THE ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS OF GREEK ORIGIN IN A FRENCH-LANGUAGE LEARNING SITUATION IN A QUÉBEC SECONDARY SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

This study surveyed the attitudes of 59 Secondary V students of Greek origin who were studying in the French language. Their school, formerly an English Protestant High School, is located in the Province of Québec. The school now contains groups of students in separate English-medium and French-medium programmes because language laws require more recent immigrants to be taught in French. The study showed that most of the students in the French programme are more proficient in English than in French, that their attitudes toward the French language are more instrumental or pragmatic than affective or integrative. These factors may be related to the fact that students in the French programme had lower levels of academic achievement.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude s'est penché sur l'attitude de 59 élèves de secondaire V, d'origine grecque, et qui suivaient leurs cours en français. Leur école, autrefois une école secondaire protestante anglaise, est située au Québec; elle reçoit maintenant des groupes d'élèves répartis dans des programmes séparés d'enseignment en anglais et en français afin de répondre aux dispositions de la loi qui exige que les nouveaux immigrants poursuivent leurs études en français. L'étude a démontré que les élèves inscrits au programme de français sont plus qualifiés en anglais qu'en français et que leur connaissance de la langue française est beaucoup plus instrumentale ou pratique qu'affective ou intégrante. Cette situation pourrait être reliée au fait que les élèves inscrits au programme en français présentaient des résultats scolaires moins élevés.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The Background

Québec students of immigrant origin more recent than 1977, are caught in a conflict between efforts to ensure the survival of French-Canadian or Québécois culture against the hegemony of the immensely larger English-speaking North American population. French-Canadian birthrates have fallen sharply since the 1960's. This, coupled with the historical tendency of immigrants to integrate into the Anglophone minority of Québec, has been a source of concern to demographers who predict the attrition of Québécois culture.

This study was undertaken with a student population of Greek origin and the secondary school in which they were studying, operated by a board under the Protestant education system, contained approximately 968 students of which fifty-one percent were of Greek origin. The language of instruction in that school is in a period of rapid change from English to French as the population which qualifies for English-language education under Law 101 diminishes and is replaced by those who must be educated in French. At the time of this study there were 345 students (35.6 percent of the school population) in the French-taught track. Two hundred forty-three of these students were of

Greek origin. It was expected that the following year would see almost half the students in French-language classes

There is considerable anecdotal evidence among teachers and students that Greek students in the school hold negative attitudes toward French-speaking Quebecers. The frequency with which students report neighbourhood fights and the derogatory language many of them often use in discourse about French-speaking Quebecers points to tension between them

The department responsible for the French-language sector of the school has considerable difficulty in encouraging the students to use French outside the classroom English is generally spoken in the corridors and French is rarely heard. The students are generally more fluent in English than in French. The recent controversy as to whether the Montreal Catholic School Commission should pass regulations forbidding the use of any language other than French on school premises points to the widespread fear among French-speaking Québéois nationalists that children of recent immigrants use English in preference to French outside the classroom. They may accept the French language for the instrumental or pragmatic reasons, mentioned below (p. 3), which would promote their careers. They may not accept the language as a means to integrate into the Francophone milieu.

Students of Greek origin at the school under study are trilingual because they speak Greek, English and French. All of them have been studying in French either since kindergarten, or their arrival in Québec They usually speak English outside the classroom, as do students of Greek origin prior to 1977, and Greek at home

As students in the French-language track of the school, they are attempting to learn the curriculum in their least fluent third language. Their hope of becoming knowledgeable and articulate adults in any language is often called into question by their teachers. Whether this problem is more severe for Greek students in the school than for other groups is not known.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to survey students of Greek ethnic origin who are taught in the French language at a Protestant secondary school in Québec in order to probe one aspect of integration into the French culture. The aim is to find out their attitudes toward the French language and culture, the level of French and English language skills which they have acquired and their academic achievement as shown by their marks Specifically, the study will seek to determine whether there is an association between the extent to which these students have learned the French language, how much they use it, and their academic achievement. As well, the study will attempt to show whether there is an association between their academic achievement and the degree to which their attitudes towards a) learning in French and b) about joining the Francophone community are integrative or instrumental.

The quality of integrativeness reflects a positive attitude toward a target language and a higher frequency of use of the language in informal or social settings. An instrumental value orientation reflects a tendency to learn the language for utilitarian purposes such as making a living (Gardner, 1974, pp. 48 & 52). Mastery of the language tends to be situation specific with use of the language being restricted to those same situations. The study will therefore examine the mastery, and the frequency of use of French by the subjects in both formal (academic) and informal (social) settings.

It is expected that favourable attitudes towards learning French and towards the French speaking people will be reflected in higher academic scores and evaluations of informal French mastery than will negative attitudes. Students who are judged as using French most fluently and frequently in both formal and informal situations are considered more integrated into the French culture.

Objectives

The principal objectives of this study are a) to determine the attitudes of the subjects toward the French language and to discover whether

there is any pattern of comparison between their attitudes toward French and their school marks and, b) to discover whether their marks tend to follow the same pattern as their tendency or hesitancy to integrate into the French culture

The specific objectives of the study are as follows

- 1. To establish the languages which students of Greek origin speak, read and write.
- 2. To survey which languages are either used most often or first in conversation in various social settings
- 3. To survey the attitudes as reflected in opinions about various aspects of French, English and Greek culture in Québec
- 4. To establish the students' a) individual academic standings as expressed in subject marks in French, English and their General Average, and b) their teachers' evaluations of native French similitude

Research Questions

The study revolved around the following research questions:

- 1. What languages do the students who are of Greek origin at the school under study speak, read and write?
- 2. What languages are used in specific social settings?
- 3. What attitudes do the subjects hold with regard to the French language and culture?
- 4. How closely does their use of the French language resemble that of a native French-speaker?
- 5. What third-term marks have the subjects earned in French and English courses, and what is their general average?
- 6. What is the possible association between a) the attitudes toward the French language and culture, b) the degree of ability to use French as a native Francophone, c) the frequency with which French is used informally, and the academic achievement of the students of Greek origin whose language of instruction is French?

Methodology

The sample under study consisted of 59 students of Greek origin who were registered in the French-language Secondary V Éducation Morale classes of the school. They have been studying in French since they began kindergarten or since their arrival in Québec if they were more recent immigrants. The sample constitutes all of the French-taught Secondary V students of Greek origin in the school, except those who were absent on the day of the survey.

The data were collected by means of two questionnaires (Appendices A and B) and consultation of the students' files. The first questionnaire related to research questions 1 through 3 above, and was administered by their classroom teacher who followed the researcher's instructions. The second questionnaire, tied to question 4, was completed by four different teachers of each of the subjects.

Part of the data for research question five consisted of French, and English marks for the third term, as well as the students' overall average marks. These marks, being indicators of formal language acquisition, were retrieved from the students' files. Question 6 was dealt with by comparing data produced by the various instruments mentioned above.

Significance of the Study

The existence of a positive relationship between negative attitudes of students of Greek origin toward the French language and their lower academic achievement may indicate the need for special programmes within the school and the community which would improve the semewhat uncordial relations between Greek students who have academic difficulties and the Francophone community. Also, if a more positive attitude toward French could be developed, and the quality of French improved as a result, higher academic scores might be achieved.

This study should contribute to a closer understanding of the reasons why some Greek students in the school are having academic

difficulties. Any effort which will lead to better learning and higher grades for these students will justify the undertaking.

Limitations of the Study

This is a case study which was limited to a single secondary school in which English- and French-language tracks are maintained. It is not intended to apply to Greek students who attend purely Francophone schools, whether they are found within the Protestant or Catholic school systems, or to Greek schools such as Socrates, although it is likely that many of the attitudes and patterns of language choice of students from those schools are similar.

The study is exploratory, and the sample, being small, was not statistically analysed. However the data points to a tentative understanding of general patterns in attitude, language use and academic achievement. The association between variables studied should be considered with qualification rather than as causal, since it is impossible to control and isolate relationship because of the extraneous variables which may be at play.

The study of 59 students constitutes a small group and extrapolation of the results to the general population of students of Greek origin should not be attempted without further study. However, this group of students does not appear to be atypical, and could be a basis for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical and Social Context

Origin of the Dual Confessional Education System

In the nineteenth century, the population of Québec was composed of a French-Canadian majority and an English-Canadian minority of predominantly British and Loyalist stock, which had entered Canada as immigrants to a recently conquered New France or as refugees from the American War for Independance. The British minority, by virtue of its status as conqueror, had the advantage of greater influence in commerce and government over the Canadians, whose leadership had been reduced to members of the clergy and a handful of seigneurs. Commercial progress was on the minds of the British and cultural survival was the preoccupation of the French-Canadians.

The British seemed to believe that Canada would progress if the population were anglicised and the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which followed the Seven Years' War made assimilation one of the objectives of the government which was to be set up (Henchey & Burgess, 1987, p. 32).

