

IMMERSION PROGRAMMES

**KEY ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION
OF
IMMERSION PROGRAMMES**

By

ANNE MARIE METFORD, B.A. HONS., DIP. ED.

**A Project
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts (Teaching)**

McMaster University

August, 1983

MASTER OF ARTS (TEACHING) (1983)
(French)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Key Aspects of the Operation of Immersion Programmes

AUTHOR: Anne Marie Metford, B.A. Hons. (The University of Western
Ontario)
Dip. Ed. (The University of Western
Ontario)

SUPERVISORS: Dr. S.M. Najm, Dr. D. Lepicq

NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 126.

ABSTRACT

The existing types of French Immersion programmes¹ have been extensively examined, tested and analysed with respect to the linguistic and scholastic progress of the participating students. Such factually-based findings would suffice for evaluating results achieved by most educationally innovative programmes. However, French Immersion is a programme that seeks to promote in the student not only a measurable linguistic mastery of the target language, but also the acquisition of knowledge of the second culture and, as well, the development of those attitudes and predispositions which favour acceptance and appreciation of the French language, French-Canadian culture and francophones generally. The goals of the programme are, therefore, not purely academic, but also cultural, psychological, emotional and social.

Such a far-reaching enterprise inevitably entails profound changes in the structure of the traditional curriculum and risks influencing the attitudes of the various people involved (teachers, parents, administrators, students) toward the learning process and may affect their mutual relationships. The programme's impact on these members of the Immersion community has been important, and it has induced great changes in the traditional relationships among these groups. Yet there has been little

¹Early Immersion (beginning in Kindergarten; the teacher speaks only French); Partial Immersion (may begin at any grade level--usually in Grades 7 or 8; certain subjects taught in French, the rest in English); Late Immersion (usually begins in Grade 8; generally, all subjects are taught in French).

attempt to analyse these spin-off effects inherent to the programme, to understand them or come to grips with the problems they produce.

Issues as fundamental as setting out clear, measurable goals and procedures for the Immersion programme, teacher training, curriculum, working conditions, effects on the Regular-stream (English) component of the school, public relations and accountability have been largely ignored.

Having been an Immersion teacher for four years, I am very aware of the need to further this type of investigation of academic and para-academic components of the programme and also to establish new ground rules for interaction in the altered Immersion community. It is for this reason that I decided to analyse the programme's structure, operation and relationship with the community in the light of recent research in such areas as the psychology of language learning, second language pedagogy, organization and public perception of Immersion programmes in other locations,² my own experience and observations and so on. A questionnaire I devised and distributed to educators involved with the Immersion programme provided a wealth of personal reactions, criticisms and suggestions to help deepen and illustrate my findings. In this project, my exposition of different organizational and interactional problems (Chapter II), leads

²Withrow, Margaret S. "Technology to Facilitate Language Acquisition", Volta Review (September 1981), 310-320

Tremblay, Florent. "Le Bilinguisme Est-Il Pour Tout le Monde?", Education Canada, (Fall/Automne 1981), 36-41.

Gardner, R.C. "On the Validity of Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition: Conceptual, Contextual and Statistical Considerations", Language Learning, Volume 30, Number 2 (1980), 255-270.

to a series of practical recommendations (Chapter III), offering strategies and detailing resources appropriate for dealing with the major types of problems arising in this particularly demanding and controversial programme.

This research project should add significantly to knowledge on hitherto neglected pedagogical aspects of one French Immersion programme and on human interactions within the school itself (teachers, principals, students, Regular-stream and Immersion), and relations between school representatives and the surrounding community (parents, politicians, school boards, public opinion, media, etc.).

It should constitute a useful source of information for a critical revision of self-examination of attitudes and behaviours of teachers, administrators and parents involved in the Immersion programme and eventually help to suggest necessary adjustments and changes in the future policies and strategies of those above mentioned both on a pedagogical and interactional level.

By providing information and recommendations, my aim is to contribute to a more efficient and harmonious learning and teaching environment for all those involved in an innovative and worthwhile educational enterprise.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank sincerely my project supervisors: Dr. S.M. Najm, Chairman of the M.A.(T)-M.Sc.(T) Programme at the University, who provided me with outstanding guidance and excellent advice from the beginning; and Dr. Dominique Lepicq of the Department of Romance Languages for her valuable suggestions, specifically about the organization of the questionnaire findings and my recommendations.

I would like to thank as well several others who contributed in various ways to the successful realization of this project: Mr. Jack Duncan, Staff Assistant in the Research Department of the Hamilton Board of Education, for his suggestions concerning the organization and content of the questionnaire; Mrs. Sharon Lapkin (O.I.S.E.) for the information she furnished me on Immersion research and resources.

I am indebted to the teachers and administrators who responded to my questionnaire, and specifically to my colleagues at Earl Kitchener School--their assistance and cooperation were invaluable in the preparation of the project.

A special thanks to my husband, Dr. John Metford, for his interest, encouragement and inspiration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
A. The Early Years of the Programme	1
B. What Exactly Is French Immersion	2
C. The Aims of This Project	4
D. Questionnaire	6
1. Scope and Objectives	6
2. Set Up	8
3. Contents	9
4. Description of Results	10
5. Significance of Results	11
NOTES -- CHAPTER I	14
 CHAPTER II: ANALYSIS OF KEY ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION OF IMMERSION PROGRAMMES	 15
A. Parents	15
1. The Typical Immersion Parent	16
2. Parental Input	17
3. Communication-Related Issues	19
4. Staffing Procedures and Teacher Inexperience	21
5. Curriculum-Related Issues	22
B. Teachers	23
1. Curriculum Development	24
2. Resources	27
3. Language Teaching Specialization Issues	28
4. Elitist Programming Effects	30
5. Language-Related Communication Issues	34
C. Administrators	35
1. The Language Supervisor in the Immersion School	35
2. Principals	37
i) Public Relations	37
ii) The Principal as Mediator	38
iii) Organizational Obligations	39
iv) Evaluations	42

D. Students	44
1. Effects of the Immersion Programme on Regular-Stream Students	44
2. How the Regular-Stream Students Feel	45
3. An Elite Status?	47
4. Classroom Atmosphere	47
5. Curriculum-Related Issues	48
NOTES — CHAPTER II	52
 CHAPTER III: PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS	 56
A. Programme Organization	56
1. Goals and Objectives	56
2. Teacher/Principal Qualifications	57
3. Enrolment and Staffing Shifts	61
B. Curriculum	63
1. Clarification and Development	64
2. Consultant	65
3. Francophone "Human" Resources	66
4. Biculturalism	66
5. Remedial Resources	67
C. School Policy	67
1. Class Codes	67
2. Accountability	68
3. Parental Input	69
4. School Unity	70
NOTES — CHAPTER III	73
 CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION	 74
NOTES — CHAPTER IV	78
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 79
 APPENDICES: INTRODUCTION	 86
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE TEXT	87
APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS: ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS	95
APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS: ANSWERS TO COMMENT QUESTIONS	103

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Early Years of the Programme

In 1975, the momentous decision was made to create a French Immersion programme in Hamilton, Ontario. This decision was arrived at in response to parental interest and pressure and the desire of board officials to provide educationally innovative programmes aiming at producing bilingual Canadian citizens.

The school chosen for the Immersion programme was Earl Kitchener Public School. There were many reasons for this choice of location. Earl Kitchener is a large school with plenty of room which is an important consideration since Immersion programmes tend to expand rapidly. The school population had been declining with the possibility of closing the school completely. The introduction of an Immersion programme in that school, if successful, would insure a steady influx of students, many of whom would be transported specifically because of the attraction of the new programme. Many of these students would normally be enrolled in private schools as the school is located close to some of the prime residential areas of Hamilton. The parents of future Immersion students living in these areas would be professionals and academics--the type of individuals traditionally most receptive to the idea of Immersion education.¹

As a result of the previous factors and largely due to the strong parental involvement and interest in the community, there was little

difficulty recruiting fifty students, a number sufficient to open two kindergartens in September 1975.

Since then, the programme has expanded by one grade per year. This initially meant an addition of at least two Immersion teachers per year at Earl Kitchener as retention in the programme was excellent. It was enough to warrant continuing with two classes of each grade level until grade 5. By the time the programme reached grade 4 at Earl Kitchener School, two kindergartens were opened at Pauline Johnson School (1977). In September 1981, the programme was offered to one grade 6 class at Ryerson Senior Elementary School. In September of 1982 there were two kindergarten classes opened at A.M. Cunningham School. Enrolment in the Immersion programmes offered at the four schools numbers approximately 512 students as of September 1982. There are presently twenty full-time Immersion teachers and two full-time and one half-time English Language teachers employed by the Hamilton Board of Education to teach these students. From one teacher and 50 children in 1975 to 22½ teachers and approximately 512 students in 1982 is a considerable expansion indeed!

B. What Exactly is French Immersion?

The curriculum of the French Immersion programmes, as described by boards of education offering these programmes, is essentially the same as in one offered in corresponding grade levels of the traditional system. The fundamental difference is that all subjects taught by the Immersion classroom teacher are taught exclusively in French. Morgan Kenney developed the Basic Goals of the French Immersion Programme for a proposal placed before the Board in June of 1974. These goals are:

- to realize the educational goals set forth by the Hamilton Board of Education;

- to provide students with the best opportunity to develop basic skills and to enjoy rich educational experiences; and at the same time,
- to develop an ability to communicate in French at the level that permits them:
 - (1) to communicate easily with French-speaking people,
 - (2) to continue their educational and professional development in French or in English, and
 - (3) to find a job that requires French or English or a combination of the two languages.²

The subjects taught in French by the classroom teacher are:

Mathematics, Art, Language Arts (reading, spelling, grammar, and creative writing), Integrated Studies (Geography, Science, etc.), Health, Penmanship and Music in Kindergarten and grade one. In a school provided with Music and Physical Education teachers, these classes will be taught mainly in English. These teaching requirements are the same as those of the non-Immersion teacher. The Immersion curriculum also requires that students, beginning at the grade 2 level (in most cases), receive instruction in English Language Arts. This means that the Immersion students are being taught: reading, spelling, creative writing, and grammar in both French and English. At the grade 2 level the time devoted to studying French language Language Arts is much greater than that devoted to English language Language Arts. The time spent on English language Language Arts is increased until at the High School level there is more time devoted to English language instruction than to French language instruction. The English language portion of the Language Arts component of the curriculum is usually taught by a teacher other than the Immersion

homeroom teacher. This teacher is often an English specialist.

The percentage of time devoted to Language Arts in English is gradually increased, i.e. grades 2-3: English 20%, French (all subjects) 80%; grades 4-6: English 20-40%, French (all subjects) 60-80%. It appears that at the high school level, students will have a choice to make about the way in which they will continue their French education. A proposal to the Education Management Committee of the Board, dated January 14, 1981, suggests the consideration of the following options:

- (a) Students would, as a group, attend the most central secondary school and would receive instruction in French in three subjects, one being Français; or
- (b) Students would be registered at the composite secondary school nearest to Georges P. Vanier and receive instruction in French for 30% of the day at Vanier; or
- (c) Students would attend George P. Vanier (full French programme).³

It remains to be seen which options will be retained.

The Immersion programmes presently offered by the Hamilton Board of Education are all Early Immersion Programmes (programmes beginning at the kindergarten level). There are, as yet, no Late Immersion Programmes (programmes beginning at the grade 7 or 8 level) or partial Immersion programmes in which certain subjects only are taught in French. All programmes are offered in schools currently with a traditional curriculum (all subjects taught in English). In this study I will be referring to the traditional classrooms as Regular-stream classrooms and to their teachers as Regular-stream teachers.

C. The Aims of This Project

It is obvious that the presence of an Immersion programme in a

school that had been for many years a traditional community school will affect all aspects of the life of that school including its organization and atmosphere. An example of this is the way in which the composition of the school changes from the point of view of the ratio of number of classes taught in English to the number of Immersion classes. After five years of the programme at Earl Kitchener School there were five full-time Regular-stream teachers and eight full-time Immersion teachers. The Immersion programme was expanding as the Regular-stream programme shrank. It is normal for the Immersion programme to eventually "take over" the school in which it is implemented. The Immersion component of the school expands year to year while the Regular-stream component remains stable or decreases as most parents in the school area decide to enrol their children in the Immersion programme. It is safely assumed that this aspect alone of the programme would be sufficient to cause difficulties; as the Immersion component of the school expands, the focus of the school would be on the Immersion rather than the traditional programme. There are numerous other areas of concern associated with the Immersion programme. Examples of these are: the creation of an "elitist" mentality on the part of Immersion students and parents, changes in the make-up of the Regular-stream classes, and difficulties with curriculum development and implementation of pedagogical tools and materials in the Immersion programme.

It is my intention to study how some of these characteristics of the Immersion Programme are perceived and tackled by the members of a situation. Interests and input have received very little attention to date: the teachers involved in the programmes, both Regular-stream and Immersion. Up to now, studies of Immersion programmes have been concerned

with the concrete, measurable findings in the area of pupil progress. This sort of research has been most necessary to allay parent and educator anxieties about the academic worth of the new programmes when compared to the Regular-stream system of education. However, the Immersion experience is one that affects not only the scholastic but also the social, cultural, psychological and emotional life of the members of its community. By studying the effects of the Immersion programme on these para-scholastic areas, a greater understanding of the total impact of the programme on the members of the Immersion community should be gained.

