE groups). The low

SE group had a mean CSEI score of 54.00 and a mean IQ of 64.68, whereas the high SE group had a CSEI mean score of 81.03 and an IQ of 64.79.

Table 6.12 shows that in terms of statistical significance only two items were different between "high" and "low" group. The items #8 (my parents buy me books) and the item #10 (my mother helps me with my school work) reached a significant level of difference at the 5% level. There were also a number of differences that though not statistically significant show a trend. Such differences were obtained in reading books, in feeling good about their Greek origin, in the parents interest to ask about school work in detail, in participating in class discussion, in getting what the child wants from parents, in feeling comfortable with parents and in valuing education and considering it as important in everyday life.

Some more differences between the groups are worth mentioning: The choice by the children of the "never" option to items #10 (low=35% - high=17.5%) and #12 (low=17.5% - high=7%) which indicates that the mother of the high group provides help for both English and Greek school work more often than the mother of the low group. More so the low group children find nobody older waiting for them upon their return from school twice as often as the high group children (high=42% - low =21%). Time spent in watching T.V. does not seem to differentiate the two groups ($t=.676$, $df=56$, $p>.05$). However, what does differentiate them is the total

number of choices regarding the alternatives: never-disagree/
sometimes-not sure/always-agree ($\chi^2=6.22$, $df=2$, $p<.05$).

This difference in pattern of responding appears to be of importance since all questions - except #19 - are expressed such a way so that a "never" answer takes a negative tone and an "always" takes a positive one in terms of educational relevance. As it is shown on Table 6.12 the low group chose "never" 94 out of a possible 1102 times whereas the high group chose it only 58 times. In the "always" choice the high group leads 276 to 234 which makes the argument of the difference even stronger.

TABLE 5.11

Total number of responses in the CQ from both low SE and high SE groups. (Black ink: low SE; Red ink: High SE)

	Never		Sometimes	Always	
1) I like reading books.	0	0	20	13	9 16
2) I do my homework.	0	0	6	2	23 27
3) My parents trust me.	2	4	10	8	17 20
4) I feel good about being Greek.	3	0	4	5	22 24
5) My parents ask me about my school work in detail.	5	1	11	17	13 11
6) My father helps me with my school work.	8	6	18	22	3 1
7) I participate in class discussions.	5	3	4	11	20 15
8) My parents buy me books.	2	0	20	12	7 17
9) I read extra school books.	3	1	17	13	9 15
10) My mother helps me with my school work.	10	5	12	22	7 2
11) My father helps me with the homework from Greek school.	8	6	13	14	8 9
12) My mother helps me with the homework from Greek school.	5	2	16	16	8 11
13) When I come home from school someone older is waiting for me. If yes, who?	12	6	9	10	8 13
14) I get what I want.	4	0	23	25	2 4
15) I feel comfortable with my parents.	2	1	8	2	19 26
	Disagree		not sure	agree	
16) Education is important in everyday life.	1	0	5	1	23 28
17) I want to go to university.	3	1	10	11	16 17
18) My teachers are satisfied with me as a student.	5	2	8	11	16 16
19) I would like to go to another school.	15	22	9	6	4 1

TABLE 6.12

Significance of differences in the total number of responses in the CQ given by low and high group. (Differences in either direction)

ITEMS	Difference	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1) I like reading books.	3.44	2	NS
2) I do my homework.	2.32	"	NS
3) My parents trust me.	.79	"	NS
4) I feel good about being Greek.	3.19	"	NS
5) My parents ask me about my school work in detail.	4.11	"	NS
6) My father helps me with my school work.	1.68	"	NS
7) I participate in class discussions.	4.48	"	NS
8) My parents buy me books.	8.16	"	5%
9) I read extra school books.	3.03	"	NS
10) My mother helps me with my school work.	7.38	"	5%
11) My father helps me with the homework from Greek school.	.37	"	NS
12) My mother helps me with the homework from Greek school.	1.75	"	NS
13) When I come home from school someone older is waiting for me. If yes, who?	3.24	"	NS
14) I get what I want.	4.74	"	NS
15) I feel comfortable with my parents.	5.02	"	NS
	Disagree	not sure	agree
16) Education is important in everyday life.	4.15	"	NS
17) I want to go to university.	1.07	"	NS
18) My teachers are satisfied with me as a student.	1.75	"	NS
19) I would like to go to another school.	3.34	"	NS

TABLE 6.13

Total number of choices of both low and high SE groups in the CQ.

	never-disagree	sometimes-not sure	always-agree
high	58	221	276
low	94	223	234

TABLE 6.14

Responses of both low SE and high SE groups in the last three items (20,21,22) of the CQ.

	low	high
21: On weekdays I watch T.V. forhours a day.	3.62	3.27
22: When I grow up I want to become.....	doctor: 6 teacher: 2 mechanic: 6 sportsman: 3 police officer: 3	doctor: 6 teacher: 4 architect: 3 sportsman: 2 don't know: 2
23: Father's occupation.....	restaurant: 8 factory: 4 no answer: 2	restaurant: 8 cleaner: 4 factory: 3 mechanic: 3

The parents interviews are presented in Table 6.15 below in a rather concise form so that meaningful and quantitative (as much as possible) comparisons can be made - more qualitative considerations of the findings will be elaborated in the discussion section.