The policy of assimilation was reversed when the Québec Act of 1774 guaranteed linguistic and religious rights to French-speaking Catholics in the new British colony, although Catholics were without

civil rights in England at that time (Henchey & Burgess, p. 26). Following the rebellions of 1837 and 38 in Upper and Lower Canada, Governor-General Lord Durham recommended that the two Canadas be united and that assimilation of the French-Canadians should once again be official policy, because Lower Canada had become "... two nations warring in the bosom of a single state" and that French-Canadians were unprogressive in a changing world. Assimilation did not occur because the hierarchy of the Catholic church fought it on the grounds that to anglicize was to decatholicize French Canada. (Wynn, 1987, p. 213).

French-Canadians protected their identity and religion through an agrarian, rural and Catholic lifestyle which isolated them from the alien culture which would likely have assimilated them through modernization and industrialization. Isolation, combined with a high birth-rate, ensured the survival of the culture. (Henchey & Burgess, p. 33).

In the 1840's a public education system was created through a series of laws which provided shared jurisdiction over education between the central government and the local authorities. The central government's responsibility was largely administrative while the local powers controlled curriculum, and hiring and certification of teachers. This left local populations protected from the threat of assimilation because it gave rise to a system of dissentient Catholic and French-speaking, or Protestant and English-speaking school boards which formed the basis of the present school system in Québec (Magnusson, 1980, pp. 26-28). This system provided to both population groups in Québec, the protection they each wanted for their different points of view on education.

The French looked to education as a tool for cultural survival. They tended to distrust the government and believed that the prime responsibility for education lay with the family and the church. The Catholic system tended towards élitism and produced a leadership based in the professions. The English tended to believe that the government should be used as an instrument to ensure the education of all classes of the population in order for them to progress economically and politically. The result ensured the survival of the French language and allowed the English minority full rights to its own

education system, but also produced and reinforced the two solitudes which have characterized Québec society. (Henchey & Burgess, p. 37).

The British North America Act of 1867 enshrined Québec's two school systems into the Canadian constitution and because they are based on religion rather than language, numerous difficulties emerged as the demography of Québec became more plurastic over the years. English-speaking Irish immigrants wanted their own Catholic schools. Italians immigrated in large numbers after the Second World War and joined English-speaking Catholics in their schools because they saw greater economic opportunity in an English education. Jews opted for the Protestant system because it was the least religious in practice and it stressed higher education. However, because they were not Christians, they met with legal challenges when they attempted to run for office or get hired as teachers in what was legally a Protestant religious institution. This Jewish struggle for equal power in a restricted public school system revealed its inherent flaw: it was not designed to respond to the needs of an emerging pluralistic society. (Magnuson, pp. 81-88). The dual character of the school system eventually disappeared so that the Protestant system absorbed most of the non-Catholic and non-Christian immigrants who preferred an English education, and the Catholic system took in the others (Henchey & Burgess, p. 38).

Educational Reforms

The 1960's was a period known in Québec as the Quiet Revolution. It was a time of sweeping reform in Québec politics which was instituted by the newly elected Lesage government, following years of frustrating attempts at change by various groups which were stalwartly resisted by the authoritarian, conservative regime led by Maurice Duplessis and his Union Nationale Party.

Fournier (1976), in his analysis of the established power structure of Québec, showed that as late as 1971 when French Canadians formed 80 percent of the population, only fifteen percent of head office employees who earned more than 22 thousand dollars a year were of French mother-tongue. Control of manufacturing in Québec was about 15 percent French-Canadian and 43 percent

English-Canadian, with 42 percent controlled by foreigners In large corporations, where a number of French-Canadians were appointed to directorships and managerial positions, their functions were generally limited to public and political relations, and as decision-makers, they were outweighed by more numerous Anglophones in their organisations (pp 38-39)

This under-representation of French-Canadians in the decision-making sectors of the economy frustrated young Québécois who graduated from the recently reformed universities and colleges and who were still expected to function in English Succeeding governments would respond to this frustration with legislation intended to govern the language of commerce and education

Among the reforms instituted was the formation of the first ministry of education in nearly one hundred years. Thus began the transfer of power in educational matters from the family and the church to the government. The entire elementary and secondary school system was modernized and made available as a matter of right to every child in the province. Existing colleges and vocational schools were reorganised and made into a greatly expanded network of collèges d'Enseignement général et professionel (CÉGEPs) and the university network was vastly enlarged. (Magnuson, pp. 106-111, 120)

The Languages of Education

By the close of the 1960's language had replaced religion as the focus of French-Canadian identity. Serious concerns about the survival of the French culture were expressed over the tendency of immigrants to send their children to English schools. The constitution protected the Protestant religion in education but was silent on the protection of the language of education. The government of 1968, in an attempt to reassure the population that the linguistic tradition inherent in the system would not change, settled the matter with Law 63 which allowed freedom of choice in the language of education. This calmed the fears of the minorities who preferred English education, but strengthened the fears of French majority which showed its displeasure in large public demonstrations. (Henchey & Burgess, p. 28, Fournier, pp. 116-118)

In 1973-74, 75,000 Francophones were enrolled in English schools, as well as the majority of immigrants. The birthrate in Québec had dropped from 3.8 in 1961 to 2.0 in 1971, with the population of Montreál being 40 percent non-Francophone. Fears for the survival of the Francophone majority grew By 1974, pressure for legal protection of the French language had so built up that Robert Bourassa's Liberal Government passed Law 22, The Offical Language Act. (Henchey & Burgess, pp. 3, 29)

In addition to stipulating that government, commerce and professional activity must function in the French language, Law 22 atempted to restrict access to English schools by requiring the children of immigrants to demonstrate sufficient knowledge of the English language prior to admission to English schools (Henchey & Burgess, p. 29). Some groups organized underground English lessons in order to qualify their children for English education (Magnuson, p. 128).

The Liberal government was replaced by the Parti Québécois, under René Lévesque, in 1976. The following year, in response to the dissatisfaction among French-Canadians regarding the failure of Law 22 to restrict access to English schools, as well as other concerns over language, Law 101 or The Charter of the French Language was passed. From then on, with few exceptions, the children of immigrants would be required to attend French schools, unless they had one parent, a brother, or sister who had received their education in English in Québec. (Henchey & Burgess, pp. 30, 263)

The reforms have changed the demography of the Protestant school system such that large numbers of traditionally English school boards have introduced French programmes in the effort to serve an established immigrant clientele, and to maintain enrollment. Some Protestant schools function totally in French while others, such as the school under study, are organised into two separate language tracks within the same building.

The Catholic school boards now contain large numbers of non-Catholic children of immigrant origin in their French-language schools, in addition to the immigrants who had chosen the English-Catholic schools within that system. The current situation is that there are two separate public confessional school systems offering programmes in both English and French, within each of which the

parents may opt out of religious instruction for their children. The Government of Québec has passed Law 107 to provide for linguistic rather than religious school boards which, having recently survived a constitutional challenge in the Supreme Court of Canada, will soon introduce further reforms in the educational system.

Near the end of 1990, the Québec Government made a policy statement on immigration and integration which, given the demographic decline of native Francophone Québecers since the 1960's, seeks to redress the tendency of immigrants to choose the English language. The government intends to pursue a more selective immigration policy. They will promote the use of French and provide instruction in the language to new arrivals. The government thus hopes more successfully integrate future immigrants to French-speaking community, to delay or avoid the demographic decline of Francophone Québecers, increase the numbers of young adults in the population, and to help maintain Québec's demographic weight within Canada. The government had already passed legislation to encourage larger families through mortgage credits and cash payments to families with three children. (Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1990, pp. 9-16)

The Montréal Greek Community

Nearly all the people of Greek origin in Canada are descendants of immigrants or have immigrated themselves since 1871. At that time the census showed 40 people of Greek origin in all of Canada and seven of these lived in Québec. By 1931 the Greek population of Canada was 9,450. The greatest influx of Greeks to this country occurred between 1955 and 1970 so that the population is now approximately a quarter-million, although the 1981 census put the figure at 155,000. Most of that population is found in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver (Bombas, 1988, p. 52, 1989, pp. 16-17).

Early in the twentieth century, the Greek population of Montréal began to organize its social institutions: 1906, the Koinotita (the name for Greek Community Association); 1909, Plato School; and 1910, the first Greek Orthodox church (Bombas, 1988, p.54). In 1925, a split in the community along lines which reflected the controversy between

Royalists and Liberals in the homeland resulted in the creation of Socrates School which with Holy Trinity church became the Hellenic Canadian Community. By 1931 the rift was healed and Greek institutions returned under the auspices of a reunified Koinotita

Following World War II and the Greek Civil War (1955-1970), the Greek population and their attendant institutions increased in number in various locations in and around Montreal such as Park Avenue and Park Extension, the South Shore, and the City of Laval. Other Koinotitas were founded which started their own churches and day-schools and, as well, several branches of Socrates School emerged. The schools would eventually be converted from Greek schools which followed the Anglo-Protestant curriculum, to trilingual schools whose curriculum would be taught predominantly in the French language, and which would receive government subsidies under the Private Schools Act (Bombas, 1988, pp. 54-80, 90, 96).

Not all children of Greek immigrants attended the Greek day-schools as is evidenced by the presence of significant numbers of children of Greek origin in public elementary schools throughout the Montréal region. Since the Greek schools do not offer high school, most of them turn to the public high school system for their secondary education. The Greek student population is now divided between Greek students who are eligible for English-language education by virtue of acquired right, and those of more recent immigrant stock who must choose French language-education under the provisions of Law 101.