D. Questionnaire

1. Scope and Objectives

Preliminary investigation suggested a certain number of areas of particular concern to the success of the Immersion programme. This investigation included research on second-language teaching and methodology, the processes of language acquisition and Immersion programmes in several centres. It was based on discussions I had with teachers, administrators, parents and resource people (e.g. reading, music, library services) in both Immersion and Regular streams, from the Hamilton Board and other boards (Ottawa, Carleton, London, Wentworth, Toronto, etc.). The original impetus came from my personal experience as an Immersion teacher for four years, after four years of teaching French and English at the elementary, secondary and university levels in Canada and France.

I developed the questionnaire to produce data from a wider sample of people involved with the Immersion programme than I had been able to talk to individually, and to ensure as far as possible the standardization and thus comparability of the questions asked and the answers

elicited. The purpose was to ascertain whether indeed those areas of concern I had tentatively isolated were seen by others as being central to the issue, and what other areas, if any, were considered important.

My hypothesis was that concern was chiefly evident in two domains, the organizational and the attitudinal. Organizational differences were evident between the Immersion and Regular-stream programmes in such areas as class size, numbers of split grades, teacher release time, teacher responsibilities for such things as curriculum development and parent interviews, resources available to teachers, both physical (text books, library books, films) and human (volunteers, resource people, and the children themselves). I was interested in ascertaining if these differences were in fact as commonly noticed as I supposed and if they were perceived in the ways I suggested. Were they perceived as being important or unimportant? Did the organizational differences cause effects that were seen negatively or positively?

The attitudinal concerns that I wished to study were manifested in the interpersonal relationships of groups concerned with or involved with the programme (teachers, administrators, parents, students). I hypothesized that problems of an attitudinal nature (e.g. expressed teacher resentment of various parts of the programme) were related to the perceived disparity in working conditions between the two programmes. Teacher reaction expressed as comments in the relevant sections of the questionnaire should be useful in ascertaining this. I wished to discover also if problems of an interpersonal nature might also be the result of "political" issues associated with the programme. Example: the protected nature of the Immersion teachers who are currently, because of their specialization, immune from seniority and redundancy regulations

negotiated by the teachers' federations.

2. Set-Up

The questionnaire was designed following the format found in questionnaires to Immersion parents created by the Research Department of the Hamilton Board of Education and those to teachers, parents, administrators and students by Burns and Olson, Implementation and Politics in French Immersion, O.I.S.E., 1981. Mr. Jack Duncan of the Research Department, Hamilton Board of Education, kindly consented to advise me and helped me greatly to produce a survey that was as objective as possible.

The questionnaire was distributed on June 21, 1982, in three schools in Hamilton, Ontario: Pauline Johnson (junior elementary, Immersion Grades 1-4), Earl Kitchener (junior elementary, Immersion Grades 1-5), Ryerson (senior elementary, Immersion Grade 6). In each school questionnaires were given to the Immersion teachers, the Regular-stream teachers (including English, Music, Phys. Ed., Art, Geography, History, Home Economics, Manual Arts, where applicable), the librarians and the principals and vice-principals. In the senior school, due to the small proportion of Immersion students, only those non-Immersion teachers who would be in direct contact with the Immersion class (through rotary subject teaching) were surveyed. Out of 47 questionnaires distributed, 29 were returned, for a return rate of 61.7%. NB

The same questionnaire was used for all groups surveyed, as the questions asked for opinions and perceptions. The situations were general enough in nature so that all groups would feel capable of giving some sort of answer. However, as a precaution, my covering letter stated, "There may be sections of the survey that do not apply to your situation. Please feel free to complete only those questions that concern or interest you."

The questionnaire and covering letter are reproduced in Appendix 1.

3. Contents

The questions were chosen to allow the respondents to rate and/or comment on various aspects of the Immersion programme (components and relationships) taken in an absolute way or relative to the Regular-stream programme.

SECTION A. The first section concerns the perception of the Immersion students themselves by teachers. They are compared to Regular-stream students in areas such as motivation, peer interaction, oral expression. Two questions deal with the effectiveness of the programme for children considered as gifted.

SECTION B. This section was designed to examine the attitudes and relationships between the students of a school with two programmes. Does the presence of Immersion students influence such things as the behavior or attitude of Regular-stream students? Do the children integrate well into the school or is there a problem, and if so, of what kind? Is the programme perceived negatively or positively by the Regular-stream students?

SECTION C. The Immersion parent is compared to the Regular-stream parent for such qualities as enthusiasm, interest expressed, aggressiveness, anxiety. The teachers' attitudes toward these parents is examined as well.

SECTION D. The more readily measurable areas of concern for organizational aspects of the programme are examined by means of comparisons of Regular-stream and Immersion classrooms (class numbers, split grades, resource people, teaching materials, release time, etc.). Teacher comments about the differences are solicited.

SECTION E. The demands made on the Immersion teacher are compared to those made on the Regular-stream teacher. These are due in part to the organization of the programme, i.e. curriculum development, parental interaction, but are less objectively perceived and measured. Teacher attitudes toward the programme are examined by questions about the advantages or disadvantages of having an Immersion programme in the school, the reasons for the programmes, and the teacher's perception of the success or lack of it of these programmes.

SECTION F. In this section, teacher attitudes and opinions about some of the political issues surrounding the programmes are solicited. Two of these issues are: the appropriateness of spending monies on Immersion programmes as opposed to other programmes benefitting possibly more children, and the relationship between Immersion programmes and declining enrolment in Regular-stream programmes. In order to aid the development of the section of my project dealing with recommendations to improve Immersion programmes (Chapter III), teachers were asked for their suggestions about what boards of education and teachers could do to improve these programmes, as well as for any other suggestions they might have.

4. Description of Results

The questions requiring a rating produced uneven results as there were wide variations in numbers of respondents to each question and even to sub-sections of questions. This is perhaps due to individual disinterest in certain questions, the length of the questionnaire or the time of the year at which it was conducted. The material from these questions is displayed in chart form, with the numbers of respondents to each sub-section, sub-totals, totals, and percentages (Appendix 2).

The comments given by the respondents to the comment questions

were interesting and revealing (Appendix 3). They have been organized according to the section and question where they appeared. They were further classified as positive or negative in nature, according to whether the respondent agreed or disagreed with the statement, by teacher specialty (Immersion or Regular-stream), or by a combination of these, as appropriate. Comments were grouped according to internal coherence, e.g. curriculum, students, teacher anxiety, and identified by sub-headings.

In view of their small numbers, their lack of bilingualism and their sporadic and/or distant contact with the classroom realities of Immersion teaching, the replies returned by librarians, principals and vice-principals were classified with those of the Regular-stream teachers.

5. Significance of Results

It is important to note that the attitudes and opinions collected in the data are only representative of a relatively small group of individuals in a specific location and work context. They may not be applicable to all Immersion situations. ^{Let us hope so.} As well, the attitudes and relationships between individuals can be the result of personality conflicts in a certain situation and may not be due to the specific organization of the Immersion programme. It is difficult to evaluate these influences and answers. Moreover, the attitudes and opinions expressed may change as a result of evolution and improvement in the Immersion programme. The survey must be considered as relevant for a specific programme at a specific time.

The information produced by the rating questions (Appendix 2), can have little claim to statistical validity, in view of the small size of the sampling, and, further, the wide disparity in the number of

respondants to any given question. It is, however, useful in indicating or illustrating various ideas or problems, and has been so used in the elaboration of the project.

The answers to the comment questions furnished valuable information on attitudes held by people associated with the Immersion programme concerning operational, academic, public relations and communication aspects of the programme. These data, many of which have never before been collected, were used to develop, illustrate and deepen analysis of key aspects of the Immersion programme. Attitudes, criticisms, solutions, expressed or suggested by the people most closely involved with and affected by the Immersion programme, have been discussed and analysed in chapters of the project devoted to the relevant component or aspect of the programme. This is one of the main ways in which the all-important human element has been incorporated into this study of Immersion programmes, with the attendant gain in pertinence and detail that that implies.

The analysis of the data collected by means of the questionnaire, in addition to my research and personal experience, will allow a series of recommendations, many of which are highly practical in nature. These include suggestions and strategies for dealing with problems arising from the increased interaction among all members of the Immersion community: teachers, parents, students and administrators. Although some of the characteristics of Immersion programme operation that are discussed here are common to many Immersion programmes, the project is intended as a survey of the situation that exists in the Hamilton Board of Education. Though the concluding recommendations might be applicable to other Immersion programmes, or to Immersion programmes in other contexts or parts

of the country, they are specifically formulated to attempt to respond to the needs of the Hamilton Immersion programme or to remedy some difficulties encountered in the Immersion programme in Hamilton as detected by the answers to the questionnaire.

NOTES - CHAPTER I

1. Having benefitted from higher education themselves, these parents are very aware of the cultural and economic advantages that frequently are the end result. Bilingualism is seen as the logical extension of this higher education. These parents wish their children to benefit from the cultural, economic and social advantages they see as the product of bilingualism.
2. Re: The French Immersion Program, Report submitted by M. Kenney (Supervisor of Curriculum and Instruction (Languages)) and C.G.W. McKague (Superintendent of Curriculum and Special Services), to the Education Management Committee, Board of Education, Hamilton, Ontario, January 14, 1981, p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 1.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF KEY ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION OF IMMERSION PROGRAMMES

This chapter examines the main problem areas of the Immersion programme. It shows that they are the result of the differences in organization of the Immersion and the typical academic programmes, and of the evolution in the roles of all groups in the Immersion community (parents, teachers, administrators and students) and the relationships between them.

The relative newness of the Immersion programme explains why its systems are underdeveloped and insufficient at all levels. The support system (texts, training, cultural components, etc.) is still in its infancy. Little research has been done on the day to day operation of Immersion programmes or the programmes' effects on those involved with them, so that administrators, planners and participants have little to refer to for guidance. The following chapters will attempt to bring new light to the situation by examining in detail the programme as it is lived by members of the Immersion community, analyzing the problems involved and offering appropriate and feasible suggestions for solutions.

A. Parents

The increasingly active role played by members of the parental community in school policies and implementations has meant a rethinking on the part of teachers, parents and administrators of their respective

role as traditionally considered. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Immersion school where parents have often been instrumental in starting the programmes. Their continued input into all aspects of the school context is considerable and not without causing certain difficulties.

1. The Typical Immersion Parent

Who is the typical Immersion parent? George E. Burns and Paul Olson, in their study Implementation and Politics in French Immersion, 1981, describe the average Immersion parent of the northeastern Ontario communities they surveyed as having a mean income level "probably safely somewhere between twenty-five and thirty-five thousand dollars per year."¹ Their mean age reported was 35.² Educationally, "22% reported a B.A. or better as their educational background."³ These parents represent a very elite group when compared to community norms. The backgrounds of the parents of the Hamilton Immersion students would be equally impressive. A very significant fact is that "as lived experience virtually all the doctors, lawyers, dentists and other professions have their children in Immersion."⁴

The Immersion parents are thus an elite group when compared to the cross-section of society that is usually represented in a typical Regular-stream classroom.

The typical Immersion parents perceived from a teacher's point of view (according to many teachers I have talked with) are: intelligent, well informed, motivated, upwardly-mobile and very involved with their child's education. They are well aware of the advantages of bilingualism and determined that their children have the opportunity of benefitting from these advantages. "Their reasons for entering their children in French Immersion are directly tied to individual aspirations they hold

for their child's personal, vocational and cultural opportunities."⁵

2. Parental Input

In most cases it is groups of parents that have been instrumental in establishing Immersion programmes by exerting pressure on boards of education and demanding their right to a bilingual education for their child. This quotation from the National Chairman of the Canadian Parents for French (1978), Janet Poyen, sums up the effects of this involvement:

In areas where French programs have been difficult to obtain, parents have been 'immersed' as well--immersed in political realities, funding information, evaluation, teacher qualifications, and curriculum development. These parents know what they want, and why they want it.⁶

The parents' active involvement in the creation of Immersion programmes has served to unify them as a group with a common goal. They feel that the programmes are their creation and that they are responsible for monitoring their progress in order to assure that their children receive the best possible bilingual education. In many cases the reading and research that the parents have done in Immersion education have given them considerable expertise. They are thus unified, informed and determined.