Table 6.16 shows that statistically significant difference between the "high" and "low" groups of parents were obtained in the following four items: a) Are you

TABLE 6.15

Parents' responses summarized (content analysis of interviews)
of both high and low SE groups. (Blue ink: low group; Red ink: high group)

	Yes	sometimes	no	
1) Are you satisfied-pleased with your child's school performance?	17 28	6 1	6 0	
2) Do you think that your child will continue studies to College/University?	10 19	15 10	4 0	
3) Do you think that he/she has the necessary abilities to continue?	20 24	6 5	3 0	
4) Does your child like reading books (in general)?	15 23	12 5	2 1	
5) Do you help him/her with the everyday school work?	7 9	5 4	17 16	
6) Do you have time to discuss with your child?	21 28	8 0	0 1	
7) Do you attend the school meetings?	16 20	10 7	3 2	
8) How many hours doe your child watch T.V. (on weekdays)	Low: 1.77 hrs.		High 1.81h.	
9) How does your child feel about his/her Greek origin?	good 25 24	bad 1 0	so and so 3 5	
10) Do you think that the Greek school is an obstacle in the AP of the ordinary (English) school?	yes 3 1	sometimes 1 3	no 24 24	
11) Do you think that an immigrant parent can find ways to help his/her child with the school process and work?	28 22	0 4	1 3	
12) What is the most important factor that makes a good student with high academic performance?	Parents' role 15 18	child's Character 10 8	teacher 3 2	don't know 1 1

continued on p. 118

TABLE 6.15

continued from p. 117

	Yes	sometimes	no
13) Do you think there is cooperation and understanding from the school teachers?	27 / 27	1 2	1 0
14) Is it possible for an adult to discuss seriously and honestly any matter with young children of your child's age?	12 22	12 6	5 1

NB. #10 (one child from each group does not attend Greek school.

TABLE 6.16

Significance of Differences in the total responses of the parents of both low and high groups.

Question	Difference	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1	12.25	2	1%
2	7.79	"	5%
3	3.45	"	NS
4	4.89	"	NS
5	.39	"	NS
6	10.00	"	5%
7	1.17	"	NS
8	-.27	56	NS
9	1.52	2	NS
10	2.00	"	NS
11	5.72	"	NS
12	.69	"	NS
13	1.33	"	NS
14	7.60	"	5%

satisfied - pleased with your child's school performance? (significant at the 1% level); b) Do you think that your child will continue studies in college? university? (significant at the 5% level); c) Do you have time to discuss with your child? (significant at the 5% level); and d) Is it possible for an adult to discuss seriously and honestly any matter with young children of your child's age? (significant at the 5% level). Some more - though not significant - differences appeared in item #14 (Does your child like reading books in general?) and in item #11 (Do you think that an immigrant parent can find ways to help his/her child with the school process and work?).

The two groups seem to respond differently in the overall interview material by choosing one or the other alternative. These differences in the overall pattern of responding, along with the significant differences in the individual responses put more emphasis in what distinguishes the "high" from the "low" group.

TABLE 6.17

Total number of choices of both high and low SE groups in the parents interviews.

	yes	sometimes	no
high	222	47	25
low	188	77	42

The number of positive answers is much higher for the high group and at the same time (Table 6.17) the total number of negative choices is much lower than those of the low group

($\chi^2=14.10$, $df=2$, $p .01$). The effects then of the differences between the two groups seem to be compound according to the pattern of each group's responding.

Thus far, all the measures assumed to be indicative of parental interest-involvement and student life style tend to show clear cut differences between low and high SE groups. The high SE group seems to be more involved, more aware and more concerned (or able) to help their children and the children in turn seem to perceive and capitalize on these differences converting (or relating) their advantageous position to high levels of academic performance. This line of reasoning, stemming logically from the data obtained, confirms the third hypothesis of this study which was stated at the beginning of the section. Furthermore, the data of this Phase IV provides some tentative baselines of departure for the sketching of the profile of the successful immigrant student which will be considered next.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, RECOMENDATIONS

Summary of Results

Hypothesis #1 A significant correlation at the .01 level ($r=.816$) was found to exist between academic performance in the ordinary English school and the self esteem of the children.

Hypothesis #2 Academic success in the part time Greek school was found to correlate with success in the ordinary English school. The correlation coefficient $r=.377$ was significant at the .05 level.

Hypothesis #3 Some specific areas of parental interest-involvement and children's life style were shown to differentiate the successful from the non-successful students. Academic success seemed to correlate with the mother's help in the Greek school, with the buying of books by the parents, with having some adult home waiting for the child to return from school, with the parental satisfaction with their child's school performance, the belief of the parent in a further education for their child, and the parents attitudes towards discussing honestly and seriously with young children.

Successful students differed from non-successful ones in their attitude towards books. In general they reported a greater preference for reading books. The difference between the two groups in time spent watching T.V. did not appear to be significant in both questionnaires

(children's and parents' interviews).

Discussion

The theoretical position of the first hypothesis of this study was that the way one views him/herself is a significant variable in his/her performance. This theoretical position applies equally well to all individuals - immigrants and non-immigrants alike. The argument for the educational and the pedagogical significance of the self-concept with regard to the immigrant children has been presented and discussed in the beginning of this study when the relevant literature was reviewed. What is offered as a definition of self-concept is "a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself."

Studies of upper elementary grade children are all of the relationship type, in which we find that low achievement is accompanied by low self-esteem. The Coopersmith (1967) study of fifth and sixth grade children has presented a significant correlation of .360 between positive self-concept and school achievement. Hill and Sarason (1966) report similar findings while Purkey (1967) in reviewing the literature on the self and academic achievement concluded that there is a strong relationship between attitudes towards the self and achievement.