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CHAPTER THREE

Literature Review

The study of attitudes toward learning in a third language by children of Greek immigrants leads to the examination of several areas of study which relate to bilingual education and immersion classes. Although the subjects are officially in a French-first-language learning situation, they might be better described, because they use English more fluently than French, as being in total French-immersion classes. Since there are likely similarities between the attitudinal influences on second-language learners and third-language learners, and as there is little specific literature on third-language learners, much of the following review will relate to the former.

The differences between second-language learners and third-language learners, in this case, arise from the various reasons for which immigrant students are learning in the French language. Students of Greek origin, like other new Quebecers, are constrained by law to study in French, whereas most immersion programs are filled with students who are members of the longer established anglophone ethnic groups who are legally entitled to an English education under the Charter of the French Language (Law 101) and who are placed in the course of study because their parents chose it over English education.

There is some likelihood that Greek ethnic students identify strongly enough with the Anglophone communities of North America, that they relegate their Greek language to a different status for purposes of self-identity within the Québec cultural context, and would therefore consider that they were learning in a second language

Attitudes of Ethnic Minorities Toward Second Languages

Dolson (1985) has shown that parents who show pride in their culture are more likely to create a disposition in their children which will allow them to acquire their second language with greater success. Further, Heath (1986, cited in Genesee, 1987, p. 144) suggests that when the home language, even if it is not the mother language, is developed in ways similar to the second language used in school, the child is likely to achieve greater academic success through the use of the second language.

Problems of Immigrant Groups in Canada

Young immigrants in Canada find themselves under great emotional stress brought about by confusion, frustration, and insecurity. They feel threatened, invalidated, and suffer from a lessening of their self-worth as they attempt to find their identity in a strange culture. (Ishiyama, 1989, p. 41-42)

In school, the immigrant child faces cultural conflict because the multi-ethnic values inherent in the school system run counter to the value system developed in the family environment. This is often compounded by the fact that immigrants tend to begin their life in Canada in the poorer neighbourhoods, and bear similar traits to "culturally deprived" students found in American cities. They face further conflicts in adjusting to the language, urban and industrial life, and the values and norms of Canadian society. Often teachers do not understand the social, cultural or emotional problems of immigrant children, and incorrectly attribute their low achievements to the inferior intelligence, rather than to the frustration of the socialisation process. (Ramcharan, 1975, 99-100)

Immigrant students are not normally allowed to develop their heritage language in Canadian schools. This is a lost opportunity for children of immigrants to fully develop a bilingualism based on the development of their first language which would help develop their intellectual and educational abilities (Ashworth, 1988, p. 187)

Lise Bourbeau-Guindon (1988) found that immigrants to Québec suffer the same problems as immigrants to other areas of Canada She points to conflicts between the family's culture and that of the community, problems of adaptation to a new milieu such as from a rural to an industrialized urban setting, heavy family responsibilities such as interpretation of the new language for family business, which takes time from studies and the need to work part-time to supplement the family income. (pp. 32-35)

Immigrants often achieve poor academic results because of language deficiencies, which in turn leads the school system to place them in inappropriate low streams when they only need extra help with the language Communication between the school and the parents are difficult and in some cases are censored by the student Self and national image often suffer as an immigrant student attempts to find his identity in a new land and the school must produce programmes designed to develop both immigrants and native students in these areas (Bourbeau-Guindon, pp. 35-36)

Allophone students, defined in Québec as those whose mother-tongue is neither English nor French, may master French sufficiently to conduct their daily business and seem fluent in the language. They however, may fail in school and drop out because the classroom language is de-contextualized and mastery of the language is often overestimated. (d'Anglejan & Masny, 1987, p. 109)

Attitudes of the Montréal Greek Community

There is little literature on the topic of attitudes of minority groups who find themselves constrained by law to attend classes in a language which may not be of their choice

The Greek community of Montréal was studied following the passage of the Official Language Act (Law 22) in 1972 (Smith, Tucker & Taylor, 1977) The study showed that the French language did not

"... figure prominently in any of the language practices of the subjects...", and further that the community showed little willingness for it to become more important in their lives than English (p. 296). They favoured a bilingual English/French education for their children which could not be provided under the law. In 1972, eighty percent of the Greek community sent their children to English schools, while only eight percent sent their children to French schools. Fifty percent of the community took steps to ensure that their children would qualify for English schools by providing them with pre-school English lessons.

The study showed that the Greek community did not fully accept the principle that Québec should always remain French. The subjects also reported that their families, friends and other members of the community generally agreed with them on the issue of language.

Anglophone high school students who are immersed in French-language classes rarely speak French to each other in a social context (Connors, Ménard & Singh, 1978, p. 159). This may be explained by Jakobovits and Gordon's repeated observations (1974, p. 9) in the classroom that students resorted to their native language, rather than struggle with the second language, "... whenever a genuine communicative need arose".

Lambert & Tucker (1972, p. 187) suggest that because they rarely use their second language in informal situations, second language learners deprive themselves of the opportunity to verify their grammar. Connors et al. (pp. 158-159) suggest, that their language skills are at a substandard level because of input constraints imposed by non-native teachers, textbooks edited to a lower language level, as well as the kind of language generally used in classroom learning situations. They suggest further that, even if these students could be persuaded to use their French regularly in informal situations, its grammatical variety and style would be non-native in character.

The literature shows (Smith, Tucker & Taylor, above) that Greek immigrants in Montréal have historically favoured the English culture and that French-language education has not been their choice. It is not clear whether this reflects their attitude toward Francophones or indicates an instrumental approach to North American life.

Efie Gavakı (1979) deals with the problem of ethnic identity and cultural adjustment by immigrants. In her study of the Greek family in

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Canada, she suggests three stages through which the Greek immigrant passes in their adjustment to Canadian life. In the first stage, the immigrant seeks cultural continuity through the preservation of ethnic identity and tradition in reaction to initial contact with the new society. The ethnic group is the focus for feelings, behaviour and relationships for its members. They are likely to identify themselves as Greek in the early part of this stage and begin to think of themselves, although tenuously, as Greek-Canadian, with emphasis on Greek, later in the stage. (p.5)

This first stage presents the Greek family with the difficulty of preserving traditional structures in which the father is the "undisputable and final authority," who is to be feared and respected He and the other adult males in the family are responsible for the reputation of the family The father must provide for the welfare of the family. (p.6)

The mother is submissive to her husband and her behaviour is characterised by attitudes of "... tenderness, spontaneous self-denial, and self-sacrifice." (p.6)

The family is a close-knit organization in which formality and distance are maintained between father and children and husband and wife and in which family problems are kept from public scrutiny Interpersonal relations are primarily individualistic (pp. 6-7)

The first stage is characterized by "... both despair and hope " brought on by dislocation from the familiar family and social structures of Greece and hopes of prosperity in Canada (p.12) Most Greek immigrants have little education, few skills, and little command of either English or French. They are thus forced to work long hours in low-paying, non-unionized jobs (p. 4). Cases of depression are frequently treated at this stage as many new arrivals are unable to cope with the pressures put upon them (p.12).

At this stage the Greek family is culture-centered and highly integrated, and oriented toward survival, because the family is isolated by its language, place of residence and lack of free time. The result is very little exposure to Canadian culture. (p.12)

The second stage, called the *cultural change* or *acculturation stage*, which usually takes place in the second decade of Canadian residency, produces intense conflict within the Greek family and with the

influences which impinge from outside. Sex roles change as women work outside the home and they take on a greater decision-making role which threatens the traditional male position of authority. Mother is now able to supply some of the children's economic needs as well as continuing in her traditional role of tenderness. The father maintains his traditional distant and disciplinarian role which drives the children to show greater loyalty to the mother. (p.13)

The children in this stage, now old enough to articulate their problems and needs, see their comparative deprivation as a function of their Greek culture and demonstrate their ambivalence in feelings of and hostility. The children often handle love communication with Canadian institutions such as utilities and schools. and this often puts them in a position to manipulate those situations (See also Bombas, 1981a, p.20). Parents are unable to help children with their homework. On the whole, Greek parents cease to be desirable role models for their children. The parents are loving, exasperated and disappointed by their children's lack of respect for their culture. (pp.13-14)

The third stage, one of resolution, is a period in which greater tolerance of new and old values begins to appear in both the parents and children of the Greek family. Children realize that class, rather than ethnic identity is at the root of most of their family problems and parents begin to show acceptance of their childrens' attitudes, accomplishments and position. Husbands begin to tolerate their wives' new role and the family begins to resemble the North American family. Parents give up some of their Greekness and children maintain some of theirs. As their Canadian identity grows eventual assimilation takes place. (pp. 14-15)

Large numbers of Greek families in the Montréal area have at least partially passed into the third stage of integration into the Anglophone culture, while the later arrivals are being asked, under the provisions of Law 101, to split from their ethnic cousins while at the first or early second stages, and to integrate into the Francophone culture of Québec. This may put them in the difficult position of defending parts of two identities, one of which is Greek, and the other, Anglo-Canadian. The stress thus produced may be placing the Greek

population in its own cultural revitalization process, which runs counter to that of the Francophone population of Québec.