The parents of Immersion students are frequently in the schools, deepening and extending their association with the Immersion community by participating in Home and School Associations, setting up parental policy-making committees, offering themselves as volunteers and so on. This active, involved presence is, of course, primarily beneficial to the school community, as the remarks from the survey indicate:

"The Immersion parents are more willing to volunteer their time." (Regular-stream teacher)⁷

"They have sparkled (sic) enthusiasm in the Home and School Association and have, along with other parents, given adventurous leadership." (Regular-stream teacher)."⁸

"Parents are often in the school which makes communication easy." (Immersion teacher)⁹

However, this intense parental presence has its negative side. There is often a feeling among the teachers (Immersion and Regular-stream) of being under scrutiny and of being constantly judged, often on issues unrelated to teaching. A kind of defensiveness results with accompanying paranoia:

"Teachers feel they must over-justify their actions because of parental anxieties." (Regular-stream teacher)¹⁰

"Teachers' anxieties about parent/teacher interviews are greater. Parents' complaints, justified or not, affect programs and class activities and atmospheres." (Regular-stream teacher)¹¹

"There is very low teacher morale because of parent criticism, negativism and their desire to take over." (Immersion teacher)¹²

Real or imagined slights or even harassment are also a cause of unhappiness and suspicion on the part of teachers; these attitudes become evident in conversations with these individuals. Irresponsible actions of certain anxious parents help create a "loud vocal minority which warps the perception by the teachers of the Immersion parents in general." (Immersion teacher)¹³

It is undeniable that the atmosphere of the Immersion school is often strained. There is a great deal of parent anxiety attached to a programme that may still be perceived as experimental. Parents may question their decision to enrol their child in the programme, especially if their child is experiencing difficulties in such areas as reading, listening skills or oral expression. These demanding parents expect a great deal from teachers, administrators and their own children, and if their expectations are not met, they can exert pressures that are felt by staff and students: "There is a lot of stress because of high parental

expectations."¹⁴

3. Communication-related Issues

Problems arise when parents do not communicate their anxieties to teachers but bypass them in favor of the principal, supervisor or board official. These parents are used to "going to the top" in any situation in order to get results. In bypassing the teacher if a problem arises they are denying his/her right to self-expression and implying that his/her authority is inferior to that of the principal or supervisor. ^{So!} The teacher should have the prerogative to the ultimate authority in his/her own classroom, and he/she should have the right to be confronted directly if a situation that caused controversy arises. The effects of this lack of direct communication are increased teacher distrust, defensiveness and stress: "There is teacher stress due to a lack of direct communication on the parents' side, i.e. they deal with problems via the principal."¹⁵

The teachers' reaction to this stressful situation, in my experience and that of other Immersion and Regular-stream teachers, has sometimes been unprofessional conduct or discussions of personalities instead of educational issues. The parents have often been accused of being guilty of the same non-productive conduct. The resultant personality conflicts serve to polarize the staff and parents. Serious problems can result when a parent or teacher allow prejudices to influence the perception of concerns and decisions taken for dealing with them. Problems become blown out of perspective and communication breaks down. What results is the sort of situation in which an Immersion teacher is feeling the kind of resentment, distrust and negativism that causes him/her to categorize Immersion parents as: "condescending, patronizing, anxious and threatening."¹⁶

Parents often voice concerns (during parent/teacher interviews or conversations with teachers, administrators or other parents) about their inability to help their children because of their lack of proficiency in French. This is seen as a serious difficulty if the child is having problems, as some parental comments taken from the 1979 survey to parents of Immersion students of the Hamilton Board of Education indicate:

"When our child has some problems at school with a certain subject, we were unable to give him extra help at home. We feel this has caused him some difficulties primarily because he was in the French program."¹⁷

"The pressure is still on. We cannot help our child with her reading and dictation, and we sometimes feel very inadequate in this situation."¹⁸

The parents cannot help but ask themselves if their child would have fared better in a Regular-stream classroom and if their decision to enrol their child in the Immersion programme was a sound one.

In addition, there are certain communication difficulties based on language-related confusion between teachers and students even in the higher grades. The students have in my own experience and that of other teachers have been known to take advantage of this potential confusion and to distort information to their advantage. This instance of oral language-related confusion is one example: "N'emportez pas vos livres à la maison ce soir," could easily become, in the case of a child who has unfinished work and no desire to do it on a particular evening, when asked by a parent what work is to be done, "Oh, the teacher said we couldn't take our books home." This "omission" on the student's part could result in a very confused, then irate, parent, wondering why the teacher will not allow the children to do homework. This sort of situation indicates a lack of trust or faith in the teacher's judgment, of which the child takes

advantage. This type of situation obviously may exist in English classes, but the potential for serious abuse is much greater in Immersion classes.

4. Staffing Procedures and Teacher Inexperience

Teachers often express disapproval, in conversations and in meetings, of the continued parental involvement with programme monitoring (e.g. through such means as curriculum committees), feeling that lay persons may not be well qualified to judge the special educational needs of the Immersion children. They resent as well the influence these parents have on administrators and the part they play in policy making as these teacher comments taken from the survey indicate:

"The parents seem to have too much power. They are often negative in their input. Parents will gather in groups, make a general complaint, often unfounded, and call the board." (Immersion teacher)¹⁹

"These parents seem very vociferous. This must influence school policies." (Regular-stream teacher)²⁰

However, the parents' point of view is that they, not the teachers, are the experts. They have followed the programme through and have a continuity of outlook and information that is not available to the teachers. One of the major parental concerns is the inexperience of the Immersion staff. In the words of one parent:

"In my view, the chief draw-back of the program would be the large number of new, relatively inexperienced teachers, and the large turnover in these teachers. While some are excellent, I do feel that the quality of the teaching staff has been a bit uneven."²¹

Recruiting for positions in the Immersion programme is often done from the ranks of the oral French or High School French teachers. These teachers are often not qualified in primary methodology and have little knowledge of the specialized requirements of the Immersion programme. A parental comment underlines the need for continuity in the Immersion

teaching staff:

"We are concerned about a large turnover of staff in this program. We have three children in it and can see definite benefits in maintaining a solid core of staff from year to year. Team work seems to be necessary for consistency and effectiveness of the French Immersion program."²²

5. Curriculum-related Issues

Parents are correct in the assumption that Immersion teachers are not working as a team. Personal experience and the expressed opinions of other Immersion teachers support this parental concern. The frequent staff turnover may indeed be a factor in this. There are no formally-stated goals and objectives by grade level and parents with several children cannot help but be alarmed by the variation in standards for achievement set by different teachers. The lack of a complete, formal curriculum will lead to wide variations in programme content and emphasis depending on the approach of the individual teacher. In addition, there may be repetition of certain aspects of the curriculum from year to year or even elimination of certain concepts altogether.

The lack of clearly-stated goals and objectives for the Immersion programme of the Hamilton Board of Education is one of the main concerns of both teachers and parents. This problem seems to be endemic to Immersion programmes as evidenced by this statement:

"It is evident to the writers that one of the most neglected aspects of the programs we examined is in relation to a clear specification of (1) what is being attempted, and (2) desired student learning outcomes."²³

Burns and Olson do not see as cause for alarm in the educational system the fact that there is a "long standing tradition"²⁴ for the precedent of:

"...adopting educational innovations without giving adequate attention at the outset regarding (a) what precisely is being attempted, (b) specification of

the factors which will likely serve to enhance and/or impede implementation, (c) strategies for coping with problems of implementation, and (d) the intended learning outcomes (both gains and losses) of students.²⁵

While this kind of approach may be harmless in types of experimentation or innovation involving selective aspects of programmes it can be harmful in the context of the Immersion programmes which involve the entire curriculum and thus affect all aspects of the child's academic development. Parents and teachers, especially in the Immersion community, have evolved beyond passive acceptance of and blind faith in the "system". They are, for the most part, well informed as to the potential shortcomings of any programme. They will not tolerate this lack of planning on the part of administrators. Their expressed concerns with various aspects of the programme merit serious consideration.

B. Teachers

Because of the tensions and pressures associated with such a high-profile, politically-charged issue--language rights--the Immersion teacher has a job that must be one of the most difficult in the teaching profession. It is at the same time probably one of the most rewarding. ✓ Immersion teachers I have talked with during my four years in the programme were unanimous in their agreement with this statement. The progress of students in language acquisition is rapid and measurable and, in most cases, exclusively the result of the programme that the Immersion teacher has been responsible for creating.

The Immersion programme is perceived as successful by the great majority of these teachers and their Regular-stream peers.²⁶ Both groups are almost unanimous in affirming their faith in the programme. Responding to the question "Given the choice, would you enrol your child in an

Immersion program?", 12 out of 14 Regular-stream and 11 out of 12 Immersion teachers answered affirmatively. In an era where education systems are heavily under attack--often particularly by teachers themselves--this is a tremendous vote of confidence.✓

The role of the Immersion teacher has evolved beyond that of the traditional classroom teacher, again as a result of programme, administration and parental demands. This role change, like that of the Immersion parent, has been and continues to be a source of conflict and anxiety in the Immersion community. I will examine the causes and effects of this role change on the attitudes and functioning of the Immersion teacher.

1. Curriculum Development

The lack of curriculum materials available in French for the Immersion programme is a problem that is perceived by the Immersion teacher as the source of the vastly increased workload and weight of responsibilities he/she must assume. These teachers are often obliged to create from scratch whole curricula in such areas as Integrated Studies, Art, Gymnastics, etc. While there are curricula available that have been produced by other boards of education, these often do not meet the requirements set out by the Hamilton Board. The teacher frequently spends hours translating existing English-language "Theme Packages" to comply with the Ministry and Board of Education guidelines put out for the Regular-stream classrooms, despite the fact that the material provided may be unsuitable for the Immersion students. The vocabulary may be too advanced or the directions, written or oral, that the student must follow to complete assignments may be too complex for the student to understand without extensive modification. The class lessons may rely on support materials that are available only in English, e.g. filmstrips, books, maps, graphs, etc.

This leaves the Immersion teacher with the choice of translating materials from English or doing without. Students may be shortchanged if too much dropping of lessons takes place.

The Regular-stream curriculum also places a great deal of emphasis on the importance of group work for discussions and problem-solving. The results of D.B. Fletcher's study indicate that the advantages of this sort of activity are considerable:

"Facility in oral language can be developed in small groups along with critical thinking, problem solving, decision making, leadership skills, and a knowledge of group process."²⁷

However, the Immersion student may be unable to function successfully in French in group work situations because of a lack of oral language skills which are necessary for the formulation and expression of abstract concepts. Unless the teacher is present to supply needed vocabulary and to direct all discussion the children will converse in "Franglais". The teachers are concerned that time spent in group work is time lost for the developing of vocabulary expansion and fluency of oral French. It is very important that these skills be developed for there seems to be a direct link between language facility and problem-solving abilities.²⁸ It is essential that the children communicate fluently in French as soon as possible in order for them to function cognitively at a level that approaches or equals that of their Regular-stream peers. The Immersion teacher will have to decide if advantages of group work outweigh the loss of time from the Immersion curriculum for achieving the goal of written and oral fluency in French.

The problem of time loss is further compounded by the periods taken from the Immersion timetable for studies such as Music, English and Gymnastics, as well as auditoriums, presentations, etc. These activities

are in English and further limit the time for French-language acquisition. The Immersion teacher may feel obliged to eliminate certain "non-essential" areas from the curriculum in order to cover the required programme in the time allotted. Subjects such as Art or penmanship often receive little emphasis. The students are thus being denied the opportunity for increased self-expression (originality, clarity and so on) that such study would provide.

The Regular-stream curriculum may require skills in problem solving, written expression and oral expression that are beyond those attained by the Immersion students. Thus the Immersion teacher may be obliged to offer a watered-down version of the Regular-stream curriculum. Whole class teacher-directed lessons may be less complex, offering reduced information and using a simpler vocabulary. Follow-up oral discussions would be factually based with fewer nuances of expression because of the reduced ability of the students to express complex concepts. Written directions to activities would be shorter and simpler describing tasks that would be less involved using fewer skills. Comparisons between Regular-stream and Immersion students at a specific grade level that do not take into account the lowered level of language functioning of the Immersion group (at least until the end of grade 4) would be unjust. But these comparisons exist. One example is the area of reading. The Immersion students, because they are learning a new phonetic code system, are frequently slower than their Regular-stream peers to read fluently. This problem and the difficulties that result are discussed by one Immersion teacher:

"Parents are often over-anxious and have unrealistic expectations for their children. For example in the early primary years--grades 1, 2--parents are overly concerned if their child has reading problems.

Consequently they put a lot of pressure on their child and on his teacher.²⁹ The child and the teacher must constantly perform.

2. Resources

The lack of physical resources available to the Immersion teacher is another organization related cause of stress. In many instances there are no books, filmstrips, movies, posters, etc. available in French. The Immersion classroom initially contains: desks, A.V. equipment, textbooks and little else. What materials are available in libraries are frequently in English and the librarian, like other resource teachers, may be unilingual (anglophone), with the problems that this implies:

"Librarians must spend a greater amount of time to order books, catalogues, process books, review, read and be up to date in French."³⁰

There is frequent competition for the available resources, especially as there can be no sharing of resources (i.e. Theme Packages) with the Regular-stream teachers. There are twice as many classes in competition for what little exists. As one teacher explains:

"The cost of materials for the Immersion programme is a factor. They are very costly and as no sharing is possible, the relative cost is even greater to the school on a per student basis." (Regular-stream teacher)³¹

Many of the books, filmstrips, etc., that are available in French are totally unsuitable because of the levels of language, types of concepts or target age groups involved. These materials may have been designed for the high school French programmes in Ontario or the elementary, secondary or university levels in the Quebec school system. There is as yet little material that has been designed specifically for the Immersion programme. The teacher is forced to spend hours of his/her own time previewing, pre-reading, etc. all materials. This time spent is doubly

resented as coordination of resources is usually the responsibility of a consultant. Unfortunately, as one teacher points out,

"Resource people who are French speaking are nil. This problem seems to be particular to Hamilton. Other boards have hired consultants first and then developed the programs." (Immersion teacher)³²

In the initial stages of the programme there is one class only at each grade level. This means that the Immersion teacher has no access to joint planning sessions with another teacher or teachers of the grade level of his/her assignment. There can be no team teaching, work sharing for preparation of assignments, or shared supervision. There are also no special activities or clubs grouped by grade level. The net effect of the lack of all these resources is best summed up by the remarks of one Immersion teacher:

"I have come (after six years) to resent all the extra demands on my time that Immersion makes. The source of the resentment is probably the fact that both administration and parents seem to expect it as normal and there is no conception of how many extra 'beyond the call' hours must be spent nor any articulated appreciation of it. When the extras are taken for granted it encourages low teacher morale and a bitter teaching attitude."³³

3. Language Teaching Specialization Issues

Setting up the Immersion programme created a sudden demand for teachers with specific certificates in elementary language training, plus French language proficiency and also specialized training in immersion pedagogy.³⁴ The relative lack of immersion pedagogy training courses and the requirement of native or native like fluency meant that many teachers were drafted to teach in the programme with one or two, but not necessarily all three of the qualifications ideally necessary from my own observations. The result is that many teachers have degrees in French

language and/or literature, teaching certificates and experience in Oral French or high school French courses, but little or no formal instruction in the area of Immersion. Nevertheless, they are expected to be experts in Immersion pedagogy, and are judged as such.