An unfavorable view of self that goes with poor achievement is already established in many children before they enter the first grade, according to a study by

Wattenberg and Glifford (1964). They claim that self-concept evaluation is a more accurate predictor of second grade reading achievement than is a mental age evaluation. In accordance with the last statement are the findings of this study which show a correlation of $r=.816$ between self-esteem and academic performance compared to an $r=.696$ between AP and intelligence scores. This finding points to the enormous educational significance of the factor "self-concept" for the immigrant children who, on the whole, feel insecure and being under various environmental attacks on their self.

The very high positive correlation between level of self-esteem and academic performance among the Greek immigrant children is a finding that might be indicative of the various internal processes that take place within each immigrant child. Having already discussed the continuous "battles" in many directions that the self of the immigrant child has to constantly fight, it seems as though the child tries to defend himself and fight back. Thus, the immigrant child puts all his every and effort to achieve academically - against all odds - so that he can compensate himself for the negative feelings about the self. If that is the case, the good academic performance, which has been attained with a lot of pressure and pain, feeds back positively towards the self, giving it a sense of worthiness and security. The positive attitudes towards education and the motivation for social mobility that the immigrant child has inherited from his parents help him strive for good

academic performance which in turn brings feelings of self appreciation and self-esteem.

Glasser (1964) makes perhaps the strongest argument of all for the importance of the relation between self-concept and achievement. He says that the whole of our society today is dichotomized between those who identify with success and those who identify with failure. Lecky (1967) has reported a number of cases of pupils who, after undergoing changes of the self-concept, have made startling improvement in their level of achievement often without tutoring: "A high school student who misspelled 55 words out of a hundred and who failed so many subject that he lost credit for a full year, became one of the best spellers in the school during the next year, and made a general average of 91" (p. 135).

The very high positive correlation of $r=.816$ obtained in this study ought to be taken into very serious consideration on the part of all people interested in the educational welfare of immigrant children. Coopersmith, when examining and discussing the antecedents of self-esteem, notes that parents, teachers and the whole surrounding community can develop the means and "cultivate" the proper environment so that the children can benefit and view themselves in a more positive way.

On the whole, as the already reviewed literature has suggested, immigrant children have a low level of self-esteem. Interestingly, the results of this study render

support to the view that the level of self-esteem does correlate positively with academic performance. Furthermore, a number of researchers have presented the argument that one's level of self-esteem could be actually raised through the appropriate environmental stimulation. Given the validity of these statements, it seems reasonable to suggest that people are needed who would undertake the task of ameliorating - to the greatest possible extent - the school performance of Greek immigrant children. The overall findings of this study present, for one more time, the challenge of helping in practice the educational processes of all immigrant children who have often been the "forgotten population".

This very high positive correlation between SE and AP demonstrates for one more time that the argument of innate inability or mental deficiency that presumably causes the educational failures of immigrant children is rather weak. The negative feelings towards oneself, the feelings of insecurity and the identity crisis which so vividly characterize the entire life of immigrant children who strive to survive in the midst of two opposing and contrasting cultures seem to play a very decisive role. And, as a number of investigators have pointed out, attitudes toward the self, like other attitudes, carry affective loadings and have motivational consequences.

"Persons with high SE have greater confidence in their ability to deal with events - that is, anxiety is less

likely to be aroused - and greater ability to resist (implications of social judgements" (Coopersmith, 1967, p. 65), a point that seems so much relevant to immigrant children at school. The high correlation obtained in this study between SE and AP ought to be seen and dealt with the utmost educational zeal on the part of those involved with the education of immigrants. Without disregarding completely other important factors, self-concept must be at the center of the educational scene where policies and practices are being considered and developed. If we expect (if we want for that matter) immigrant children to have successful academic careers then this obtained correlation should be of primary concern.

Although nobody can claim that there does exist a "recipe" to change and raise the level of self-esteem there are, however, some specific suggestions by people who have been working towards that direction. These people are not concerned only with immigrant children but with children in general, a point that in no way limits the usefulness of the argument for this particular study. Ira Gordon (1972) in discussing her views as to "how adults can help" in raising children's self-concept (teachers and parents, primarily), underlines the following points:

Be Yourself - Be Honest: Teachers and parents need be able to express how they feel, both positively and negatively, rather than express a concept of what they ought to feel....The parent needs to recognize that just as he prizes his individuality

and seeks for "understanding", so does his child. He has to clarify for himself where he ends and his child begins.....

Set Realistic Expectations: Realistic expectations are double headed: (1) they must be in keeping with the work a child can do; (2) they must be in keeping with the child's concept of self.

Provide a Variety of Stimuli: Children should be able to select materials covering a wide range of difficulty....The more varied the child's experiences, the more opportunities for development of concepts of adequacy and security.

Trust Children: So often, afraid that they (children) will "waste time", we have seen our role (teachers, parents) as policemen rather than aides in the learning process....Trust implies increasing both freedom and responsibility.

Provide for Immediate Feedback: One principle which is fairly well established in learning is that the sooner the child receives evidence of the effectiveness of his response, the faster and better he will learn.

Handling "Discipline": We know that punishment accomplishes little. It does not teach children the fundamental lesson of self-evaluation and self-control. It imposes external control....Positive discipline implies a recognition that the child's feelings must be respected.