Academic Achievement of Students of Greek Origin

Teachers of the author's acquaintance tend to suggest that Greek students show the same wide range of academic achievement as any other group. However, the teachers invariably express deep concern about the large numbers of students who lack academic skills, general knowledge, interest in school, or who are unable to articulate ideas. These concerns are not unique to Greek students but there is some concern that the problem is more acute for them. For instance, Leonidas Bombas (1981b, p. 68) states that,

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.

Bombas reiterated the problem in 1988 (pp. 38-40), showing that, in general, Greek students lagged behind in the language of education at the beginning of elementary school and this lack appeared to follow them through high school.

The problem is not new. It was clearly outlined in Mary Ashworth's research on immigrant children in Canadian schools in 1975 (p. 108) in which she quoted an unpublished paper as follows:

The Canadian-born, non-English-speaking child enters kindergarten five years behind his English-speaking counterparts in language development. Too often it is assumed that because he is young, he will be able to overcome this deficit in a couple of years through some magical process of osmosis. . . . It is readily observable, however, that by sixth grade, the majority of these children can be classified as retarded readers. This retardation is a symptom of their continuing general language deprivation.

Without adequate language skills, these children cannot be successful academically.

The language of instruction of the school under study is French, but the linguistic problem is the same.

Definition of Attitude

According to Edwards (1974, pp. 25-26), three definitions of attitude are important in the context of second-language learning. The first underscores the complexity of the term and states that attitudes are "... an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world." The second definition refers to "... the intensity of positive or negative affect for or against a psychological object." and is important because it refers to positive and negative feelings toward the target language. The third, important because it recognises the possibility of studying attitudes in terms of behaviour, defines attitude as a syndrome of consistent response to a relevant object.

Lett (1977, p. 269) offered a definition taken from several sources. Attitude is

an individual's response to a given social object or class of social objects . . . [which] . . . can be considered in terms of three components: one's beliefs about the object, the degree of positive or negative affect or feeling one holds toward it, and one's actual behavior towards it.

To this, he adds behavioral intentions toward the object, that attitudes are learned, and that they are relatively stable or enduring. Lett states further (p.270) that attitudes "... cannot directly be measured and must be inferred from the beliefs one holds or the behaviors one exhibits with respect to the given social object."

Attitudes Toward Learning a Second Language

In 1959 Gardner and Lambert developed an "Orientation Index" which classified motivation to learn a second language as either

integrative or instrumental, and the "Motivational Intensity Scale" which measured the amount of effort and enthusiasm shown by students to acquire the second language (p. 267) Aptitude to learn a language is enhanced by favourable, integrative attitudes toward members of the target group, ". characterized by a willingness to be like valued members of the language community" (p. 271) Gardner (1960, in Gardner & Lambert, 1972, pp. 215-216) reported that the integrative orientation can stem from negative as well as positive environmental situations, and that parental attitudes are reflected in the child's orientation toward learning a second language.

Gardner (1974 p. 47) described the integrative motive as reflecting "... a desire to learn the language of another language community in order to communicate with, interact with or to become in some small way a part of the other language community." He reports that students who expressed favourable attitudes toward French Canadians worked harder at learning French and showed interest in learning the language in order to communicate with French Canadians.

In 1976 analysis of motivation was widened in scope by several researchers to include several components of the integrative motive in second-language acquisition. The integrative motive had been generally considered more productive of second-language competence than the instrumental motive because it inferred sympathetic attitudes toward the target language group (Anisfeld & Lambert, 1961, pp. 524, 529), but by 1976 a new, less value-laden definition of integrative motive was offered, which would comprise six components. They were as follows: (1) Motivation, which included Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn French, and Attitudes toward Learning French, (2) Integrativeness, which referred to favourable attitudes toward the language community, and an expressed interest communicating with that group; (3) Attitudes toward the learning situation, i.e. the course and the teacher; (4) Instrumentality, which relates to any utilitarian purpose which the learner might have in learning the language; (5) Parental encouragement, which refers to the perception by the learners that their parents encourage them to learn the language; and (6) French Classroom Anxiety which may be felt by the learner in class. Need achievement, ethnocentrism and interest in foreign languages are also attitudinal factors to be considered. (Gardner, Smythe, Clément & Gliksman, 1976, pp. 199-200).

Clément and Kruidenier (1983) found little of the pure integrative orientation in most of their subjects. They found instead that positive affective attitudes were coupled with instrumental intent such as using the language for travel. Integrative motive was unlikely except in situations in which the learners were secure in their first language and where they had immediate access to the target language group. Even then, their integrative component seemed to be attached to such instrumental goals as being influential in the community.

Two orientations were found by Clément and Kruidenier. The first, called a "dominance recognition" dimension, operates when a member of a dominant group finds the non-dominant group sufficiently important that they would gain prestige and respect from learning the second language. The second orientation, called Anglophone Pragmatic Control suggests that the dominant group learns the second language in order to maintain its dominant position over the sub-dominant group. They further discovered a Familiarity Involvement factor which included reasons for learning a second language which ranged from "intellectual" to "identification" but operated only with groups which are somewhat familiar to the learner. (1983, pp. 286-288)

Socio-Cultural Factors in Second-Language Learning

The literature of social psychology is an important contributor to the understanding of second language acquisition. The social milieu contains the roots of the learner's attitude, and this includes cultural expectations of the teachers, parents and students as participants in the process. The variance among individuals depends upon their perceptions of the social milieu and the cultural expectations with regard to bilingualism (French and English) which the milieu generates.

Formal language training and informal language experience are components of language competence and Gardner defines those terms as follows:

Formal language training refers to that instruction which takes place in the classroom or any other teacher/student context. Informal language experience . . refers to those situations which permit the student to acquire competence in second language skills without direct instruction. Instances of such experiences would be speaking with members of the other culture, watching movies or television, listening to the radio or reading material in the other language. (1974, p.55)

Gardner, shows that motivation toward both formal and informal language learning are influenced by the cultural expectatons of the teacher, the family and the learner Intelligence and aptitude are greater factors in formal language training. Meanwhile motivation, which is fired with a variable mixture of instrumental and integrative orientations toward the target language is a factor in both formal language training and informal language experience. Formal and informal language are the components of second language competence. (p.54)

The informal acquisition of a second language, which is strengthened through informal language experience, reflects greater motivation toward a second-language community and results in better communications skills in the target language. (p. 57).

Gardner reported that while the relationship between attitudes toward French Canadians and achievement in French was found to be a factor in the level of achievement in French (reported in Gardner and Lambert, 1959). There were other factors which made the prediction of achievement more complex. Language aptitude was one factor. Attitude toward Fiench Canadians, in addition to their positive relationship to language achievement, were a factor in the motivational intensity of the student of the target language as well as "... the expression of integrative reasons for studying French." Further, the degree of language aptitude was found to be independent of the integrative motive in their relationship to second-language achievement. Thus the motivation to learn the language can develop with or without high aptitude for languages. (1974, pp.47-50).

Woodsworth (1974, p. 95), points to the importance of the family's role in shaping basic attitudes toward second-language learning, to the

extent that subsequent influence is unlikely to change a learner's attitude significantly. Family attitudes are likely to be more instrumental than integrative in nature, and can affect the child's enjoyment and success in learning the language. Among minority groups, especially in Québec, instrumental considerations often motivate parents to encourage their children to learn English before French.

Palmer (1974, p. 104) reported that minority groups which need to preserve their own culture and identity may offer some resistance toward the learning of the second language. On the other hand, Dolson (1985, p. 150) suggests that students who come from families which maintain their minority language in the home show better scholastic performance.

The social milieu is a strong influence on the learner's attitude which subsequently impinges on motivation and therefore, on achievement.

The Effect of Attitude on Second-Language Learning

A number of studies show that aptitude, as a factor in general intelligence, is important to language learning in formal situations such as the classroom (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, Smythe, Clément and Gliksman, 1976, p. 199). Attitude toward the second language is the major factor in acquisition of the second language through informal language experience outside the classroom (Gardner, Smythe, Clément and Gliksman, 1976, p. 200).

The integrative motive, as an indicator of positive attitude, was explored in several geographical areas, and was found to be related to achievement in all of them. (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Feenstra & Gardner, 1968; Smythe, Stennett & Feenstra, 1972, cited in Gardner, 1974, p.48).

Attitudes of Ethnic Minorities Toward Second Languages

Dolson (1985) has shown that parents who show pride in their culture are more likely to create a disposition in their children which will allow them to acquire their second language with greater success Further, Hearh (1986, cited in Genesee, 1987, p. 144) suggests that when the home language, even if it is not the mother language, is developed in ways similar to the second language used in school, the child is likely to achieve greater academic success through the use of the second language.