The opportunity to have access to this training in the form of attendance at colloquia, seminars, etc., is limited by generalized economic restraints. A feeling of insecurity may and does in many cases result from the lack of specific education in dealing with an Immersion environment--not only in the classroom but in the school itself and the community. This feeling of insecurity is frequently expressed by Immersion teachers during meetings at conferences or in informal conversations. As there is usually only one Immersion teacher per grade, a feeling of isolation is also frequently a problem.

A politically dangerous issue associated with the programme is the "protected" nature of the Immersion teachers by virtue of their specialization. They must have, at the minimum, fluent French in order to teach in the Immersion programme. Teachers who meet this minimum requirement are, as yet, quite rare. In many cases boards are forced to hire new staff to fill Immersion vacancies when there may be redundant teachers who have not been placed but who do not have the French language requirements and cannot therefore teach in the Immersion programme. The Immersion teachers are thus displacing teachers with more seniority and, in some cases, better qualifications. They have little seniority but are exempt from Seniority and Redundancy regulations and provisions of contracts negotiated between teachers and Boards of Education. Regular-stream teachers were equally divided between those who found the issue of Immersion teachers displacing teachers with more seniority and thus being

exempt from Seniority and Redundancy regulations and provisions significant and those who did not: Very Important: 20%, Important: 20%, Somewhat Important: 7%, Unimportant: 47%.³⁵ On the other hand, the majority of Immersion teachers found this a significant issue: Important: 20%, Somewhat Important: 40%, Unimportant: 30%. Typical comments mention precedents for such job protection in other specialized programmes, the opportunity for teacher retraining and the possibility that "The impact is minimal".³⁶

However, as one respondent wrote, "This is a problem that will increase as numbers grow".³⁷ Teachers must also be aware that the retraining argument may not be applicable to the Immersion programme which demands teachers with native or near-native fluency and accent. It would be a rare teacher indeed who could attain this level through retraining and the conditions for successful retraining would have to be ideal.³⁸

The Immersion teacher himself/herself must be aware that in a case of seniority versus language proficiency, his/her federations may make compromises that could affect the quality of the programme, as one respondent points out:

"This is a major concern of a majority of teachers in a time of job insecurity. French Immersion teachers cannot be sure they will be backed by their Federations in a case of seniority versus language superiority. French teachers must do positive P.R. to point out the advantages of the program, i.e. the need for English teachers for Immersion classes."³⁹

4. Elitist Programming Effects

The overabundance of academically-gifted children in his/her classes paradoxically causes difficulties for the Immersion teacher. He/she is implicitly considered by parents, other teachers and administrators to be an enrichment teacher of an enrichment programme. This,

despite the fact that the goals of an Immersion programme funded through public taxes are to offer the alternative of a bilingual education accessible to all children.⁴⁰ The Immersion teacher is thus caught in the dilemma of trying to meet the expectations of many parents who expect an accelerated programme while still providing material suitable for the less academically gifted whose parents, nevertheless, wish them to receive instruction in French. He/she is not always successful in reconciling both views:

"The Immersion teacher doesn't know how to recognize or deal with the average or below average child and often establishes very unrealistic expectations of what 'average' is in the real world." (Immersion teacher)⁴¹

There is also a great deal of parental and administrative pressure exerted on the teacher in the form of expectations of results of standardized tests. These tests comparing the results obtained by the Immersion students of the Hamilton Board and other boards are used to prove the effectiveness of the Hamilton Immersion programme. They are specifically designed to find out whether children score lower or higher in such areas as I.Q. because of following the programme. These tests use corresponding Regular-stream classes as comparisons. The teachers of these classes cannot escape the pressure to equal the accomplishment of the Immersion classes who regularly score highly in many areas such as mathematics despite being taught the subject in the second language. The results of these tests invariably reaffirm the belief that Regular-stream classes are inferior intellectually and create a competitive feeling between Regular-stream and Immersion teachers. The results are also used by the administration to compare performances of groups of children as they progress from year to year. Thus immersion teachers themselves are placed

in a situation of comparison and competition.

One unfortunate result of increased expectations brought to bear on the children by parents, administrators and teachers is what Martell dubs "tracking".⁴² Children are sometimes eliminated from the programme because of their unsuitability. In many cases this is the result of "language deficiency":⁴³

"In other words, French Immersion teachers could eliminate children with general learning or behavioural problems by listing language learning as the source of difficulty."⁴⁴

These children could, perhaps, have achieved success in the Immersion programme if the parents, teachers and administrators had set more realistic goals for achievement by the average child in an Immersion classroom.

The most obvious effect of this forcing out of students from the Immersion programme is that they become the responsibility of the English teacher. These are students who would perhaps have had difficulties in the Regular-stream classroom to begin with. They have had little or no formal English language training. The Regular-stream teacher is expected to create a specialized remedial programme for these children in addition to her normal duties. The effects of this situation can be tension and resentment. In the words of one Regular-stream teacher:

"There is a great deal of hostility on the part of teachers who feel they have been left with classes of lesser ability and more learning disabilities."⁴⁵

The parents of children dropped from the programme are resentful. Their children have failed in a situation where many of the children of their peers have flourished. They will often condemn the Immersion programme and by extension the teachers. This situation frequently arises in parent/teacher interviews between Regular-stream teachers and the parents

of children who have been dropped from the programme. The individual child will, in most cases, eventually achieve success in the Regular-stream programme, once freed from language-related difficulties, and with the help of the Regular-stream teacher. The parent will often attribute this success not to the hard work of the teacher or to the lessened stress of the child's environment, but to personalities. This places the Regular-stream teacher in the difficult position of defending the Immersion programme and its teachers when they have, in effect, complicated his/her life and worsened his/her working conditions.

Typically, such discrepancies between the working conditions of the Immersion and Regular-stream teachers, as well as similar related phenomena, show up clearly in the areas of release time, class composition and class sizes as these teacher comments indicate:

"The Immersion teachers have more time, less students and better students academically, behaviorally and socially."⁴⁶

"The English section becomes too small so that classes become too large in numbers with many split grades having very large ability ranges. There is no possibility of splitting up discipline problems."⁴⁷

"Reduced numbers of bright children in the English classes to supply answers, act as models, speed lessons."⁴⁸

Because of the language requirements of the Immersion programme, there can be few transfers into the programme. The programmes have an excellent rate of retention of students and because of these two factors the class numbers remain relatively stable. There is no need to combine two grade levels in one class because of economic considerations and thus split grades are a rarity in beginning Immersion programmes for the Immersion teachers and students. However, the opposite is true for the Regular-

no so!

stream programme. Most of the new students to the school will enroll in the Immersion programme. The result is Kindergarten classes in the Regular stream of fewer than 20 children. As these children progress through the grades they will be combined with other grade levels of small classes to form large classes--split grades. Almost all of the transfers into the school community will be assigned to the Regular-stream classes and the result is many split grades with large numbers of students. The inferior working conditions that result for the Regular-stream teachers make them unhappy with their status in the Immersion community. Their attitude is summed up by the remarks of one Regular-stream teacher:

"They feel put down in that they receive less work time and larger classes. Animosity can't help but exist."⁴⁹

5. Language-related Communication Issues

There are many para-scholastic effects or concerns associated with the language-related aspects of the programme. Communication problems can arise between the Immersion and Regular-stream teachers, especially if the Immersion teacher does not always speak English when there are non-bilingual persons present. Innocent remarks can be misinterpreted, or Regular-stream teachers made to feel excluded. There have been formal complaints about French being spoken in areas of the school that are common to both groups, Anglophones and Francophones. This problem increases as the French-speaking component of the school increases and the Regular stream teachers find themselves in a minority.

The problems are most intense in areas such as evaluation, be it formal or informal. The French language has vastly different intonations and speech patterns from the English language. To the non-bilingual individual, judging of such things as disciplinary techniques and student/

teacher rapport may be difficult if not impossible. A francophone may not perceive the same things to be amusing that an "anglo" does. Such differences in the sense of humour between members of the two groups can and do result in the same sort of communication confusion as can exist between other members of the Immersion school community and Immersion teachers.

Administrators who perceive the problem and request that Immersion teachers speak English only at staff meetings, social events, etc., are denying the language rights of the francophones. Extreme care must be taken to avoid fracturing the traditional "staff as a team" function. The typical primary school is already divided into Junior Kindergarten, primary and junior divisions. The typical Immersion programme now "doubles" these divisions. If, in addition, teachers polarize themselves into francophones and non-francophones, serious communication difficulties could appear.

C. Administrators

The evolution of the roles of parents and teachers in the Immersion community, as well as the nature of the programme itself, have caused a corresponding evolution in the principals and supervisors of the programme.

1. The Language Supervisor in the Immersion School

The language supervisors have frequently been, with groups of parents, instrumental in the creation and implementation of Immersion programmes. They continue to be responsible, to a large extent, for administering the concrete aspects of the programme, i.e. obtaining and distributing funding. Because these supervisors are bilingual, they have been forced to assume almost complete responsibility for many of the administrative details traditionally handled either in conjunction with

or uniquely by school principals (text book ordering, staffing, and evaluation). As a result of the increased responsibility placed on the supervisors by the demands of the Immersion programme, they often spend a lot of time in the schools. Their role has evolved beyond that of consultant or evaluator. The supervisors also spend considerable time in schools with beginning Immersion programmes, visiting classrooms with groups of dignitaries such as trustees or media representatives in order to promote public relations that will focus public attention on, and arouse interest in, these programmes. This positive publicity is necessary to attract students, ensuring the enrolment figures necessary for the continuation and expansion of these programmes.

The supervisor becomes a familiar member of the Immersion community and is known by teachers and students in an expanded, unofficial capacity that is unique to the Immersion programmes. This evolution in the traditional role is not without difficulties. The supervisor, by assuming increased responsibility, has infringed on areas traditionally controlled by the principal. The principal is therefore in a position of lessened "power" and may no longer be seen by the Immersion teachers as the ultimate authority in his own school. This fragmentation of authority in such concrete areas as text book and materials ordering has also been felt in more abstract areas such as disciplining techniques, policies and even teaching methodologies. Teachers may be confused as to who has the ultimate authority in matters of dispute. Concerns may be discussed with one or the other of the administrators, but not both, and all manner of communication-related difficulties arise which result in distortion of information and exaggeration of problems. The resultant tensions and conflicts serve to further deteriorate the atmosphere of the already tense

Immersion environment. The teachers may feel caught between supervisors and principals, not knowing where their first "loyalties" lie.

The easy accessibility of the supervisor figure facilitates communication of concerns by Immersion parents directly to "the top", with consequences that have already been discussed in some detail.⁵⁰

2. Principals

Many principals of Immersion schools may not be aware beforehand of the extent to which the Immersion programme will alter their role, even though changes are felt in all areas of responsibility. Whatever the situation, it is rare for principals to have been provided with or to have acquired adequate training or specialized knowledge of Immersion methodology or requirements:

"94% of the principals stated that they did not have any specialized training for being a principal in a school having a French Immersion program."⁵¹

i) Public Relations

The most immediately obvious area of evolution in the role of the Immersion school principal is that of public relations. The active community involvement in the Immersion schools engenders many special events and activities with accompanying publicity. The political nature of the programme makes them a focus for any controversy that arises involving discussions of language rights. The spotlight on the principal may be shared by the supervisor, but he is often the public eye as official representative of the Immersion community. All his actions and decisions come under public scrutiny.

The incredibly active parental involvement in such facets of school activity as volunteer programmes, Home and School associations and extra-curricular activity supervision has meant vastly increased numbers of

committees and meetings. The principal must be present at all organizational type meetings for the various committees formed to present the "official" school policies and to act as liaison between parents and staff members. The demands thus made on the principal's time are considerable.

Immersion community parents stipulate that all aspects of the school be well organized and educationally justifiable. The onus is on the principal to "encourage" his teachers to offer programmes of exceptional originality and organization that respond to these increased parental expectations. The principal thus transfers parental pressures on himself to his teachers and a tense situation ensues. This increased pressure can prompt statements such as the following, made by a Regular-stream teacher who resents:

"Hassles from the Administration who seem willing to sacrifice everything else for the French Immersion program."⁵²

ii) The Principal as Mediator

The feeling of resentment expressed by the teacher quoted above is symptomatic of the strain that exists between Regular-stream and Immersion teachers because of disparities in working conditions.⁵³ The resultant irritations may cause serious problems if the principal does not adequately fulfill the essential role of teacher counsellor and objective mediator in cases of dispute.