Building Home-School Relationships: Strong home-school relationships, respecting the special competencies of teachers and parents, bringing into focus the common goals for the child within the diversities of culture, provide the child with the type of general learning environment that enhances not only his achievement but also his concept of

himself. (pp. 29-39)

The second finding of this study that shows a positive (significant at the .05 level of significance) correlation of $r=.377$ between academic performance in the English and the Greek school confirms the widely held belief - at least among the Greek community of Montreal of which the author is a member and full participant in every day life activities - among the parents that success in one school (English) goes with success in the other (Greek). This confirmation becomes even stronger upon examining question #10 of the parents interview, where the parents opinion about the role of the Greek school is shown very clearly. An overwhelming majority of 48 parents (from both low and high self-esteem groups) out of 58 or a percentage of 83% said that attendance at the Greek school in no way prevents the children from succeeding in the English school. More so, a great number of those parents, when asked during the interview argued that, on the contrary, attendance at Greek school helps and facilitates performance in the ordinary English school. The positive correlation and the confirmation of the second hypothesis of this study are in complete agreement with this line of the parents' reasoning and view point.

The view that attendance of the Greek school facilitates the overall education process of the children involved by broadening their emotional, intellectual and behavioral horizons was strongly presented by many parents.

Some examples presented from parents about the help provided by the Greek school were: "The children learn many and different things in grammar (Greek) that make them feel at ease when the corresponding English grammar items are being taught". Also, "The children acquire a wide and rich vocabulary and understand numerous concepts and ideas in Greek that eventually help these children to "translate" this understanding into the English language - so useful and necessary at school...Especially with the Greek language, children discover that so many English words which have been "borrowed" directly from the Greek language or the roots of these words stem from the Greek language".

In the light of this evidence - although further research with larger samples must be carried out - and considering the existing reality of the wide spread presence of part time Greek school across the Island of Montreal and neighboring municipalities it seems possible to improve the quality of the already operating schools on the one hand and to persuade the parents (and the children in turn) not only to attend the Greek school, but to attend with utmost zeal. Certainly, the many other beneficial things that the Greek school offers and has the power by its nature to offer - knowledge and respect of the home culture, establishment of a strong identity and cultivation of healthy Greek conscience along with the Canadian - should convince all those responsible (inside and outside the Greek community) to pursue the preservation and the improvement of the part.

time Greek schools. The significant positive correlation between academic performance in the English and the Greek school that was found here should be seen as a first step upon which the Greek immigrants must capitalize for their children's benefit inside and outside the school. The fact that the obtained significant correlation in AP of English and Greek school does not imply any sort of causation ought not prevent the interested from improving the educational status of the community schools. Because it is quite obvious that even if (by improving the general structure and functions of the community schools) there is no substantial gain in terms of AP in the English school, the gain in the community school itself seems to be worth the effort.

The point of view of this study, on the basis of the related findings, is that an improvement in the AP of the community school will eventually show its beneficial effects in the AP of the English school. On the other hand, the investigator of this study is fully aware of people who would argue otherwise and point to the detrimental effects of the community school. Such examples have been observed among few parents and teachers alike who have publicly expressed their views of the detrimental effects of the community school on the AP of the English school. Their argument, that the children "spend" their time in preparing the Greek homework neglecting or feeling tired to complete the homework from the English school does not find support in the findings of this study. From this

standpoint then, the position taken by a number of teachers in the public sector who very often and explicitly consider the attendance in the community school as a "threat to their professional territory", seems unjustifiable and not based on empirical evidence.

Furthermore, the tremendous significance of one's own native language and culture for the development of the whole personality has been acknowledged in many instances. As early as 1919 the report of the Calcutta University Mission has stated that:

...a man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality...It is through our vernacular, through our folk speech...that most of us attain the characteristic expression of our nature and of what our nature allows us to be or to discern (pp. 244-45).

Similar arguments about the educational importance of the mother tongue and its influence upon the child's personality have been presented in the West Germany context in regard to the so called "guest-workers":

If a child is forced to express himself, not in his mother tongue but in foreign idiom, before he has mastered his own language, he is being robbed of a portion of his personality, and that contravenes article two of our stature. It contradicts law as well as human rights, if children are forced into instruction which is so heavily impregnated with the German language and culture that only five hours per week are left over for instruction in the language and culture of their original homeland. (Holtzmann, 1973, p. 425)

Savvidis (1979), a leading exponent in the teaching and preservation of the Greek language and culture among the Greek "guest-worker" in West Germany, has called the teaching of the mother tongue "an oasis" for a great number of already psychologically disturbed children. Savvidis has put into actual practice his own views and has thus established an excellent bilingual school which according to Raoufi (1981) is a "model school" of its kind with a total student population of 3,500 Greek children.

The third finding of this exploratory study which again seems to confirm the experimental hypothesis #3 will be discussed next. It is this finding that showed the differences in parental interest-involvement and the children's life style between the high self-esteem group and the low. Always keeping in mind the unexpected limitation - the non-availability of scores for the academic performance of all children - the results appear to be very useful. It should be noted once again that the very high positive correlation obtained between AP and SE suggested that SE does differentiate high and low academic performers, a suggestion that was put into practice when selecting the 58 parent-subjects for Phase IV of the study.

As can be seen in the items #1 (I like reading books), #8 (My parents buy me books) and #9 (I read extra school books) of the CQ the high SE group responded 55% "always" compared to a 29% of the low group. All these

responses combined demonstrate the great importance of a very old and widely held belief among all people that books and the reading of books do make a difference in the school process of children. Obviously, this finding is not presented as if something new has been discovered but it is presented as an argument against those people - and there are quite a few of them - who totally reject the educational relevance and importance of availability and reading of books in our days.