Theoretical Framework

Conflict Theory provides the theoretical framework for this study. In brief, this theory explains social change as the result of the conflict which arises from the interaction of opposing power groups or classes Among several types of conflict theory, cultural revitalization theory explains the Québec nationalist sentiment most closely because it concerns social and cultural change which is brought about collectively in a local or national context. Cultural revitalization produces radical conflict and social change rather than gradual change. It is the attempt to create new social norms and behaviour patterns which occur under great individual stress and feelings of disillusionment with the existing social situation. Such movements require adherence to ideology and principles regarding methods and means for action as well as emphasis on stress reduction brought about by social change. (Paulston, 1977, p. 388)

As described in Chapter 1, the Québec nationalist reform movement appears to be one of cultural revitalization. The decade of the 1960's brought about the stressful realization that French-Canadians were being left out of the mainstream of Canadian, and even Québec, society. The changes which have been legislated in the past thirty-odd years to increase Francophone participation in Québec's economy have touched every aspect of society: nationalization of the hydro-electic network, socialized medicine, vast

educational reform, state subsidies to local industries, laws to change the language of business from English to French, and a law to force children of immigrants to attend French-language schools are a few examples. This radical reform has been called, "The Quiet Revolution" because it created such radical change through political and legal means.

Such radical change, particularly the Law for the Protection of the French Language (Law 101) which requires most students of recent immigrant origin to attend Francophone schools, has generated intense conflict. This conflict is between the proponents of free choice of language of education and proponents of the demographic ideology which postulates the possible demise of Francophone culture in North America and which fully expects integration of immigrants into the French milieu to assist in strengthening and preserving the French culture. The vigour with which Law 101 is supported by the Francophone population of Québec indicates strong adherence to the ideology expressed in that law.

As discussed above (Gavaki, 1979), large numbers of Greek families are into the third stage of resolving the conflict which is inherent in integration into North American society, while later immigrant families are being required to separate from the older arrivals, and to integrate into the Francophone culture. They may be attempting to defend two identities — English and Greek. The need for them to preserve their own identity in the second stage of acculturation, while they are being pulled away from the English-Canadian values modeled by other previously landed Greeks must be doubly stressful.

It would seem then, that The Greek population of Québec has been drawn into the cultural revitalization process of the French Québec. Inasmuch as they defend both their Greek and Anglo identities, — they often use the pronoun "we" in reference to Anglophone issues — stresses are being created which they can only relieve by going through their own revitalization process. They seem to agree that the problem of Francophone survival is not theirs (Smith, Tucker & Taylor, above), and they tend to use English more often than French.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

Pilot Study

A pilot study of 21 Secondary V students from a single Éducation Économique class at the same school was conducted by the author in March, 1989. That study served to improve the questionnaire by eliminating ambiguous and contradictory answers generated by the use of "Always, Never and Sometimes" as response options to questions relating to sociolinguistic behaviour. The adolescent "Always" response sometimes seemingly means "Often", and the subjects showed no compunction in thus giving contradictory answers to questions involving mutually exclusive socio-linguistic situations.

The Sample

The study was done in the spring of 1990, in order to determine attitudes toward the French language of instruction, and whether the academic achievement of the sample of students could be said to have been affected by those attitudes.

The sample consisted of the entire Secondary V class of 104 students registered in the Francophone sector of a Protestant

secondary school in the Province of Québec. Although the questionnaire did not discriminate with regard to age and sex, the students surveyed were both boys and girls typically aged between 16 and 18 years.

On the day the questionnaire was administered eight students were absent and one declined to answer the questionnaire. Of the eight students who were absent, the names of four of them were recognisably Greek as was the name of the student who declined. Of these eight absentees, one was a student in the Anglophone sector of the school who was taking some courses in French as part of an immersion programme and whose data would not, therefore, have been used.

Data were collected from 95 students of whom 60 identified themselves as being of Greek origin. One of these 60 students was also registered in the Anglophone sector's immersion programme and the data from this student was not counted. The sample size, therefore, was 59.

The Questionnaire

The bulk of the data were gathered by means of a five-page numbered questionnaire (See Appendix A) which was presented to the 95 Secondary V students in attendance on April 27 or May 1, 1990, depending on their schedules, in four Éducation Morale classes in which the entire Secondary V population of the French-language sector of the school was registered. Two copies, identically numbered to correspond to the teacher's class lists, and identical as to content, were handed to each student — one in French, the other in English — and the students were given the choice of filling out one of them, but not both. The questionnaire was administered by the same teacher in all four classes under the supervision of the researcher. The students answered the questionnaire at their desks and took between ten and twenty minutes to complete the task.

The cover pages of the questionnaires contained the label "English" or "Français" in large, bold type at the top left of the page, and were numbered in series in accordance with the class lists for each class in order that subsequent data gathered from records could be

matched. The class lists remains confidential to the researcher and will be destroyed upon completion of writing. The group number for each different class was placed at the top right of the page in order to identify each of the four series.

BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS

Part One of the questionnaire contained four questions identifying the ethnic origin of the students and their capacity to speak, read and write English, French and Greek. Other languages commonly spoken in the school, such as Créole, Hebrew, Spanish and "Other", were included in order to mask the target group of the study. The fourth question was intended to determine if, and for how long, the participants may have attended Greek School The question did not discriminate between full time and Saturday Greek schools.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

The second part of the questionnaire contained nine questions relating to the sociolinguistic behaviour of the subjects. The general thrust of the questions was to determine the extent to which the subjects were integrated into the French culture of Québec. They were asked which language they most often used in various social settings such as in conversations with their parents, siblings, friends in the school corridors, private conversations with their teachers, and which language they attempt to use first in their dealings with corner stores (called dépanneurs in Québec) and department stores, and finally, the languages which are spoken by the greatest number and the least number of their friends. The target group was masked in this and the last part of the questionnaire by inclusion of references to the other languages pertinent to the school.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LANGUAGES

Part three of the questionnaire contained nineteen questions which were intended to determine affective responses to the English, French and Greek languages as well as opinions concerning the present and future status of those languages in the social, legal and

economic context of Québec Statements concerning the value of the survival of one's mother-tongue, pride in one's language, pragmatic value of languages and identity were included. Students were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale whether they strongly disagreed, were unsure, agreed or strongly agreed with the statements.

Other Data Sources

IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION

Native French-speaking teachers were given lists of students' names and asked to evaluate those students on a scale of 0 to 10 as to how closely the subjects' use of the French language resembled that of a native Francophone. The text of the question given to the teachers is attached (Appendix B). Sufficient numbers of teachers were canvassed such that four evaluations were obtained for each student and a mean score for each was derived from those data. The purpose of this question was to determine how well the student uses the language in an informal setting. The higher the score, the greater the integration into the Francophone community.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Academic achievement was measured by retrieving marks from the third term reports for the 1989-90 school year from the students' files. Marks retrieved included the cumulative average marks fo the first three terms of Français Écrit, Français Lecture, Français Oral, Anglais, Langue-seconde, or English in the case of 25 of the students who are registered in English first-language courses rather than Anglais. The language marks are intended to show the degree of proficiency in formal acquisition of the two languages. For purposes of this study, the three Français marks were subsequently averaged, except for those of twenty-two students whose Français marks were reported in the files as a single mark.

The culmulative average of all courses was also extracted as an indicator of general academic achievement, and as a measure of the ability of the student to use the language in a formal setting

Ideally, the year-end Secondary School Leaving examination results would have been used because the standards of correction for these exams are controlled by a tighter marking-grid and should be expected to produce more uniformly reliable results. However, these marks would not have been available at the time of the study.

The sample consisted of 59 students at the Secondary V level in a Francophone programme within a double-tracked Anglophone-Francophone Secondary School in Québec Two questionnaires were used to collect data about socio-linguistic behaviour and data concerning academic standing was taken from the school records

CHAPTER FIVE

Data Presentation

The data from the questionnaires were analysed qualitatively since the sample was not large enough to permit statistical analysis. The following sections report on the data gathered concerning sociolinguistic behaviour of the subjects and compare academic achievement of different groups within the sample.

Languages Known by Subjects

All 59 students of Greek origin claimed to be able to speak, read and write English, French and Greek except one who cannot write Greek. Forty-nine of the subjects attended "a special school" to learn the Greek language for five years or more.

Socio-linguistic Behaviour

The use of a second language in informal situations is an indicator of integrative motivation (Gardner, 1974, p.57), and the degree to which a subject sounds like a native Francophone would indicate the degree of practice the learner has had in using French in informal situations and should, therefore, indicate the degree to which the subject is integrated into the Francophone milieu.

It is interesting to note the languages in which the subjects chose to answer the questionnaire: 51 in English and 8 in French. It seems that when offered such a choice the overwhelming majority of the subjects choose to function in English despite the eleven years of schooling in the French language which most of them have experienced, and despite the facts that the administrator of the survey was a Francophone, the oral instructions were given in French, and that the two versions of the questionnaire were identical except for language. This trend is borne out by the responses to the questionnaire which tend to indicate that these students are more likely to be integrated into the English culture than the French.