This role is obviously of prime importance in an Immersion school where Regular-stream teachers express feelings of being "threatened"⁵⁴ by the programme which they see as "tak[ing] over" the school. Immersion teachers also experience feelings of resentment and bafflement on account of the demands made on them by the Immersion programme. These emotional responses to the work situation in an Immersion community can lead to

increased numbers of personality conflicts causing poor staff relations which often serve to divide the school.

The principal must be aware of this ever present potential for conflict and be prepared to devote a great deal of time to understanding its causes and working to alleviate them. Again there has been no specialized training to prepare him/her for this role.

The principal must also mediate between vociferous, anxious Immersion parents and Immersion teachers. The Immersion teachers are in special need of backing and reassurance because of the insecurities associated with their job. As yet, this reassurance is not generally forthcoming:

"/.../ 57% [of the teachers responding] say something has to be done about a lack of psychological support from the school administration."⁵⁶

There are also increased numbers of discipline-related problems caused by the students themselves. Some of these are perhaps due to political stresses and prejudices expressed by parents and elaborated on by the children. The Immersion students sometimes see their Regular-stream peers as "retards",⁵⁷ while they are themselves looked on as "brownies".⁵⁸ Conflicts and competition can result that seriously deteriorate the atmosphere of the school, dividing the student body even further. It is a potentially explosive situation. *Sensitized document!*

iii) Organizational Obligations

From an organizational point of view the duties of the principal are vastly increased in a school with an Immersion programme. The Immersion school is in reality two schools under one roof. There is little "overlapping" in areas such as curriculum implementation and development, teaching methodologies, or textbook and resource ordering. The principal

must be well informed as to all aspects of two programmes from the point of view of programme content, aims and objectives and special needs to realize these aims.

The principal is also responsible for the concrete organization of all aspects of the Immersion community. This responsibility is considerable as the Immersion school is rapidly expanding. Usually this expansion is at the rate of two classrooms per year. An example of the growth rate of a typical Immersion school would be: year one, one kindergarten class (one new class); year two, two kindergartens and one grade one (two new classes); year three, an additional grade one and one grade two (two new classes); year four, an additional grade two and one grade three (two new classes). In the space of four years, seven classrooms have been opened. Each new classroom must be equipped with: desks, tables, chairs, benches, easles, bookcases, file cabinets, textbooks, A.V. equipment, and all manner of non-reusable supplies, i.e. pencils, erasers, notebooks, etc. New classrooms must be found in an already overcrowded school. The scheduling of gymnastics periods, music classes, library periods, recesses and supervisions becomes increasingly complex.

The Regular-stream component of the school will also be changing. The Immersion programme will have attracted almost but not all the children of the community. The school must continue to offer the option of instruction in English; therefore, the Regular-stream component of the school is shrinking as Immersion expands. For example, the Immersion kindergartens in a specific year may both number 25. There may be one kindergarten in English of 14 or so children. The following year the 14 children may be combined with a number of grade two children; the remaining twos with the threes, if numbers warrant, and so forth all through the

grades. These "split grades" are necessary for economic reasons and also to free classrooms that are needed for the expanding Immersion programme. However, the result of the split grades is teacher redundancy, transfers and frequent change in assignment for those teachers remaining in an Immersion school. These concerns combined with the hiring of Immersion teachers make staffing one of the major duties of the Immersion school principal.✓

The specialized curriculum of the Immersion programme adds to the principal's load. The English-language component of the programme is often taught by teachers hired specifically for this purpose. The principal will help create the programme guidelines, working with language teachers and supervisors. He must supervise and ensure the effectiveness of the courses.

The Immersion teachers are released from their teaching duties when their charges are in the English-language classes. The principal must ensure that this release time is wisely spent, whether it be in teaching remedial reading to the Regular-stream classes, in teaching other subjects (math. or phys. ed.) or in translating existing units of study for use in their home classrooms.

Further demands are made on the principal's time, due to the fact that many of the Immersion students are bused✓ to the school. This means that the school needs a well-organized lunchtime supervision programme to accommodate the children.✓ The principal has the ultimate authority for this programme. There are often discipline problems associated with the lunch periods; the principal may find his noon hour release time is spent trouble shooting for the lunch room supervisors and mediating in student arguments. The two schools studies with lunch programmes (Earl Kitchener

and Pauline Johnson) do not have vice-principals, the administrators who usually share the task of disciplining.

iv) Evaluations

This is the area of principal responsibility that has caused perhaps the greatest controversy. Because of a lack of linguistic proficiency the principals have agreed in consultation with supervisors to evaluate only those areas which they feel should be independent of language concerns and easily judged in an objective manner by an observer. Some of these areas are: pupil/teacher rapport, the teacher's manner, pupil enjoyment of lessons, classroom organization, routines, etc. The Immersion teachers feel that because of differences in intonation patterns, gestures and even sense of humour between the French and English languages, even these areas are impossible to assess without a working knowledge of French.

It may be difficult, if not impossible, for the principal to judge correctly the effectiveness of pedagogical techniques and strategies, course content, activity centres, even the actions, movements and words of the pupils. The paucity of information on what actually constitutes good Immersion teaching contributes to the problem. A major result is resentment felt by the Immersion teacher judged in such an inappropriate fashion.

The authority of the principal risks being undermined, especially since the "anglophone-ness" of the teachers' administrative superior is thus underlined in a negative way. Teachers tend to feel that their personal authority is arbitrarily reduced: their influence and "control" appear to stop at the door to their classroom.

The supervisor who tries to evaluate formally such areas as quality

of curriculum development techniques and methodologies is also hampered by his/her lack of formal training in Immersion pedagogy. The Immersion teachers resent this evaluation by individuals who do not possess their specialized knowledge and/or experience in Immersion classrooms. In addition, Immersion teachers often feel that principals and supervisors are not really aware of the aims and objectives of the Immersion programme, even if they exist only implicitly where written statements of goals do not exist. One respondent stated baldly: "Principals often do not have a good understanding of the program."⁵⁹

This lack of knowledge on the part of supervisors and principals means that the teachers are deprived of access to counsellors to advise them in curriculum development and implementation. With non-existent or vaguely-formalized aims and objectives and little material about Immersion methodology and pedagogy available, the teachers and principals are often left with the type of situation that Burns and Olson describe:

"there are tremendous variations in French language immersion programs not only from board to board but from school to school and class to class. As one would expect, success tends to be defined in the context of programs described by individual principals and teachers. In the final analysis, French language immersion programs turn out to be just what individual principals and teachers choose them to be and success means just what they 'choose it to mean, neither more nor less'."⁶⁰

Due to the lack of guidelines for what constitutes "success" in an Immersion programme, it is up to the principal to define with teachers what students are to be admitted to the programme or eliminated from it. Principals and teachers are forced to take too much responsibility in too many areas. The decisions they make risk having very negative repercussions in the parental community or with Regular-stream teachers. The latter see children whom they consider average or below average in

ability stream into their classes, thus increasing their workload for no apparently justifiable reason. The relationships within the Immersion community end up strained and it is the principal who must accept the ultimate accountability for all decisions.

D. Students

1. Effects of the Immersion Programme on Regular-Stream Students

The advantages to be gained through bilingualism in the area of access to employment are so evident that it is difficult to believe that, given the choice, parents would fail to enrol their children in an Immersion programme. However, a fair number of parents not only do not choose Immersion, but are openly opposed to the programme. The reasons for their opposition may be based on what they see as yet another attempt to force bilingualism on themselves and their children. Their objections may be primarily political in nature but these parents may also have grave doubts about the effectiveness of the programme itself, especially if they have acquaintances whose children had not achieved success in the Immersion programme but are functioning normally in the Regular-stream programme. They would tend to see this as a failure of the Immersion programme.

While Immersion parents are almost unanimous in their support of the programme, they do voice concerns about aspects such as staffing and curriculum development. The non-Immersion parents are aware of the problems in these areas and this may contribute to the decision not to risk enrolling their children in a programme they still see as experimental in nature. These parents may also have grave concerns related to the social and economic aspects of the programme. The children in these Immersion programmes are almost uniquely from the middle class. They are

privileged socially, economically and often intellectually in comparison with many of the children who are in the Regular-stream classes. The parents of these Regular-stream children may have been acutely aware of these differences and have decided not to subject their children to the intense competition and peer pressure that exist in the Immersion classroom knowing their children cannot adequately compete. Immersion students now have the additional advantage of French-language superiority. Thus the issue, raised by Burns and Olson, that the gains made by these already "gifted" children may be at the expense of others:

"...if obtaining 'extra' opportunities for French Immersion children means that someone else's child is denied various opportunities, is given poorer access to jobs, and is perhaps bound to become less tolerant of fellow Canadians with whom he/she may be unable to communicate, is not the gain made by aiding one group offset by the loss accrued by the other?"⁶¹

To Burns and Olson, the fact that the vehicle for the creation of this further disparity is the publicly-funded education itself, is a real concern. They are certainly not alone in having this attitude. For a non-Immersion parent, this publicly-subsidized "enrichment" of children who are already privileged may serve as fuel to the fires of anti-French prejudices that already exist in any cross-section of society, including a typical Immersion community.

2. How the Regular-Stream Students Feel

Seeing their children in classes with greater numbers and more split grades, in a school where the English component decreases year to year, the non-Immersion parents must experience feelings of frustration and resentment. These feelings will be transmitted to their children and can produce the type of divided school where the Immersion students are

given various derogatory labels. Comments about the positive nature of the influence of Immersion students on their Regular-stream peers simply do not apply. Without an Immersion programme in the school, many of these children would be integrated normally into the Regular-stream classrooms. The Regular-stream student does not benefit from the type of environment described by this Regular-stream teacher, referring to an Immersion class:

"The students are inspired by their capable, academically oriented peer group. The parents are supportive for learning."⁶²

The net result for the Regular-stream student of having an Immersion programme in the school would seem to be mixed. On the positive side, schools stay open in their neighbourhood allowing them to avoid busing; the presence of more numerous volunteers benefits all the children; they learn from experience that French is a real, living language and meet a certain number of real francophones. Negative aspects include: overcrowded conditions, a scarcity of material resources, a relative lack of bright classmates, a tension anxiety spill-over from the Immersion programme, decreased opportunities for interaction with children of their grade level.

A major concern of the parents of non-Immersion students must be the fear that their child will develop the attitude of being a second-class citizen, first of his/her school, then of society. This is especially probable if the focus of the school is allowed to change, i.e. the school becomes "The Immersion School" instead of just the school with an Immersion programme. The following quotation indicates that this type of situation exists with its attendant feelings of insecurity and inferiority:

"Regular-stream students are inhibited by their lack of fluency. They feel left out, at a disadvantage. They perceive themselves as different."⁶³

3. An Elite Status?

The feelings of superiority experienced by many Immersion students, created by enrolment in a "special" programme, must be a major concern for all parents and teachers. For the non-Immersion members of the community, the effects of this attitude would include feelings of inferiority and/or anger. The problem is as serious for the Immersion members of the community. This is a perception of reality that cannot help but cause difficulties in adjustment in later life. The effects on work habits and attitudes toward work could be very detrimental as this quotation indicates:

"The students are aware of their own special status i.e. intellectual and language abilities. They feel they do not have to work as hard as the other students."⁶⁴

4. Classroom Atmosphere

The pressure put on Immersion children by their parents is certainly both a negative and positive factor. One destructive result is the strongly competitive nature of the Immersion classroom. The children strive to be first to please their parents and to maintain their place in the classroom pecking order. This latter is based mainly on academic success and mirrors parental aspirations. Because of the organization of the beginning programme (one to two classes only at each grade level), one school only within commuting distance), these children stay together throughout their elementary school career. The results are often disastrous for the child who is experiencing difficulties. These children may be "categorized" in the early years by other students and often prejudged

by teachers; it is very difficult to break out of the mold. Well-established cliques form and personality conflicts are often so intense that parents become involved and may attempt to involve teachers and principals. Consequently, it is very difficult for any child transferring in to break into the microcosm of the Immersion classroom. The children are thus not developing the socialization skills that are acquired through exposure to many different personalities and situations. They may become chauvinistic or insecure in their dealings with strangers in a classroom environment. The problems will become most apparent when these children reach high school or university.

5. Curriculum-related Issues

The lack of socialization skills is due, to some extent, to the demands of the immersion curriculum. It is of necessity highly structured and the more creative or play-oriented activities tend to be sacrificed because of lack of time. These quotations from recent studies further document the need for play and creativity in the classroom environment:

"According to Piaget, there must be much repetition for assimilation and accommodation to take place. Repetition in play provides essential steps toward concept format."⁶⁵

"When people play, they seem to be most creative, whole, and free to express themselves. These feelings produce a temporary transcendence of time, place, problems and anxieties, and a total absorption with the matter at hand that is conducive to states of integration. Like play, creative action has a centered awareness of being in control--the satisfaction of matching a repertoire of skills to an array of opportunities for action. Culminating in an exhilarating sense of power or a soothing feeling of being part of some larger scheme, play and creative activity hold greatest potential for bringing people into the realms of actualization."⁶⁶

The lack of group work interaction and its probable effects on socialization skills has already been mentioned in the chapter dealing with teachers' concerns. Certain other aspects of the curriculum and the effects they have on the students merit attention. The Immersion student does not have access to the type of individualized programme that exists in the Regular-stream classroom. The Immersion teacher is hard pressed to translate the basic units of study and often simply does not have time to create enrichment or remedial activities to be used in conjunction with these units. As the teacher has focused the difficulty of his/her activities on the supposed abilities of the majority of his/her students, the less or more advanced child is frequently short-changed as the following comments indicate:

"For children who experience considerable difficulties in school, I think the burden of a second language is a disadvantage."⁶⁷

"The really gifted children do not seem to be challenged enough."⁶⁸

The typical Immersion classroom in a school with a beginning Immersion programme must appear relatively sterile to a child because of the paucity of such essentials as puzzles, games, filmstrips, records, and library books when compared to a Regular-stream classroom. The serious lack of resources available in French in the beginning Immersion programme causes grave difficulties when the children work on research-related projects. They also are forced to "translate" material that exists in English. This leads them to rely on known vocabulary and structures, thus retarding one of the main aims of the programme: vocabulary expansion.