Another aspect which seems to differentiate the high from the low group is the mother's help with the school work - be that English and/or Greek. In items #10 (My mother helps me with my school work) and #12 (My mother helps me with homework from Greek school) of the CQ more than double in number (15) from the low group chose the "never" option than the high group (7). The mother of the high group child appears to be more actively involved and helps her child with all school related work more often than the mother of the low group child. And one can safely argue that it is not only the actual help that the school child receives from his/her mother but in addition to that (and it may be more important) the perception and the appreciation of this help on the part of the child. Surely this kind of feeling along with the actual - practical - help have positive effects on the academic performance of each child.

Related to the above analysis is the answer chosen to item #14 (When I come home from school someone older is

waiting for me. If yes, who?) which again very clearly differentiates the children of the two groups. Twice as many low group children find nobody home when they return from school, a finding that is illustrated further by the choice of the "always" option by the two groups (high=13; low=8).

When the child comes home from school and finds nobody waiting for him/her, nobody to discuss with the daily life in school, nobody to supervise the school work that must be done, this child might very well feel uncomfortable, isolated, unhappy, hopeless and probably resentful. Under such emotional conditions the intellectual functioning towards school work becomes halted. The child might not be able to express himself, to understand the situation with which he is confronted well and thus the output of all this cumulative pressure and tension comes in the form of minor delinquency, negligence of school work, behavior problems and so on. This argument might very well be advanced even further by mentioning the negative feedback the child receives from parents and teachers, a feedback that acts not as a catalyst, but as a reinforcer of the non-productive life style of the child. Thus, a vicious circle becomes operative and nobody seems to know what has gone wrong, where to start and where to stop. The academic performance of the child however appears always low and lower. Some parents who - as they said - stayed at home to look after and help their child

who had problems at school previously, these parents admit that the "technique" worked quite effectively.

This argument, however, in no way implies that one of the parents should have the entire care and responsibility for the child's education by staying at home all his/her life - without doing anything else. It does seem possible - though very often it might be quite difficult - for the parents to work out a pragmatic formula adapted to the realities of every day life whereas either of them could be at home to "welcome" the striving student when he/she comes home from school. The different and, often hard demands of the professional careers of both parents ought to be considered and decided on some priorities' principle - at least for the early years of the child. Because, as one would expect, the children themselves when asked if "someone older is welcoming them home after school" and when they had to answer negatively, they spelled out a "no", but it was a "no" loaded with all kinds of affective feelings of sadness and uneasiness. Consciously and/or unconsciously the children understand and evaluate perfectly well the difference of an older caring person being home after school and of a "locked door" which needs the lonely act of "unlocking" with the key that is hung through a strong string around the child's neck. In our modern, technocratic, and highly industrialized society this sort of argument might sound obsolete and perhaps conservative, but it is a legitimate argument in the light of the findings of this study.

On examining the parents' interviews it can be seen that in four questions the differences between low and high SE groups are significant. In all four instances the difference between the two groups is presented on both sides of the continuum of possible responses (Yes, Sometimes, No). In other words in response to question #1 (Are you satisfied - pleased with your child's school performance?) 17 of the 29 of the parents from the low group said "yes" compared

28 of the high group. In the second question (Do you think that he/she will continue studies in College - University?) 10 low group parents said "yes" and 4 said "no" compared to 19 and 0 of the high group respectively. It seems that successful student and pleased parent (or vice versa) go together, a sign of cooperation, mutual understanding and respect -- as seen in the pattern of responding to question #14 (Is it possible for an adult to discuss, to explain seriously and honestly any matter with young children, children of your child's age?). Only 12 of the low group said "yes" while 5 said "no" whereas from the high group 22 parents said "yes" and only one said "no". This harmonic relationship between parents and children based on mutual understanding and respect for the obligations and the rights of each side seems to be of great educational advantage which in turn is translated into high academic scores.

Question #4 (Does he/she like reading books, in general?) and the answers given - 15 out of 29 from the low

group said "yes" and 1 said "no", - points once again to the importance of books. As it was the case with the children's responses, the factor "book" plays a decisive role in the academic career of the students. Regarding question #2, it seems that the high group parents not only believe in their children's abilities, but, in addition, these parents express higher educational aspirations for their children's future.

A final point ought to be made about both groups when comparing the answers given by the children and those given by their parents - especially in items quite similar in content. Regarding the children's feeling about their Greek origin 46 (out of a total of 58) children said they always felt good about it, while 57 parents did so. Twenty-five children said they liked reading (always) compared to 38 parents and 38 children said they liked the school compared to 54 parents. In time spent watching T.V. while the average time for the 58 children as reported by themselves was approximately 3.66 hours a day, the parents said this average was only approximately 1.80 hours a day. On the whole, it appears that parents of both groups try consciously or unconsciously to present to others - especially so, when the "others" are researchers - a more favorable picture about their children - their family. Or, one might argue, they do not know the exact and real picture of the things regarding their children's life style and characteristics.

Before ending this section of the discussion another important aspect of parents' responses should be mentioned. Fifty of the 58 parents of both groups said that an immigrant parent can and must help his/her children with the whole school process. When asked about the possible factors that differentiate good and bad students, 33 parents said that the parents have the entire responsibility, while 18 others said the child's character, 5 said the teacher and one said that she did not know exactly what. This last point - which is of central interest to this study and to all educators and parents should be very well understood when examining educational aspects of the children and academic performance of immigrants in particular.