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Table 1 - Socio-linguistic Behaviour (Languages involved in various social settings)

QUESTION NO.	ITEM (FULL TEXT OF QUESTION IN APPENDIX A)	ENGLISH	FRENCH	GREEK	CREOLE	OTHER
2.1	Language most often used with friends at school	57	1	ž		
2.2	2.2 Language most often used with parents at home			59		
2.3	2.3 Language most often used with brothers and sisters at home		1	4		
2.4	Language most often used privately with teachers	20	39	7		
2.5	Language most often tried first at corner store	39	20			
2.6	Language most aften tried first at department stores	30	29			
2.7			26			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
2.8	Language spoken by the greatest number of subjects' friends	49		11		
2.9	Language spoken by the smallest number of subjects' friends		36	5	10	2

Note. N = 59. Responses will be <59 in cases where subjects chose two different languages in response to the same question

Fifty-seven of the subjects reported that they most often use English when they speak to their friends in the hallways of the school. One speaks French in this situation and two use the Greek language. One of the two who speak Greek to their friends indicated the use of both English and Greek, but since French was not indicated as the second language, this student was counted as using English. Forty-nine of the subjects reported that the majority of their friends speak English and 11 speak Greek (one of these reported both English and Greek), while none claimed that the majority of their friends speak French. Indeed, 36 of the students reported that the smallest number of their friends speak French, in reply to the second question on friendship.

When they speak to their teachers, 20 of the subjects most often use English, even though the rules of comportment require them to use French in the academic setting. The majority (39) reported that they use French in that situation.

In the family setting, in which most parents are recent immigrants, all 59 subjects speak Greek to their parents (one reported speaking English as well). None speak French to their parents. Fifty-six of the subjects speak English with their siblings, one speaks French and four, Greek. Two who reported Greek also reported English.

At the corner store (dépanneur), 39 of the subjects attempt to use English first. Twenty use French. At the large department store 30 attempt to use English first while a larger group than at the corner store about half (29), use French. Twenty-three of them attempt to use English when addressing a bus driver whom they probably know is likely to be Francophone, while the majority (36) will use French in this situation.

Attitudes Toward Languages

All 59 expressed agreement that they were proud of the Greek language. They also agreed, though less strongly, that both French-and English-speaking groups of Canadians should be proud of their languages (French 53 and English 58). Forty-three had agreed strongly that they were proud of the Greek language, but strong agreement that English-Canadians should be proud of their language fell to 33. On the question of whether French-Canadians should be proud of their language, strong agreement dropped further, to 24. This weaker show of support for the French language was further weakened by four unsure responses and two expressions of strong disagreement with the

statement. Only one expressed disagreement with the statement regarding pride in the English language.

Table 2 - Attitude Responses

NO.	QUESTION (FULL TEXT IN APPENDIX A)	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNSURE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3.1	It is good to keep one's language	36	18	1	2	2
3.2	i am proud of my Greek language	43	16			
3.3	l intend my children will speak Greek	41	15	3		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
3.4	Anglophones should be proud of their language	33	25		1	·
3.5	Francophones should be proud of their language	24	29	4		2
3.6	Quebec must remain predominately French		10	13	20	16
3.7	French and English should be equal in Quebec	39	15	4	1	
3.8	All languages should be equal in Quebec	18	12	16	13	
3.9	There should be laws to protect French in Quebec	1	16	20	9	13
3.10	English is important to get a good job	21	27	8	3	
3.11	French is important to get a good job	20	28	8	3	
3.12	Greek is important to get a good job	10	22	15	10	2
3.15	l am Greek	41	16	ı	1	
3.17	l am Canadian	26	29		1	2
3.18	I am Quebecois	2	14	8	15	19

Note: N = 59

Fifty-six of the subjects confirmed their pride in the Greek language by agreeing — 41 strongly — that they would do their best to see that their children will speak Greek. Three were uncertain.

On the question of whether Québec should always remain a place where the French language is the most important, only 10 subjects

agreed, 13 were uncertain, 20 disagreed and 16 disagreed strongly. Fifty-four of the subjects agreed that Québec should be a place where both English and French are equal in every way, 39 of them strongly. Seventeen agreed that there should be laws to protect the French language in Québec; only one expressed strong agreement, while 20 were unsure.

Identity is another indicator of affective responses to language groups and the subjects expressed themselves forcefully on this item. Fifty-seven agreed that they thought of themselves as Greeks, 41 did so strongly. One was unsure and one disagreed. Fifty-four identified themselves as Canadians, 26 strongly, while 3 disagreed, 2 of them strongly.

Thirty-four disagreed with the statement that they thought of themselves as Québécois, 19 strongly; eight were unsure on this question and only two strongly agreed they were Québécois.

While these subjects indicate somewhat negative reactions toward the French language and culture, their responses regarding the instrumental value of the language are much more positive. Forty-eight agreed that French was useful to get a good job, 20 of them agreed strongly while 8 were unsure and 3 disagreed. Almost identical results were reported for the instrumental value of English, except one more (21) reported strong agreement with that statement. It is also interesting to note their responses regarding the usefulness of the Greek language in getting a good job. Thirty-two of them reported that Greek was important, ten agreeing strongly, 15 were unsure and 12 disagreed. This rather strong response may reflect the large number of family businesses amongst the population of Greek origin, and the need for Greek in that employment setting. It may also indicate that they do not set goals for careers in the professions and big business where Greek is largely irrelevant.

Academic Achievement

The 1989-90 third term cumulative mean average of grades for all courses as contained in the subjects' student files was 75.37 (N = 59, Median = 77.27%). The records show three students below 60 percent which is the pass-mark. Had the scores of the five students of Greek

origin who were absent or declined to answer the questionnaire been included, the cumulative mean would have been 74.75% with five failures.

The mean score for Français, which is the mean of an average of three marks (Français Écrit, Lecture & Oral) was 70.71 with seven failures. The mean scores for each of the three components were: Écrit: 69.80, Lecture: 67.71 and, Oral 74.63.

Anglais and English marks were from 8 to 10 points higher. Thirty-nine students were enrolled in Anglais classes which is a course in English as a second-language. Twenty students followed an English, First-Language course, for which the term "English" is routinely used in the school to differentate it from the Anglais course. An additional eight students followed both courses. The Anglais classes (n=39) produced a mean score of 78.97, while the English classes (n=28) produced a mean score of 80.18. When the scores of the Anglais and English classes were combined, using the Anglais scores in the eight cases where students were enrolled in both courses, the mean was 80.10. There were no failing marks in either course, except for one of the absentees whose score is not included here.

The eight students who followed both courses scored a mean of 81.75 for Anglais and 74.88 for English, or a difference in mean scores of 6.87. However, since the difference in means between the entire Anglais and English samples was only 1.21, the English marks were not changed for purposes of calculating the combined Anglais-English mean score shown above.

Informal Language Use

On the question of how closely the subjects resemble a native French-speaker in their use of the language, the mean of the averages of the four evaluations made by native Francophone teachers on a scale of 0 - 10, is 6.45.

The data were separated to permit an examination of some variables, based on different groups of subjects who can be said to make a greater integrative effort into the Francophone milieu. Those subjects who reported that they attempt first to use French in either the large department store or with the bus driver together with those who

reported the use of French in both instances, were compared with those who reported the use of English in both those situations.

Table 3 - Subjects who attempt to speak French first with either a

Department Store Clerk or a Bus Driver or both

	FRANCOPHONES SHOULD BE PROUD OF THEIR LANGUAGE			C MUST FRENCH	QUEBEC SHOULD HAVE LAWS TO PROTECT FRENCH		L AM QUEBECOIS		FRENCH IS NECESSARY TO GET A GOOD JOB	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
STRONGLY AGREE	18	43 9			1	24	1	24	15	36.6
AGREE	22	53 6	8	19.5	15	36 6	13	31.7	17	41.5
UNSURE	1	24	11	26 8	15	36 6	7	17 1	7	17.1
DISAGREE			16	39 0	5	12.2	9	22 0	2	4.9
STRONGLY DISAGREE			6	14.6	5	122	11	26 8		

Note n = 41 The Mean averaged cumulative third term mark for this group is 77.78.

The mean score of evaluations of Francophone similitude of the group which used French (n = 41) in these two situations was 6.64 which compares with 6.04 for the group which used English (n = 18). The affective responses of the French Lers were more positive toward French than those of the English users. Among the French users 97.5% agreed that Francophones should take pride in their language, while the figure drops to 77.8% (with 11.1% being in strong disagreement) among the English users. 72.3% of the English users were in disagreement that French should be proud of their language. Only 11.1% among English users agreed with the statement that Québec must remain French, whereas 19.5% of the French users agreed, and 53.6% disagreed. Among the French users 39.0% agreed that Québec should have laws to protect the French language and among the English users 11.1% agreed. The French users (34.1%) were slightly more positive toward calling themselves Québécois than the English users (22.2%). 17.1% of the French users were uncertain about that statement, while none were uncertain among the English users, thus indicating a firmer negative response among the English users

In academic achievement the French and English users show some important differences. The French users overall mean score is 77.78, while the English users show an overall mean of 70.00. The means for Français are 73.66 and 64.06 for French users and English users, respectively. A similar spread between the groups appears in the English-Anglais combined mark: 82.41 for French users and 74.83 for English users.