The Hamilton Immersion student is also disadvantaged at this time from the point of view of an organized remedial reading programme such as

the Regular-stream children have. These programmes rely on parent volunteers. The lack of bilingual volunteers frequently means that the only exposure the child has to "francophone" reading patterns and intonation is that which happens in the Immersion classroom itself. For a child experiencing difficulties, this is not sufficient and, as has been mentioned, the parents can rarely help their children at home.

There are serious concerns related to the English-language component of the Immersion curriculum. How can the written and oral skills that are gradually and systematically developed in all subjects of the Regular stream curriculum be successfully mastered by children in an Immersion programme that devotes such a small percentage of its time to this area? The teachers of these classes, with little teaching time allotted, must select areas of concentration and decide which must be emphasized and which can be eliminated. There is often little consultation between these teachers and Immersion teachers and, as a result, certain skills are over-emphasized or passed over.[?] Parents have been vocal in their criticism of teachers of the English-language component, often unaware that they, like the Immersion teachers themselves, have little available in the way of resources or counselling.

Research seems to ^rprove that the English-language skills of children enrolled in the Immersion programmes do not suffer. However, it must not be forgotten that these are basically enrichment children. What would they have accomplished, enrolled in a Regular-stream or enrichment programme in English? Do these children ever achieve the level of background knowledge, or fluency of expression, oral or written, in English, of their Regular-stream peers? Their performance in university will perhaps indicate the answer. For the present generation of Immersion students,

teachers and parents must ask themselves if the investment in a bilingual education is at the expense of the achieving of some of the basic aims of the traditional system, i.e. the ability to function fluently and proficiently in all aspects of the English language. Some of the "life" skills acquired in the less "cloistered" environment of the Regular-stream classroom (socialization skills, for example) are also of fundamental importance to the successful social talents of the adult.⁷

One cannot help but wonder what effect the lessened exposure to these skills that is the result of the Immersion experience will have on the future graduates of these programmes.

NOTES - CHAPTER II

1. George E. Burns, Paul Olson, Implementation and Politics in French Immersion: Analysis, Discussion and Recommendations on the Social Effects of Implementation in Northeastern Ontario Communities, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1981, p. 202.
2. Ibid., p. 204.
3. Ibid., p. 200.
4. Ibid., p. 199.
5. Ibid., p. 205.
6. Janet Poyen, "A Message From the Chairman", in Canadian Parents for French, Issue No. 5, Dec. 1978.
7. Appendix III, Section C-a-i, p. 108.
8. Ibid.
9. Appendix III, Section C-a-ii, p. 108.
10. Appendix III, Section C-b-i, p. 108.
11. Ibid.
12. Appendix III, Section C-b-ii, p. 108.
13. Ibid., p. 109.
14. Appendix III, Section B-b-i, p. 106.
15. Appendix III, Section C-b-ii, p. 108.
16. Ibid., p. 109.
17. Parent comment, in O.A. Jackson, Supervisor, "Evaluation of the French Immersion Program", Board of Education of the City of Hamilton, 1979, p. 7.
18. Ibid., 1980, p. 12.
19. Appendix III, Section C-b-ii, p. 109.
20. Appendix III, Section C-b-i, p. 108.
21. Parent comment, in O.A. Jackson, Supervisor, "Evaluation of the French Immersion Program", Board of Education of the City of Hamilton, 1980, p. 12.

22. Parent comment, ibid.
23. Burns and Olson, op.cit., p. 12.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Appendix III, Section E, p. 118.
27. D.B. Fletcher, "ERIC/RCS Report: Oral Language and the Language Arts Teacher", in Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 2, February 1981, p. 221.
28. Ibid.
29. Appendix A, Section C-ii, p. 108.
30. Appendix A, Section D-b-i, p. 109.
31. Ibid.
32. Appendix A, Section D-b-ii, p. 110.
33. Ibid., Section E-a-ii, p. 111,
34. M. Kenney and C. McKague, "Re: The French Immersion Programme", Hamilton Board of Education, p. 29.
35. Appendix II, Section F-2, p. 102.
36. Appendix III, Section F-2-a, p. 121.
37. Ibid.
38. "At this time, it would be useful to reiterate that the sensitive period notion holds only that absolute, native-like proficiency in all aspects of language (including vocabulary and syntax) is impossible to attain for the adult learner; it does not hold that extremely high, quasi-native levels cannot be attained in one or more areas. Furthermore, it must be insisted that what is referred to is the eventual level of proficiency attained after a sufficient period of exposure to and immersion in the target language under optimal sociolinguistic and affective conditions." M.S. Patkowski, "The Sensitive Period for the Acquisition of Syntax in a Second Language", in Language Learning, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 464.
39. Appendix III, Section F-a, p. 121.
40. "The content and activities of the [Immersion] programme should be the same as the programme for English kindergartens based on the Ministry of Education guidelines."

"Basic Goals of the French Immersion Programme: to realize the education goals set forth by the Hamilton Board of Education". M. Kenney and C.G.W. McKague, Document Entitled "Re: The French Immersion Programme", Board of Education, Hamilton, Ontario, 1 Jan. 1981, p. 3.

41. Appendix III, Section B-b-ii, p. 106.
42. Martell, 1974, in Burns and Olson, op.cit., p. 51.
43. Ibid., p. 53.
44. Ibid.
45. Appendix III, Section F-3-a, p. 122.
46. Appendix III, Section E-2-ii, p. 113.
47. Ibid., Section E-2-i, p. 113.
48. Ibid., Section E-2-ii, p. 113.
49. Appendix III, Section E-3-a-i, p. 113.
50. See Chapter A-1, supra.
51. Burns and Olson, op.cit., p. 132.
52. Appendix III, Section E-3-a-i, p. 112.
53. See Chapter II, A-2, supra.
54. Appendix III, Section E-3-a-ii, p. 113.
55. Appendix III, Section, E-3-a-i, p. 112.
56. Burns and Olson, op.cit., p. 137.
57. Appendix III, Section B-b-ii, p. 107.
58. Appendix III, Section B-b-i, p. 107.
59. Appendix III, Section D-b-ii, p. 110.
60. Burns and Olson, op.cit., p. 93.
61. Ibid., p. 65.
62. Appendix III, Section A-3-a-i, p. 104.
63. Appendix III, Section A-3-b-i, p. 107.
64. Ibid.

65. Marie Innes, "Exploring the Relationship Between Developmental Learning Centres and the Learning Patterns of Young Children", Early Childhood Education, Volume 13, Number 2 (Fall, 1980), pp. 36-42.
66. Maureen Mansell, "Transcultural Experience and Expressive Response", in Communication Education, Vol. 30, April 1981, p. 98.
67. Appendix III, Section E-6-c-ii, p. 118.
68. Appendix III, Section A-3-b-i, p. 106.

CHAPTER III

PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Problems in various areas have been identified in the previous chapters. In each case, the seriousness of the effects caused by the problems existing in areas such as differences in working conditions, public relations and curriculum development is aggravated by poor communication among different groups (parents, teachers, administrators, students). In this chapter, major problems in each area will be restated briefly, recommendations to solve them will be given, with suggestions for enhancing the efficiency and success of communication among all groups concerned by involving them in setting up and maintaining new, improved systems for the operation of Immersion programmes.

A. Programme Organization

1. Goals and Objectives

The lack of clear, well-defined goals and objectives for the Immersion programme has produced confusion on many levels. Administrators, with input from principals, teachers, parents and even students, should draw up clear-cut, concise, realizable and practical guidelines, goals, pedagogic tools and methods. In the case of teachers, this needs to be a systematic process covering the entire programme. As one teacher put the matter:

"Develop a comprehensive program for K-10 in advance instead of stumbling from year to year."¹

Each grade level should have established guidelines for such things as grammar expectations, routines to be established and skills to be reinforced (i.e. group work, reading groups, etc.). This concept is summed up in the words of this Immersion teacher: "There must be closer monitoring of expectations (i.e. grammar) at all levels."²

The teachers will be more secure with guidelines to work within. The evidence of concise, organized, "professional" work produced by teachers and administrators would go far in restoring parent confidence in them. Parental anxieties about programme outcomes will be allayed. Constructive, informed communication among all groups of the Immersion community would be one result of the distribution of this material.

2. Teacher/Principal Qualifications

Teachers, supervisors and principals--both Regular-stream and Immersion--have a responsibility to increase the knowledge that will maintain and improve their effectiveness as educators. They must strive to continue their own education and continually upgrade their qualifications. This is especially true of Immersion teachers and supervisors and the principals of schools with Immersion programmes. The Immersion programmes are continually evolving and information about improvements in areas such as teaching techniques and methodologies and the recent findings of research into student achievement merit close attention.

Many of the Immersion teachers, supervisors and principals do not have specific training in Immersion methodology and pedagogy. Their inexperience causes inefficiency and many difficulties within the school. Parents often distrust and express dissatisfaction with this lack of expertise.

a) Retraining

i) Courses in Methodology

There are, as yet, few options available for the Immersion teacher, supervisor or principal who wishes to retrain or requalify. The Ministry of Education does not offer courses uniquely in Immersion methodology. French as a Second Language, Part One is offered completely in French in Ottawa with a certain amount of emphasis on the teaching of Immersion. In Ontario it is only in French as a Second Language, Part Two that Immersion is studied. Both of these courses are offered during the summer months and require five full university French courses for admission. These course requirements would effectively eliminate many of the principals from the programmes. Many Immersion teachers, or potential teachers, follow the Qualifications Additionnelles courses offered during the summer in Ottawa and Sudbury. These courses are designed to prepare teachers for the francophone school system and are considered as excellent training for second language teaching.

Individual boards of education will sometimes offer in-service sessions during the summer months in Immersion methodology. Experts in the field will discuss curriculum development and methodology. The teachers are often paid to attend these sessions. High school and oral French teachers who have been assigned to the Immersion programme may wish to follow Ministry courses in primary methodology to acquaint themselves with the organizational and philosophical aspects of elementary education.

ii) Courses in Language

There are a variety of courses available for acquiring proficiency in a second language. These are offered by boards of education, universities, private organizations and individuals. They are available for all

levels of French proficiency at all times of the year. "Immersion" type courses are offered in the summer at various locations across the country. For example, Trois-Pistoles, Québec, associated with the University of Western Ontario, offers credit and non-credit courses and has been in existence for over 50 years. Bursaries are available from the Secretary of State to teachers, or potential teachers, of French. These bursaries cover the cost of tuition and room and board. One of these schools--LaPocatière--specializes specifically in improving the French language skills of teachers. With all these options for language education there is little excuse for monolingual principals or teachers with less than bilingual quality knowledge of French.

iii) Conferences and Workshops

Teachers should be encouraged by their supervisors and principals to attend as many conferences as possible that are concerned with the teaching of Immersion. It is at conferences that many of the concerns particular to the Immersion programme are discussed by experts in the field. In addition, the exchange of ideas and information with other teachers occurs in a non-stressful, unstructured setting where the emphasis is not on competition, but on the enrichment of all present. Many excellent workshops are offered in such areas as curriculum development, remedial programming and enrichment activity planning. Publishers' displays include: books, filmstrips, units of study, records and a quantity of supplementary activities such as games and puzzles. Annual conferences are organized by the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers. The Ontario Modern Language Association now offers several workshops of interest to Immersion teachers and administrators at their annual conference. The Canadian Parents for French holds an annual

conference which is conducted in English but would be of great interest to Immersion staff as issues that concern the parents are discussed. The Ontario Council for Leadership in Education Association has begun to offer conferences which deal with the role of the principal in the Immersion school.

Immersion teachers would also be advised to attend workshops offered by the subject consultants of their board of education. The materials distributed would not be in French but there are often excellent activities suggested which could be adapted with little extra effort in subject areas such as Mathematics and Art.

Teachers of Immersion should insist that time available on Professional Activity days and during meetings that can be devoted to Immersion teaching concerns be well organized and informative. Speakers can be brought in from boards of education where Immersion has existed for a number of years. Representatives from publishing companies will gladly offer workshops to explain the philosophy and methodology of the materials they have developed for second language acquisition. Visits can be arranged to other schools to see the organization of their Immersion programmes and to gain exposure to a variety of teaching techniques.

iv) Reading Materials

Both the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers and the Canadian Parents for French publish newsletters. The Ontario Modern Language Association and the Canadian Modern Language Review are publishing increased numbers of articles about Immersion. Contact, a review published by Simon Fraser University and edited by André Obadia, contains many articles which discuss issues in second language teacher training. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has produced an excellent

bibliography, "The Second Language Project", which lists all articles, studies and tests that have been published by O.I.S.E. concerning Immersion. The updated version will soon be available.

v) An Immersion Association

It would be beneficial for the teachers of Immersion to form an Immersion Association, separate from the influence of principals and supervisors, where concerns could be discussed and a unified position taken for the formulation of requests. It is a Regular-stream teacher who has best expressed this particular need: "Work together to present an organized position to officials for needed assistance."³

Immersion teachers working together and confident that their expertise was being increased and appreciated would undoubtedly communicate a more positive image to parents and help restore confidence in the programme.