Greek immigrant parents, by admitting and recognizing the important and decisive educational role of the "immigrant parent" project a very crucial point. The parents themselves could very well - being aware of all the difficulties and efforts that such a "trial" entails - find the necessary means to help out their children's educational processes and progress. This point is not new at all but seems to have been (for many and various reasons) forgotten. Advancing this argument further, one can say that when and if the parents themselves "do something" about their children's education (of course this in no way means that they have done nothing to date) the outcome is likely to be positive.

The insistence of the majority of parents interviewed that against all problems and difficulties (which do exist and are very real) the Greek immigrant parent is the major factor in his children's academic success should be addressed honestly and seriously to all interested individuals in the Greek community of Montreal. Generalizations across social and ethnic contexts - though tempting - ought to be made with the utmost care and scientific scrutiny. Horton (1973) in his article "Decision-Making Processes" argues,

....that people become motivated when they are personally involved in processes relating directly to them and their own life situations.....Thus, the only way to effect radical changes in the educational system is for educators to make alliances.....with community people, students, various ethnic groups, union members.....Goals, curriculum, and policy.... will be changed to the degree more and more people begin participating in decision making and become agents of fundamental change in the educational system and society at large (p. 34).

Correlates of the successful Greek immigrant student

With all the above findings in mind and very seriously considering the views of the parents involved and the children themselves, an attempt will be made to sketch a general profile of the successful Greek immigrant student by grouping together all possible correlates of academic success. In the light of the existing literature about immigrants in general, it would not be a great mistake to suggest that the correlates which are described next apply equally well with the necessary and appropriate

qualifications and reservations to most of the immigrants - or those who have been found to share many characteristics with the Greeks of Montreal.

The successful immigrant student of the elementary school level differs from the non-successful student in that he/she:

- a) likes reading books in general (extra school books included);
- b) has parents who buy books;
- c) has a mother who is actively involved in his/her educational process and helps with the school work;
- d) finds someone older waiting at home when he/she returns from school;
- e) has parents who are satisfied - pleased with his/her school work and performance;
- f) has parents who aspire and believe in their child's further education;
- g) has parents who believe that young children of his/her age are capable of conducting - regardless of the age gap - discussions about any matter and explanations can be given with honesty and seriousness from both sides.

The underlying principle of this correlate is cooperation, mutual understanding, respect, and recognition of each individual's rights and obligations.

It must be stressed once again that all the above characteristics are just correlates and not causes of academic success. They ought to be regarded as such, no more

no less.

As an epilogue of this discussion some points that came to "surface" throughout this entire study will be presented. Of all the 100 children initially given the CQ a very high percentage (92%) said they always do their homework while 76% said that they always feel comfortable with their parents. Another item that elicited high percentage of "always" answers (87%) was the item #16 (education is important in everyday life). 70% said they always feel good about their Greek origin, 65% want to go to university, 60% said that their parents always trust them, while almost half of the respondents (43 out of 100) said that someone older is always at home when the school day is over.

This last statement of many Greek parents staying home (many more than 5 or 10 years ago), not working in order to supervise and help out their children with school and other matters was also confirmed by the investigator. As has been mentioned elsewhere, most of the telephone interviews were made in the morning hours and when the mother (usually) was asked about working or not, the majority said "don't work" or "working a few hours so that I can take care of my children". Certainly, such an approach is not always easy to adopt, especially if one is an immigrant and with the current economic problems facing Canadian society (rising inflation, unemployment). There seem to be, however, a number of very important priorities

that each parent individually and/or collectively should seek to settle on a relatively permanent basis. On the other hand, the official government bodies should not forget when it comes to actual practice that, on October 8, 1971 Prime Minister Trudeau announced that "although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other.....". For that matter, and to "awaken" these official bodies whenever necessary, they should be presented with all the legitimate arguments and pressures to immediately act by providing the needed facilities and projects to help out parents and children. This holds true for all parents, for all children, for all Canadians regardless if they are "new", "old" or "somewhere in between". Fortunately, there seems to be a new trend developing among the Greek immigrant parents, a trend that - as it has been mentioned above - will eventually show its positive effects on the children's life inside the school system and in the community in general.

The Greek immigrant parent has, by now, understood and recognized the tremendous significance of correct pedagogical policies and practices and he/she is willing to make many sacrifices (financial included) for the progress of his/her children. The many comments, the "thirst" for cooperation and the great interest expressed by the parents themselves during the interviews were absolutely fantastic and at the same time unexpected. While admitting that many mistakes have been made regarding their children's schooling

processes (mistakes that must be attributed to the non-mastery of the language, to limited education when in Greece, to the "eternal chase" of immigrants for more and more money, to the indifference of governments both Canadian-Quebec and Greek) they all expressed their desire to help their children actively. It was actually an emotional experience for the investigator who was encouraged and many times thanked by the parents for the study that was being carried out.

In short, all parents said that they were willing and very much wanted to help their children. Through the interview of this exploratory study - empirical studies on the educational aspects of Greeks in Montreal are almost non-existent - all parents made public their agonies, their efforts and their call to any expert who might be willing to help the Greek immigrant children.

It would not be a hyperbole to state at this time that the Greek parents, the entire Greek community and life in the area of Montreal has come to a very crucial turning point in its history. If the formal public institutions of the two countries, Canada and Greece, are not willing to help - help in concrete and specified terms, though lately there have been some dim indications that they are paying attention - then from this study's point of view, all the experts and those interested must show their good will, and positive and constructive attitudes towards their compatriots.