Table 4 - Subjects who attempt to speak English first with both the Department Store Clerk and a Bus Driver

	FRANCOPHONES SHOULD BE PROUD OF THEIR LANGUAGE		QUEBE REMAIN		QUEBEC SHOULD HAVE LAWS TO PROTECT FRENCH		QUEBECOIS		FRENCH IS NECESSARY TO GET A GOOD JOB	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
STRONGLY AGREE	7	38 9					2	11 1	4	22 2
AGREE	7	38 9	2	11.1	2	111	2	11.1	9	50 0
UNSURE	2	11.1	3	167	5	27 8			2	111
DISAGREE			3	167	4	22.2	6	33 3	3	167
STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	11 1	10	55 6	7	38 9	8	44.4		.—

Note, n = 18 The Mean averaged cumulative third term mark for this group is 70 00

The sample was divided into two groups based on the cumulative average third term marks. One group was isolated containing subject students with marks at or above the Median of 77% (n=33), and the other with marks below the median (n=26). For the above-median group, the mean cumulative-average mark was 81.48%, and for the below-median group the mean was 67.62%. The Francophone similitude score for the above-median group was 6.95, while the same score for the below-median group was 5.79.

Table 5 - Responses of Subjects whose Cumulative
Third Term Average is Above Median of 77%

	FRANCOPHONES SHOULD BE PROUD OF THEIR LANGUAGE			C MUST FRENCH	QUEBEC HAVE L PROTECT		I AM QUEBECOIS		FRENCH IS NECESSARY TO GET A GOOD JOB	
	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ.	%	FREQ.	%
STRONGLY AGREE	11	33 3							12	36.4
AGREE	20	60 6	5	152	13	39 4	9	27.3	15	45 5
UNSURE	2	61	8	24 2	9	27.3	4	12 1	2	61
DISAGREE			14	42 4	6	18.2	9	27.3	3	9.1
STRONGLY DISAGREE			6	18.2	5	15 2	11	33.3	1	30

Note, n = 33.

On the question of whether Francophones should be proud of their language 86.9% of the above-median group agreed that they should, and 84.6% of the below-median group also agreed. As to whether Québec should always remain French, approximately the same percentages from each group disagreed (60.6% and 61.6%, respectively).

39.4% of the above-median group agreed that Québec should have laws to protect French, and 33.4% disagreed, while among the below-median group 42.3% disagreed with the statement with 42.3% uncertain on the question. A smaller proportion (27.3%) of the above-median group showed uncertainty.

The identity statement brought out approximately an equal percentage of agreement that they were Québécois, but showed higher uncertainty (19.2%) in the below-median group. The above median group showed only 12.1% uncertainty here and a higher percentage (60.6%) of this group disagreed with the statement as compared with the below-median group of whom 53.8% disagreed.

Table 6 - Responses of Subjects whose Cumulative
Third Term Average is Below Median of 77%

	FRANCOPHONES SHOULD BE PROUD OF THEIR LANGUAGE			C MUST FRENCH	QUEBEC HAVE LA PROTECT	AWS TO	QUEBECOIS		FRENCH IS NECESSARY TO GET A GOOD JOB	
	FREQ.	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%	FREQ	%
STRONGLY AGREE	13	50.0			1	38	1	39	8	30 8
AGREE	9	34.6	5	192	3	115	6	23 1	12	46 2
UNSURE	2	77	5	19 2	11	42.3	5	19 2	5	19 2
DISAGREE			6	23 1	3	11.5	7	26 9	1	38
STRONGLY DISAGREE	2	7.7	10	30 5	8	30 8	7	26 9		

Note n = 26

The statement regarding the pragmatic value of French elicited 81.9% agreement that French was important to get a good job among the above-median group and only 77.0% agreement among the below-median group 12.1% of the above-median group disagreed with this statement while only 3.8% of the below-median group disagreed. The below-median group showed higher uncertainty than the above-median group (19.2% vs. 6.1%).

These students of Greek origin use English more than French in spite of their eleven years of schooling in French. Most of their friends are English-speaking but they speak Greek with the parents and English with their siblings at home. They all are proud of the Greek language and agree a little less strongly that the French and English languages should be sources of pride for those who speak them. They do not generally agree that Québec should always remain predominately French-speaking and they support the equality of French and English languages in Québec. Most identify themselves as Greeks and Canadians in that order of frequency. Nearly all of the students agree that French and English, as well as Greek have important instumental value in Québec.

The average scores for French courses was 9.39 percentage points below the English mark of 80.10, and the average for all courses was 75.37. The evaluation of how closely the students resembled native Francophones is, at 64.50%, 6.21 points lower than the French course marks.

When the data are divided around the median of average marks the above-median group generally shows more positive attitudes toward the French language and culture as well as higher language skills than the below-median group.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

The objectives of this study were to survey the students of Greek origin in the French sector of a Québec High School in order to determine which languages they are able to use, which languages they do use in various social settings, and their attitudes toward French after nearly two decades of language legislation in Québec. It was further intended to attempt to discover patterns which might exist in comparing their language attitudes and their academic achievement as measured by their marks, and whether any difference in achievement might follow the same pattern of differences in attitude toward the French culture or their tendency to integrate or not into that culture.

Results

The results show that with regard to languages known, the sample of 59 students of Greek origin at the school generally speak, read and write English, French and Greek.

The languages most commonly used with siblings and friends is English and 61 percent of them indicated French as being the language of very few friends. When given the choice between languages in which to answer the questionnaire for this study, 86 percent of them chose English. Only in less intimate social circumstance, such as the

department store, do slightly less than half of them try their French first.

In their general attitude toward the language and culture, most of the subjects agreed that maintenance of language is an important value, and were proud of their own language. They generally indicated that others should be proud of their language as well. When they were asked specifically if the French language should be protected by law in Quibec, they were less certain. Many of them disagreed. There was much disagreement with Québec remaining predominantly French.

They tended to favour the equality of the French and English languages in Québec, but when asked whether Anglophones and Francophones should be proud of their languages, the responses were marginally more positive toward the Anglophones. They gave their national identity as both Canadian and Greek, but generally rejected the Québécois choice.

The subjects generally recognised the pragmatic value of French in the Québec economy when asked about its importance in the job market. Thus, the group has more frequently indicated stronger pragmatic than affective orientation toward the French language.

The subjects were generally weak in the way in which they resemble native Francophones in the use of the French language. This likely indicates lack of practice in informal situations outside the classroom, and shows that they need to use the language more to perfect their fluency. By extension, it seems that they make inadequate efforts to perfect their spoken French through informal use, and may, therefore, be said to be less integrated into the Francophone milieu. Their fluency in spoken English has never been a question, despite eleven years of French-language schooling, in which English was usually taught as a second language.

The results of the research into attitudes and Francophone similation to indicate much stronger integration into the English culture of Québec than the French.

The academic records indicated that the general cumulative average mark for the 59 subjects studied was 75.37 percent. Their Français mark fell some five points below this average to 70.71 percent, while the English marks rose about five points higher than the general average to 80.10 percent.

The comparison of academic records with attitudes and frequency of language use indicate that there is a marked difference in academic achievement between the subjects who appear to be more integrated and those who appear less integrated into the French culture. The group which tries French first in informal settings outside school and family, scored a little higher in evaluations of their ability to speak like native Francophones, than those who tried English first Their academic marks, which indicate the use of French in a formal setting, were about eleven percent higher, and seem to show that they generally have better French language communications skills than the group which is less integrated into the French environment. The group of subjects with academic scores above the median also show somewhat more positive attitudes toward the French language and culture which may have had some positive effect on the acquisition of those skills. Meanwhile, however, their pragmatic or utilitarian responses toward French tended to be stronger than their affective or integrative responses. Thus they may have indicated their intention to take more important economic roles outside the Greek community and that they believe they will need to be proficient in French for their careers. The pragmatic responses in the less-integrated sub-group showed the same stronger pattern in comparison to its affective responses.

Discussion

The results of this study show that the academic scores of the subjects surveyed varied in a similar pattern to the scores used to evaluate the extent of their integration into the French culture. Judging from their reports of greater frequency of the use of English and the slighter frequency of French usage, one may conclude that they are considerably less integrated into the French culture. Nevertheless, the group which showed higher integration into the French culture also achieved higher academic standing than those who showed a lesser tendency to integrate.

As Québec reevaluates its role as a distinct society within the Canadian confederation, and the rest of Canada struggles to come to terms with the probability of a new political structure, the future of

immigrant populations within Québec remains a question. It appears that the immigrant populations prefer to restrict themselves to becoming economically functional in French while maintaining a mixture of their own various cultures with English, which they would use in what they may perceive to be a wider social and economic context. Certainly the Francophone population expects immigrants to integrate into the French majority culture as part of its hope to maintain sufficient demographic presence to survive in North America, and to bolster its collective pride by so proving the attractiveness of its culture.

The subjects of this study do not appear to be prone to integration into the Francophone milieu, although they have managed to become functional in the spoken language. It seems that the problem for them is whether the degree to which they have become linguistically functional will permit them to take their place in a Québec of scientific, technological, industrial, and cultural careers which require more sophisticated operations in the French language. The fluency-level at which these subjects function in French leaves many of them with doubtful post-secondary education careers in the French language, and consequently fewer life-chances in an economy which will require them to compete with people who have greater communication skills.