The principals and supervisors have a responsibility to upgrade their knowledge of Immersion programmes through attendance at conferences, seminars, workshops or by selected readings. There is a wealth of information available on certain aspects of Immersion programmes.⁴ A good working knowledge of French being essential, principals lacking this should be required to take advantage of some of the many practical French courses available.

3. Enrolment and Staffing Shifts

The Immersion programme seriously disturbs the size and distribution of enrolment in the school and the system as a whole, with resulting fears of job loss by Regular-stream teachers. The issues of declining enrolment and teacher redundancy are extremely potent. Steps must be taken to show that the situation is not as bad as it is seen.

Some Immersion teacher comments present the facts on the question of the Immersion programme contributing to declining enrolment:

"This does not contribute to declining enrolment. The children are all from the same school board."⁵

"The program attracts children from other school boards. Parents have moved to provide them with the opportunity to be in the Immersion program."⁶

The Regular-stream teachers working in Immersion schools should also organize themselves into some sort of an Association to discuss the concerns arising in their special situation. There are numerous advantages to be gained by the individual Regular-stream teacher teaching in a school with an Immersion programme: increased cultural awareness, the motivation to learn a second language and the help provided by concerned parents who are involved in such organizations as the reading volunteers and the grade parents. The Regular-stream teachers are aware of the advantages to be gained from the presence of an Immersion programme in the school. However, they are also aware of, and concerned with, the disparities that exist between their working conditions and those of the Immersion teachers. If they worked together in an Association, they would have the possibility of presenting detailed, organized analyses of their situation and their special needs.

As the Immersion programme expands, large numbers of Regular-stream teachers become involved in schools with Immersion programmes. With increased numbers should come increased potential for finding solutions if the teachers approach the situation in a positive manner. This approach is typified by one Regular-stream teacher who saw the lesser numbers of students in Immersion classes not as cause for complaint, but as "an argument for smaller class sizes",⁷ for all students. It is a

mistake to insist that the Immersion teachers and Regular-stream teachers de-emphasize the cultural differences that exist. Honest communication between the two groups can only occur when those differences are recognized and used. All manner of activities that involve the members of the Immersion community can be organized to "celebrate" both English and French customs and traditions. These events would promote positive public relations among staff, students and parents.

B. Curriculum

There are numerous problems associated with the specialized curriculum of the Immersion programme. The situation that exists for the Immersion teacher is one of overwork (because of the responsibility for curriculum development) and frustration (due to the amount of effort that is wasted when the lack of a complete curriculum or effective communication between teachers means that such things as units of study are often needlessly duplicated by teachers of the same grade level). The Immersion classroom lacks the resources available to the Regular-stream students and teachers. There is little individualization of programmes and the basic curriculum is aimed at the average to above average child with little provision for the academically gifted or weak student.² The Regular-stream teachers must absorb the "rejects" of the Immersion system with no outside help for analysing the needs of these children and creating remedial programmes to help fill their needs. They are faced with classes of lesser ability for whom the traditional curricula may be too challenging. The English language teachers for the Immersion classes have also had the responsibility for programme creation with little assistance or resources made available to them.

Some practical suggestions for improving the situation that results from the curriculum of the Immersion programme are the following:

1. Clarification and Development

The need for a comprehensive curriculum with clearly-stated goals and objectives has been mentioned earlier. The Hamilton Board should emulate the example of boards of education who have released teachers from their teaching assignments to work on curriculum. The Hamilton Board has initiated the practice of setting up writing teams during summer months, but these teams are restricted to individuals who happen to be available. Some of them are not familiar with the aspects of curriculum that are to be dealt with. Qualified teachers should be released from their teaching duties by supply teachers.[?] These teachers should meet by grade level to formulate expectations and decide which skills are to be emphasized. It would be particularly beneficial for these teachers to meet with the teachers of the preceding and following grades to ascertain that continuity in expectations is maintained. The English-language teachers of Immersion classes also need access to this sort of planning opportunity. English-language curricula have been developed (notably by Pat Falter of the Board of Education of Sudbury) but, as with the Immersion curricula from other boards, considerable effort and time must be expended to adapt them to the requirements of the Hamilton Board.

One of the newest "trends" that will affect both the methodology and the curriculum of the Immersion programme is the rapid expansion these programmes are undergoing. This means that they will no longer be the domains of the "upper" strata of society. As they are proven successful, more "average" parents (those who are non-professional, non-academic, i.e. "blue collar", having educational and earning levels closer to the

national average) will be willing to risk the programme. The Immersion teachers will have to adjust their programmes to permit success by children with an even wider ^{range} of academic abilities. This will mean that such options as remedial programmes and programmes for children with learning disabilities will become necessities. I doubt that many Immersion teachers are presently capable of creating these programmes.

2. Consultant

Immersion teachers are almost unanimous in expressing the need for an Immersion consultant.⁸ The primary function of this consultant would be to coordinate and organize all the materials created by the teachers in order to determine what additional materials are needed to fulfill curriculum requirements. These materials should be organized by subject or theme and made available to teachers from a centralized source.

Many of the units of study could be copied and distributed to libraries in schools with Immersion programmes. Individual copies of all existing units could be available on request. The consultant would also be responsible for previewing all materials: filmstrips, movies, books and slides that appear relevant to the programme and for informing teachers as to their suitability. A comprehensive bibliography of all the resource materials that are actually available in the schools should be compiled again by subject area and themes. This would permit sharing of resources among the schools. ✓

The consultant could keep the teachers up to date concerning recent developments in Immersion methodology and research findings by means of newsletters and reports at Immersion Association or supervisor-organized meetings. This information would be invaluable to the teachers and supervisors in their dealings with parents. The consultant would become

the principal resource person available for counselling on all aspects of the programme.

3. Francophone "Human" Resources

A resource list should be compiled of all the "human" resources available to the Immersion programme. These persons would be French-speaking and available to help as reading volunteers, grade parents, trip supervisors. There is also a need to list all the cultural events and activities that are available to the francophone community (concerts, movies, theatre, etc.) that might be suitable for the Immersion students, parents and teachers. The teachers could inform the parents of upcoming events in their newsletters.

It would be ideal to have French-speaking resource teachers, e.g. Music or Physical Education, available in the Immersion schools. This would insure that the Immersion students would not "lose" the vocabulary of these subjects as would happen if they are taught in English. Failing this, the boards must insure that the teachers of these subjects taught in Immersion schools are receptive to the programme and willing to try to integrate as much French as possible into their lessons. Immersion teachers could help by teaching the vocabulary needed for the lessons to the students and teachers and supplying common structures and terms that would make the classes seem less anglophone.

4. Biculturalism

The impression that French is the language of instruction and not the "real" language of the school could be reduced by having separate French announcements, separate auditoriums on certain occasions, and more frequent trips outside the school to attend French concerts, plays or art expositions.

More emphasis must be placed on exposing the students to French and French-Canadian cultural traditions. At present, the programmes serve to develop bilingualism but not biculturalism. ^{So?} The goal of Canadian unity through bilingualism and biculturalism is not being achieved with the present curriculum.

5. Remedial Resources

The Regular-stream teachers must have help for dealing with the students transferred from the Immersion programme. Their needs must be assessed through testing. Trained personnel must be made available for the remedial programmes that these children will need to follow in order to bring their English language skills to the level of their peers. Provision must be made for exploring the para-scholastic effects of "failure" in the Immersion programme, i.e. effects on self-image and maturity. It is probable that these "failure" children will need counselling in order to adjust to the Regular-stream programme.

C. School Policy

1. Class Codes

Class work is often the source of poor relations between the programme and parents. Students do not always understand everything the teacher says; they may be tempted to exaggerate and distort facts when reporting to their parents; parents frequently have no way of judging their child's progress directly because of the language barrier.

These problems could be greatly reduced by the development of a set of "guidelines" that teachers would produce working with students and parents. These would concern expectations and standards in such areas as: work completion, neatness for workbooks or special projects,

acceptable codes of behaviour, discipline procedures to be followed in their classrooms.

Teachers could also improve communication by means of: newsletters, regularly-scheduled parent/teacher meetings, interviews with individual parents or simply occasional telephone calls that could be made even to parents of children who are experiencing no difficulties. The teachers must try to dispel parental anxieties. The likely effect this frequent communication would have is expressed by this teacher comment:

"Parents' minds are eased when exposed to evidence that all is running as it should. Their anxiety is lessened."⁹

The teacher must stress the need for immediate direct communication in any case of dispute and then must insure that he/she returns promptly all calls, replies to all letters, etc. Once the parent is aware that the teacher is sincere in his/her desire to resolve problems, confidence will be restored.

2. Accountability

Principals and supervisors are in a position of shared responsibility. As a result, teachers and parents are uncertain of who has the ultimate authority or if, indeed, there is an ultimate authority being exercised.

While ultimate accountability and responsibility must remain with the principal, many of the antagonisms felt by teachers could be overcome if communications related to progress concerns were brought up directly with the teacher involved. If a parent/principal discussion occurs in an unofficial context, the content of the "conversation" should be reported by the principal to the teacher involved. The teacher may then approach the parent or parents involved to discuss the matter with them. Such an

approach would demonstrate that the teacher and principal are engaged in a joint effort to provide direct and open communication.

3. Parental Input

Concern and frustration felt by parents about many aspects of the Immersion programme could be relieved by involving them directly in the process of setting school policy. Additional practical suggestions for improving communication among parents, teachers and principals in these areas include the following:

a) All parent committees concerned with different aspects of the school community should have a teacher representative. These committees would include: Home and School Associations, Volunteer Associations, Lunch Programme Associations and official and unofficial curriculum committees. Guidelines should be created for all the committees concerning procedure. Strictly professional conduct must be the rule. A parent/teacher liaison representative should be appointed to report the findings of all committees to members of the Immersion community by means of reports in the school newspaper.

b) A parent representative should be present at all staff meetings where issues are being discussed that will affect the child or parent in the school community, i.e. school aims and objectives, discipline policy, trip policies, special events and activities and timetabling.

These suggestions, if put into practice, should significantly reassure both parents and teachers that due consideration is being given to their concerns. They should also decrease the workload of the principal as his responsibility for participation in all committees would be shared with teachers.

4. School Unity

Immersion and Regular-stream students have a strong potential for conflict due to the nature of the Immersion programme itself, which causes feelings of competition, superiority, inadequacy and differentness. These feelings may be deepened through the influence of the attitudes of their parents and teachers, themselves victims of cultural or language differences, disparity in working conditions and so on.

Great care should be taken by teachers and administrators to promote positive relations and communication between Regular-stream and Immersion students. Regular-stream students must be encouraged to develop a positive self-image, realizing that bilingualism is an advantage of the Immersion classes, but also an option that could be available to them in later years by means of French offered in schools, summer courses, night school, etc. Immersion students must be made aware that there are

← increasing numbers of children enrolled in Immersion programmes. The last report of the Commissioner of Official Languages,

"counted 86325 students taking French by immersion in 1982-83. The increase was 25 per cent in British Columbia, 23 per cent in New Brunswick, 38 per cent in Manitoba--despite falling enrolments."¹⁰

These numbers indicate that their position as Immersion students is not really exceptional and no excuse for lowered standards for work achievement.

Students will have to work even harder as competition increases. Teachers should take advantage of the opportunities for enrichment that exist in the Immersion school to promote interest in French learning by means of French clubs specifically for the Regular-stream students and special interest clubs for both Regular-stream and Immersion classes. In

these clubs, an Immersion teacher should speak English to the Regular-stream students and French to the Immersion students. These clubs would be non-competitive in nature and allow Regular-stream students to see French "in action".

Parents of Regular-stream and Immersion students could be invited to participate in the clubs. The sights and sounds of children interacting harmoniously in French and English should foster positive reactions.

To further promote school unity, Immersion and Regular-stream students should work together on projects or units of study. The sacrifice in French-language acquisition on the part of the Immersion students would be offset by the gains to be made in socialization skills by the two groups and the opportunity for Regular-stream and Immersion teachers to share the preparation of the units of study or projects.

The attitude of Regular-stream and Immersion teachers towards both groups of students is of great importance. They must be identical in their treatment of the two types of children. Children often learn as much from the expressed and sensed attitudes and atmospheres in a school as they do from formal lessons.

If the children think they understand the Regular-stream teachers to be unhappy with the presence of an Immersion programme in the school, they will quickly learn to adopt this attitude themselves. Or if the students of schools with Immersion programmes sense a negative attitude towards the increased parental presence and involvement in the community, they may draw conclusions about the relationships between parents and teachers. This could lead to situations of conflict and confusion when their loyalties are divided between the two groups.