As the findings of this study have already strongly suggested many things can be achieved and accomplished for the good of the Greek immigrant children in Montreal, for all Greeks of Montreal. The findings of this study point out very clearly that even with the indifference of governmental bodies and people towards the immigrant school population, there are certain specific things that lie in the reach of the Greek immigrants themselves, things and means which can and must be capitalized. Self-concept is one of them and has already been discussed. Immigrant parents - as every parent for that matter - can find a number of means to improve their child's attitudes towards himself, an improvement that would have according to the literature and findings of this study - positive effects in his academic career. Samuels (1977) states very clearly that:

Children's experiences at home lay the groundwork for their feelings of adequacy as a member of a group. They are fortunate if they have sense of belonging and feel they are contributing members of their family. They will then enter school with confidence and find it easier to become part of a peer group....Greater closeness of home to school, developed as a result of home-school cooperation, would make education a more central area for children whose parents feel alienated from the mainstream of American education (pp. 262-63).

The children always have the good will and drive for learning; the parents have demonstrated their interest and desire for cooperation (and they seem to continue towards that direction more and more as the years go by). In short,

Greeks are called upon to actually help Greeks. This "cry for help" from within the Greek community of Montreal for the improvement of the educational lots of the young children must be heard. Organizations, associations, communities and every Greek in Montreal must answer this urgent and honest call. This study was aimed at making this call to the public. From now on then, the list with the correlates of academic success for the Greek immigrant student presented in this study ought to be examined very closely. Educational implications will stem from these correlates. The honest and constructive cooperation and interaction of all sides involved - and interested - will make these implications workable practices.

Additionally, further empirical research in this area avoiding all possible limitations that might have confounded the results of this study, will undoubtedly make more people aware of the new trends developing in the Greek community of Montreal and the future of the Greek immigrant children will be brighter and more fulfilling inside and outside school. The entire Canadian nation is made up of immigrants, the Greek being one of the "foreign" populations. A better and more prosperous life for the Canadians of Greek origin will promote the development and the prosperity of the entire Canadian society.

Limitations of the Study

The study has been limited in a number of ways, the main reasons being a) the design itself, and b) unexpected

developments during the experimental procedure.

The selection of the subjects has been restricted to only one school of the PSBGM. This school has been overwhelmingly populated by Greek immigrant students, a fact that might have biased the representativeness of the sample - Greek students could be found in most of Montreal's schools and in the Catholic Board as well. Additionally, although 200 letters were distributed to the parents via the students only 118 were returned, four of which refused their child's participation in the study. On these grounds then, the representativeness of the sample could be questioned. It might be the case that those children who did participate in the study were the "exception" and not the "rule" of the Greek immigrant population.

Other limitations stemmed from the non-availability of teachers' ratings for all Ss - in the English and in the Greek school and also from the formation of "low" and "high" groups on the basis of measures of SE instead of AP as it had been originally designed. More so, there was no validity and reliability data for the CQ, the PQ, and the Teachers' Rating Scale.

Last, but not least, the fact that the investigator himself, by virtue of his profession - Greek teacher in the community schools - might have contributed to the limitations of the study, ought to be kept in mind. He knew most of the students-subjects and quite a few of the parents-subjects. It seems that such a setting might

carry - along with the positive - some negative influences on the experimental procedure.

Suggestions for further research

It seems that future studies looking at the same set of variables should be carried out with Greek immigrant children in various schools across the Island of Montreal. A cross-ethnic group study would have the big advantage of providing safe grounds for broad generalization about immigrant students in general. Also, a comparative approach of this kind of research would enable educators to develop a more encompassing model of resocialization of immigrants and at the same time would enable policy makers to consider the effects of each particular cultural milieu in which immigrants live.

SUMMARY

Primarily, this research has attempted to investigate an area of study which traditionally has not attracted the attention of the scientific community. In reviewing the existing literature on the education of immigrant children it became apparent that all researchers had focussed their attention to the problems and difficulties that so intensely characterize and influence the educational careers of immigrant students. Those immigrant students, however, who despite and against all the ever present difficulties that the "immigranthood" status carries, do not lag behind in measures of academic performance, had not been systematically investigated so far.

How is it that some immigrant children do "get through" while the great majority are overridden by the difficulties faced in everyday life? This question was aimed at extending the knowledge of the area of the immigrant's education.

Three hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the literature available and with the intuitive help of some informal observations among the Greek immigrant children in the schools of Montreal. All three hypotheses were confirmed by the findings of the research despite the fact that during the entire experimental procedure - which consisted of 100 children and four phases - some unexpected problems emerged. Thus, a significant correlation was

found between AP and SE, between AP in the ES and the GS, and substantial differences were obtained in measures of parental interest-involvement and children's life style between the low and the high SE groups. Furthermore, a number of correlates of the academically successful Greek immigrant student were identified and thereafter a general profile of the immigrant (successful) student was drawn. Such correlates were the availability and the reading of books in general, a mother that helps with both the English and the Greek school work, someone older being at home when the child returns from school, parents' attitudes toward further education and toward young children in general, and parental satisfaction of their child's school performance.