Further Research

More research needs to be done to test some of the assumptions implied in the above conclusion. It would be useful to do a comparative follow-up study of the two Greek sub-groups in this study to determine which, if either, of the two sub-groups will be most productive in the Francophone milieu. This could be achieved by determining whether they attended French- or English-language colleges on graduation, and investigating how well they are doing academically. If they did not go to college, they should be surveyed as to their employment — kinds of jobs, the extent to which they use or need to use French on the job, salary levels, and job promotions.

Research into the goals which these students had set for themselves and whether they are attaining them is also called for. Do these students tend to prepare themselves for jobs in commerce, industry, or public service? What is their level of interest in, and capacity to, pursue intellectual training such as in the Liberal Arts?

The resuits of this study further suggest comparison with the students of Greek origin enrolled in the English-taught sector of the same school with a view to establishing whether those students are more proficient in English than the subjects of this study are in French, and whether academic marks tend to be higher in the presence of such higher proficiency. Similar college-career, and employment follow-up studies as suggested above for the French-taught group, should be made.

Comparative studies with groups from other ethnic origins is another topic for further research, which would show the differences between the attitudes and achievements of Greek students and other immigrant groups.

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Questionnaire Submitted to Subjects

English

Questionnaire on Languages

No	:	

The questionnaire on the following four pages is intended to find out:

1) what languages you speak,

- 2) how you use certain languages, and
- 3) what you think about languages.

The answers you give will be added together to get a picture of the class as a group, so that none of you will be singled out. None of the answers you give will be reported to anyone but the researcher who will use the statistics for a study being made at McGill University. Neither your name, nor the name of your school will be used in any of the reports. You can therefore answer the questions without fear of anyone knowing what answers you gave.

If you do not wish to participate, you are free not to do so.

Please pay careful attention to the instructions for each page.

Thank you for helping out another student.

<u>Questionnaire</u>

1.	Pleas	round Informa se write your our choices f	answers t			1.2 and check this page.
	1.1.	What country grandparents,				(his parents, ome from?
	1.2.	What country	did your	mother's a	ncestors	come from?
	1.3.	What language	es can you			
			Speak?	Read?	Write?	
		Créole	[]	[]	[]	
		English	[]	[]	[]	
		French	[]	[]	[]	
		Greek	[]	[]	[]	
		Hebrew	[]	[]	[]	
		Spanish	[]	[]	[]	
	Other	(language)	_ []	[]	[]	
	1.4.	Did you go to your ancestor		l school t	o learn t	he language of
			Yes []	No []	
			If yes,	for how 1	ong?	
			1 2 3 4 5	ss than on year years years years years re than 5]] []]	

- Questions about how you use different languages.
 Please check off one answer for each question on this page.
 - 2.1. Which language do you most often use when you speak to your friends in the hallways of the school?
 - French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].

If you answered "other", please write the name of the

language: _____.

- 2.2. Which language do you most often use when you speak with your parents at home?
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.3. Which language do you most often use when you speak with your brothers and sisters at home?
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.4. Which language do you most often use when you speak privately with your teachers?
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.5. Which language do you most often try to use first when you shop in the dépanneur in your neighbourhood?
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.6. Which language do you most often tr to use first when you shop in a large department store such as the Bay or Eaton's?
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.7. Which language to you most often try to use first when you speak to the bus driver?
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.8. The greatest number of my friends speak:
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].
- 2.9. The smallest number of my friends speak:
- French [], English [], Greek [], Créole [], Other [].

3. Questions about what you think of languages.

Please answer the following questions by using one of the <u>numbers</u> to represent these choices:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Not Sure
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree
- 3.1. [] It is a good thing to keep one's language.
- 3.2. [] I am proud of the language which I or my ancestors brought to this country.
- 3.3. [] I will do my best to see that my children speak the language which I or my ancestors brought to this country.
- 3.4. [] The English-speaking people of Canada should be proud of their language.
- 3.5. [] The French-speaking people of Canada should be proud of their language.
- 3.6. [] Québec should always remain a plac∈ where the French language is the most important.
- 3.7. [] Québec should be a place where both English and French are equal in every way.
- 3.8. [] Québec should be a place where all languages are equal in every way.
- 3.9. [] There should be laws which protect the French language in Ouébec.
- 3.10. [] The English language is important because it is useful for me to get a good job.
- 3.11. [] The French language is important because it is useful for me to get a good job.
- 3.12. [] The Greek language is important because it is useful for me to get a good job.
- 3.13. [] The Créole language is important because it is useful for me to get a good job.
- 3.14. [] My mother-tongue is important because it is useful for me to get a good job.

 Please turn the page and continue.

- l = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Not Sure
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree
- 3.15. [] I think of myself as Greek.3.16. [] I think of myself as Haitian.
- 3.17. [] I think of myself as Canadian.
- 3.18. [] I think of myself as Québécois.
- 3.19. [] I think of myself as _____.

Français

Questionnaire sur les langues

Le questionnaire dans les quatre pages suivantes a pour but de savoir:

- 1) Quelles langues vous parlez,
- 2) Comment utilisez-vous certaines langues,
- 3) Que pensez-vous des langues.

Les réponses que vous donnerez seront compirés pour avoir une image de la classe telle que groupe seulement. Aucune des réponses que vous donnerez sera reportée à quiconque excepté pour la recherche d'une étude faite à l'université de McGill qui va utiliser vos statistiques. <u>Ni votre nom, ni le nom de votre école</u> ne seront utilisés dans aucun des rapports. Par conséquent vous pouvez répondre aux questons sans crainte d'avoir vos réponses divulguées.

Il est de votre choix de remplir ce questionnaire.

Veuillez-survre les instructions avec attention.

Merci de venir en aide à un autre étudiant.

	De quel pays, grand-parents, originaires?							
1.2.	De quel pays originaires?	,	les	ancêtres	de v	otre	mère	
1.3.	Queiles langues	sa	avez '	vous		-		
		<u>Pa</u>	rler?	<u>Lire</u> ?	<u>Écr</u>	<u>re</u> ?		
	Créole	[]	[]	[]		
	Anglais	[]	[]	[]		
	Français	E	ĩ	[]	Ξ]		
	Grec	[]	[]	[3		
	Hébreu	Γ	7	[]	[]		
	Espagnol	[]	[]	[]		
Autr	e?	[]	[]	Į]		
1.4.	Êtes-vous allé étudier la lang	à	une de v	école s os ancêtro	péciale es?	ou j	privée	
		Ou	1 []	Non []			
		si	oui,	pour-com	oien de	temp	s?	
			1 2 3 4 5	ins d'un a an ans ans ans ans us de 5 a:				

2.	Questions concernant comment utilisez-vous differentes langues.
	Cochez une réponse pour chaque question.
	2.1. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus souvent, quand vous rencontrez vos amis dans les couloirs de l'école?
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	Si vous avez répondu autre, veuillez spécifier la
	langue:
	2.2. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus souvent avec von parents, à la maison?
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	2.3. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus souvent avec vos freres et soeurs, a la maison?
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec []. Créole [], Autre [].
	2.4. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus souvent avec von professeurs lorsque vous leurs parlez en privé.
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	2.5. Quelle langue essayez-vous le plus souvent de parler es premier lorsque vous allez maganiser chez le dépanneu de votre région?
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	2.6. Quelle langue essayez-vous le plus souvent de parler es premier lorsque vous allez magasiner dans un magasin rayons tel que La Baie ou Eaton?
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	2.7. Quelle langue essayez-vous d'utiliser lorsque vou parlez à un chauffeur d'autobus.
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	2.8. La majorité de mes amis parle:
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].
	2.9. La minorité de mes amis parle:
	Français [], Anglais [], Grec [], Créole [], Autre [].

3. Que pensez-vous des langues?

Veuillez répondre aux questions dans ces deux pages en utilisant un des <u>numéros</u> représentant ces choix:

- 1 = complètement en désaccord
- 2 = en désaccord
- 3 = incertain
- 4 = d'accord
- 5 = complètement d'accord
- 3.1. [] Il est bon de garder sa propre langue.
- 5.2. [] Je suis fier(e) de la langue que moi ou mes ancêtres avons apportee dans ce pays.
- 3.3. [] Je feral de mor. mieux pour que mes enfants utilisent la langue que moi ou mes ancêtres avons apportée dans ce pays.
- 3.4. [] Les anglophones du Canada devraient être fiers de leurs langue.
- 3.5. [] Les francophones du Canada devraient être fiers de leur langue.
- 3.6. [] Le Québec devrait toujours etre un lieu ou le français reste la langue la plus importante.
- 3.7. [] Le Québec devrait être un lieu où l'anglais et le français soient deux langues egales en tout point de vue.
- 3.8. [] Le Québec devrait être un lieu où toutes les langues soient égales en tout point de vue.
- 3.9. [] Il devrait avoir des lois qui protegent la langue française au Québec.
- 3.10. [] L'anglais est une langue importante qui me permettrait d'avoir un bon travail.
- 3.11. [] Le français est une langue importante qui me permettrait d'avoir un bon travail.
- 3.11. [] Le grec est une langue importante qui me permettrait d'avoir un bon travail.
- 3.13. [] Le créole est une langue importante qui me permettrait d'avoir un bon travail.
- 3.14. [] Ma langue maternelle est une langue importante qui me permettrait d'avoir un bon travail. (Tournez la page)