In discussing some general points which emerged from the children's questionnaires and the parents' interviews, a number of considerations and suggestions were made as to how the educational processes of immigrant children could be improved. The Greek parents' realization of their important pedagogical role and their shift in attitudes and in practice toward helping their children's schooling was elaborately discussed. Also, great emphasis has been placed in the parents' honest outcry for cooperation and help from all responsible experts involved in their children's education. Finally, some practical educational implications of these findings were considered. The need for further empirical studies of the same nature was suggested.

This exploratory research in the area of the education of immigrant children ended with the strong belief that there is a "cry for help" from the Greek immigrant parents. An open and honest attitude toward finding all possible means - within the Greek community of Montreal since the outsiders, on the whole, are indifferent and/or sporadically concerned with the immigrants - to promote learning, academic performance, and healthy adjustment for their children. The "positive side" of immigranthood that became the prime focus of this study appears to exist, appears to be a functional reality upon which the entire Greek population could soon capitalize for the benefit of the entire Canadian society.

Appendix A

Dear Parents,

Letter to the parents

This is to inform you that Mr. Leonidas Bombas from the Department of Education at Concordia University has obtained the approval and the cooperation of the Protestant School Board, the Parents' School Committee, the principal and the respective teachers of the school to conduct a scientific research in Barclay school. This research deals with educational aspects of Greek immigrant children.

Accordingly, Mr. Bombas is going to have your child fill out two tests and one questionnaire in class sometime during the coming week. For that matter Mr. Bombas intends to contact you by phone within a few days.

Parents' Name:.....

Address:.....

Telephone:.....

Αγαπητοί Γονεῖς,

Συμπεραφορούμε ὅτι ὁ κ. Λεωνίδας Μπόμπας ἀπὸ τὸ Πανεπιστήμιο Κονκόρντια, ἔχοντας λάβει τὴν ἐγκρίσι καὶ τὴν συνεργασία τοῦ Προτεσταντικοῦ Συμβουλίου, τῆς Σχολικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν Γονέων καὶ τῆς τοῦ Διευθυντῆ καὶ τῶν δασκάλων τοῦ Σχολείου Μπαρκλέϋ, πρόκειται ἐντὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν νὰ δώσει στὸ παιδί σας γιὰ συμπλήρωσι μέσα στὴν τάξη δύο τέστ καὶ ἓνα ἐρωτηματολόγιο στὰ πλαίσια τῆς ἐρευνᾶς πού ἔχει ἀναλάβει.

Ἡ ὅλη αὐτὴ ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐρευνα ἐξετάζει ἐκπαιδευτικὰ θέματα τῶν ἐλληνικῆς καταγωγῆς μαθητῶν στὰ Σχολεῖα τοῦ Μόντρεαλ. Πολύ σύντομα ὁ κ. Μπόμπας θὰ ἔλθει σέ τηλεφωνικὴ ἐπαφὴ μαζί σας.

Όνομα Γονέα.....

Διεύθυνση.....

Τηλέφωνο.....

Children's Questionnaire

Name: _____

Grade: _____

	Never	Sometimes	Always
1) I like reading books.			
2) I do my homework.			
3) My parents trust me.			
4) I feel good about being Greek.			
5) My parents ask me about my school work in detail.			
6) My father helps me with my school work.			
7) I participate in class discussions.			
8) My parents buy me books.			
9) I read extra school books.			
10) My mother helps me with my school work.			
11) My father helps me with the homework from Greek school.			
12) My mother helps me with the homework from Greek school.			
13) When I come home from school someone older is waiting for me. If yes, who?			
14) I get what I want.			
15) I feel comfortable with my parents.			
	Disagree	not sure	agree
16) Education is important in everyday life.			
17) I want to go to university.			
18) My teachers are satisfied with me as a student.			
19) I would like to go to another school.			

20) On weekdays I watch T.V. for.....hours a day.

21) When I grew up I want to become.....

22) Father's occupation.....

Would you please indicate by circling the appropriate number How you would evaluate the school performance of the following students in relation to the rest of the class.

Thank you, Leonidas Bombas

ROOM—202

	Very Poor	Excellent
1) BARBAGIANNIS HELEN	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
2) ALIFTIRA MARY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
3) PAPCUTSAKIS EDDIE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
4) MICHAEL TINA	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
5) HALIKIAS STELLA	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
6) TERZANIAN PETER	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
7) DIAKOUMAKOS NICK	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
8) CELIKAS GEORGE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

Appendix D

Parents' Questionnaire used in the Semi-Structured Interview

- 1) Are you satisfied-pleased with your child's school performance
- 2) Do you think that your child will continue studies to College University?
- 3) Do you think that he/she has the necessary abilities to continue?
- 4) Does your child like reading books (in general)?
- 5) Do you help him/her with the everyday school work?
- 6) Do you have time to discuss with your child?
- 7) Do you attend the school meetings?
- 8) How many hours does your child watch T.V. (on weekdays)
- 9) How does your child feel about his/her Greek origin?
- 10) Do you think that the Greek school is an obstacle in the AP of the ordinary (English) school?
- 11) Do you think that an immigrant parent can find ways to help his/her child with the school process and work?
- 12) What is the most important factor that makes a good student with high academic performance?
- 13) Do you think there is cooperation and understanding from the school teachers?
- 14) Is it possible for an adult to discuss seriously and honestly any matter with young children of your child's age?

Appendix E

Abbreviations

IPAT: Test of "g": Culture Fair, Scale 2, Form A.

CSEI: Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory

AP: Academic Performance

CQ: Children's Questionnaire

PQ: Parents' Questionnaire

SE: Self-Esteem

GS: Greek (part time) school

ES: English (ordinary) school

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