The advantages to be gained from the presence of an Immersion programme in a school would ideally be as obvious to parents (both Regular-stream and Immersion) and Regular-stream students as they are to these Regular-stream teachers who replied with reference to their own exposure to the Immersion programme:

"It has prompted me to pursue French as a second language."¹¹

"Awareness that it is easy for children to become bilingual and to express themselves effortlessly in another language."¹²

"Cultural enhancement and appreciation plus the initiative to 'pick-up' some French language conversation."¹³

NOTES - CHAPTER III

1. Appendix III, Section F-4-a, p. 123.
2. Appendix III, Section F-5-b, p. 125.
3. Appendix III, Section F-5-a, p. 124.
4. For example, "The Second Language Project", the bibliography published by O.I.S.E. listing all articles, studies and tests published by O.I.S.E. about Immersion.
5. Appendix III, Section F-3-b, p. 122.
6. Ibid.
7. See comments in Appendix III, Section E-2-a-i, p. 111.
8. See Appendix III, Section F-4-b, pp. 122-124.
9. Appendix III, Section C-1-i, p. 108.
10. William Johnson, "Immersion story is a magical one", The Globe and Mail, April 20, 1983, p. 7.
11. Appendix III, Section E-2-a-i, p. 111.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

It is to be hoped that one of the major goals of Immersion programmes would be to promote exchanges and communication between the two main communities in Canada, thus promoting mutual understanding and ultimately Canadian unity. However, since the emphasis of the programmes has been almost purely academic, with little attention given to the cultural or social aspects of the culture vehiculed by the target language, this goal has only been pursued indirectly. Furthermore, the very real problems of the social, cultural, economic and political impact of the programme and its participants and graduates on the local and national communities have been little discussed.

The real motivation of most of the parents for enrolling their children in these programmes is economic. To them, the second language is another tool that better equips their children to compete in a tight job market. It is ironic that a programme that ideally should promote unity, serves in fact to widen the gap between the two cultures and also between social strata in both cultures. The majority of Immersion students enjoyed social and cultural advantages to begin with, whereas one result of the programme is to increase their "elite" status as they prepare themselves for further economic advantages through bilingualism.

They are in a privileged position not only in relation to unilingual anglophone children but also to francophones. Bilingualism was one

of the main advantages to francophones functioning in a society dominated by anglophones in the upper economic echelons. As this advantage is fast disappearing, there is increasing resentment of Immersion programmes on the part of francophones.

The pressure can only increase as programmes expand, and especially as graduates enter the workforce with the advantage of fluent French.

Public perception of the programme is highly charged and often strongly negative, due to the politically potent nature of the programme:

"Old Ontario bellows out of the past through the throats of those parents from Perth County, from Glengarry, Prescott and Russell, who have shouted down French immersion classes in their midst..."¹

The intensity of anti-Immersion reaction on the part of certain anglophones could be one measure of the extent to which anglophones generally feel their "cultural" identity as Canadians being threatened.

They see these programmes as representing and consolidating the influx of other ethnic groups, and also as symbolizing the proximity of the second-largest linguistic community with the constant menace it presents to Canadian unity.

"Anglophones have the right to stand up and be counted," dairy farmer Elroy Bartman told The Globe and Mail's Geoffry York. Mr. Bartman helped organize an anti-immersion petition in Wallace Township that garnered 744 names. He will allow French as long as it is "treated as a subject". But he doesn't want French immersion. "We feel that there should be equal education for everyone."²

The onus is on teachers and administrators to become more actively involved in ensuring that programmes are for all students and that the positive aspects of Immersion are well publicized. They must convince the people of the community that the children are the same; only the fact that they speak French is different; and this skill is available to all

the children of the area. They should open the schools more to further integrate the community, that is, not just the Immersion parents, for they are sometimes not the major source of antagonism, but also older persons who do not know what the programme is, who feel it must be a breeding ground for separatists and worse. In order to fight prejudices, the programme must be completely separated from political infighting. Like computer literacy, second-language literacy is now indispensable for people or countries hoping to survive.[?]

One of the principal goals of French Immersion should be the attempt to overcome to some small extent the linguistic incompetency of Canadian children as compared to Europeans who, through necessity and tradition, are able to speak, write and understand several languages. The question at hand is less the parochial one of French Canadian or English Canadian identity or dominance, than the international one of modern, world-scale competition.

The economic future of Canada will depend to a great extent on the ability of its business people to compete in world markets.[?] In order to be successful, these people at all levels of the infrastructure (secretaries, clerks, accountants, salesmen, managers, as well as the bosses) will need to an ever greater extent increased communication and technological skills.

Boards of education are striving to promote computer literacy for all students. They should also strive to provide the maximum opportunities for second-language acquisition. French Immersion is not the only option and French should not be the only language to be promoted. It is the responsibility of parents, teachers and administrators to continue to monitor board progress in these areas to guarantee that their children

will be able to compete successfully and participate completely in the coming world. The incredible success of the Immersion programmes to date in terms of expansion alone should serve as the ultimate example of what it is possible for committed, enthusiastic individuals to attain.

NOTES -- CHAPTER IV

1. Johnson, William. "Immersion Story is a Magical One", The Globe and Mail (Wednesday, April, 20, 1983), p. 7.
2. Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrew, Christine M., Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain. Report on the 1979 Evaluation of a French Immersion Program and an Extended French Program in the Toronto Board of Education, Grades 5-8. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1980, mimeo.
- Andersson, Theodore. Foreign Languages in the Elementary School: A Struggle Against Mediocrity. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969.
- Auten, Anne. "ERIC/RCS Report: Classroom Communication Observation: A Reliable Resource?", Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 5, (May 1981), 613-616.
- Bagford, Jack. "Evaluating Teachers Or Reading Instruction", The Reading Teacher (January 1981), 400-404.
- Barik, H.C. French Comprehension Test, Level 1 (Test and Teacher's Manual); (Teacher's manual revised, 1976). Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975.
- , French Comprehension Test, Primer (Test and Test Manual). Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976.
- Barik, H.C. and M. Swain (with B. Schloss). Tests de Lecture: Tests of French Reading Comprehension for Grades 2-6. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1979.
- Beebe, Leslie M. "Sociolinguistic Variation and Style Shifting in Second Language Acquisition", Language Learning, Volume 30, Number 2, 1980, 433-445.
- Belyayev, B.V. The Psychology of Teaching Foreign Languages. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964. (Moscow: Translated by Dr. R.F. Hingley; Distributed by the MacMillan Company pursuant to a special arrangement with Permagon Press Limited, Oxford, England.)
- Blau, Harold and Richard Sinatra. "Word Learning: Using the Right Brain", Academic Therapy, Volume 17, Number 1 (September 1981), 69-75.
- Bloom, Lois. Readings in Language Development. New York: Wiley, 1978.

- Bourneuf, Denyse and André Paré. Pédagogie et Lecture; Animation d'un coin de lecture. Montréal: Les Editions Québec-Amérique, 1975.
- Bowyer, Margaret. "The Independent Learning of a Foreign Language", Forum for the Discussion of New Trends in Education, Volume 23, Number 2 (Spring 1981), 41-42.
- Burns, George E. and Paul Olson. Implementation and Politics in French Immersion; Analysis, Discussion and Recommendations on the Social Effects of Implementation in Northeastern Ontario Communities. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1981.
- Canadian Parents for French. Ottawa: Issue Number 5 (December, 1978), 6.
- Churchill, Stacy. Costs: French Language Instructional Units: An In-Depth Study of Selected School Boards. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1978.
- Clifton, Rodney A. "The Effects of Students' Ethnicity and Sex on the Expectations of Teachers", Interchange, Volume 12, Number 1 (1981-1982), 31-38.
- Coleman, Jeffrey and W.J. McKeachie. "Effects of Instructor/Course Selection", Journal of Educational Psychology, Volume 73, Number 2 (1981), 224-226.
- Connell, R.W., G.W. Dowsett, S. Kessler and D.J. Ashenden, "Class and Gender Dynamics in a Ruling-Class School", Interchange, Volume 12, Numbers 2-3 (1981), 102-117.
- Czerniewska, Pam. "The Teacher, Language Development and Linguistics: a response to Ronald Carter's review of the Open University course PE232 'Language Development'", Educational Review, Volume 33, Number 1 (1981), 37-39.
- Dauphinee, Dave. "French Immersion Programs Often Improve English Skills", The London Free Press (Saturday, December 18, 1982), A-4.
- Day, Mary Carol. "Thinking at Piaget's Stage of Formal Operations", Educational Leadership (October 1981), 44-47.
- Dean, Raymond S. and Raymond W. Kilhavy. "Effects of Language Facility in Learning", American Educational Research Journal, Volume 15, Number 4 (Fall 1978), 501-506.
- Dennett, Chris. "French Immersion on a Flood Tide", The London Free Press (Monday, April 4, 1983), A-7.
- Desjarlais, Lionel. Costs of Providing Instruction in French Language Instructional Units: In-Depth Study of Eight Areas Where There Exists a High Concentration of Francophones. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1977.

- De Stefano, Johanna S. "Research Update, Demonstrations, Engagement and Sensitivity: A Revised Approach to Language Learning--Frank Smith", Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 1 (January 1981), 103-112.
- , "Research Update: Linguistic Consciousness-Raising in Children--Carol Chomsky", Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 5 (May 1981), 607-612.
- Dickson, W. Patrick and Janice H. Patterson. "Evaluating Referential Communication Games for Teaching Speaking and Listening Skills", Communication Education, Volume 30 (January 1981), 11-21.
- Dirven, René. "Is It Really So Hard To Get Young Children Interacting in a Foreign Language?", English Language Teaching Journal, Volume 35, Number 3 (April 1981), 287-293.
- Donoghue, Mildred R. Foreign Languages and the Elementary School Child. Dubuque, Iowa: W.C. Brown Co., 1968.
- Edwards, John B. "Critics and Criticisms of Bilingual Education", Modern Language Journal, Volume 64, Number 4 (Winter 1980), 409-415.
- Edwards, H.P. Evaluation of Second Language Programs and Some Alternatives for Teaching French as a Second Language in Grades Five to Eight. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976.
- Ehrenberg, Sydelle D. "Concept Learning: How To Make It Happen In The Classroom", Educational Leadership (October 1981), 36-43.
- Esposito, Anita. "Children's Play With Language", Child Study Journal, Volume 10, Number 3 (1980), 207-217.
- Filer, Peggy Sommers. "Conversations with Language Delayed Children: How to Get Them Talking", Academic Therapy, Volume 17, Number 1 (September 1981), 57-63.
- Fletcher, David B. "ERIC/RCS Report: Oral Language and the Language Arts Teacher", Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 2 (February 1981), 219-224.
- Français Langue Seconde; Programme d'immersion à partir de la maternelle: 1^{re} année 2^e année. Ottawa: Conseil d'Education de Carleton (Distribué par le Ministère de l'Education).
- Français Langue Seconde; Programme d'immersion à partir de la maternelle: 3^e année version expérimentale. Ottawa: Conseil d'Education de Carleton (Distribué par le Ministère de l'Education).
- Fusco, Esther. "Matching Curriculum to Students' Cognitive Levels", Educational Leadership (October 1981), 47.
- Gardner, R.C. "On the Validity of Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition: Conceptual, Contextual, and Statistical Considerations", Language Learning, Volume 30, Number 2 (1980), 255-270.

Grittner, Frank M. Student Motivation and the Foreign Language Teacher. Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1975.

Hemphill, John. "Language Arts Instruction: A Continuum of Possible Models", Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 6 (September 1981), 643-651.

Hill, J.K. "Effective Reading in a Foreign Language: An Experimental Reading Course in English for Overseas Students", English Language Teaching Journal, Volume 35, Number 3 (April 1981), 270-281.

Innes, Marie. "Exploring the Relationship Between Developmental Learning Centres and the Learning Patterns of Young Children", Early Childhood Education, Volume 13, Number 2 (Fall 1980), 36-42.

Jackson, Owen A. and Jack M. Duncan. "An Evaluation of the French Immersion Program: An Annual Report After Four Years of the Program", Special Services Panel, issued by the Research Services Department, The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton (September 1979), 1-25.

-----, "An Evaluation of the French Immersion Program: An Annual Report After Five Years of the Program", Report #136, issued by the Research Services Department, The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton (September 1980).

-----, "An Evaluation of the French Immersion Program: An Annual Report After Six Years of the Program", Report #147, issued by the Research Services Department, The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton (September 1981).

-----, "An Evaluation of the French Immersion Program: An Annual Report After Seven Years of the Program", Report #157, issued by the Research Services Department, The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton (October 1982).

Jakobivits, Leon A. and M.J. Meron. Readings in the Psychology of Language. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

Johnson, William. "Immersion Story is a Magical One", The Globe and Mail (Wednesday, April 20, 1983), 7.

Lapkin, Sharon, Christine M. Andrew, Birgit Harley, Merrill Swain and Jill Kamin. "The Immersion Centre and the Dual-Track School: A Study of the Relationship Between School Environment and Achievement in a French Immersion Program", Canadian Journal of Education, Volume 6, Number 3 (1981), 68-90.

Le Sablier Français: Guide pédagogique langue maternelle et langue seconde. Ottawa: Le Sablier Inc., 1977.

Littlewood, William T. "Form and Meaning in Language Teaching Methodology", Modern Language Journal, Volume 64, Number 4 (Winter 1980), 441-445.

- Mansell, Maureen. "Transcultural Experience and Expressive Response", Communication Education, Volume 30 (April 1981), 93-108.
- McInnes, C.E. Research and Evaluation of Second Language Programs. Toronto: The Ministry of Education, 1976.
- McLaughlin, Barry. "Theory and Research in Second Language Learning: An Emerging Paradigm", Language Learning, Volume 30, Number 2 (1980), 331-350.
- McNab, G.L. Cost Analysis Model for Programs in French as a Second Language. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1978.
- Miller, Max H. The Logic of Language Development in Early Childhood. (Translated by R.J. King.) Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1979.
- Millot, Benoit. "Social Differentiation and Higher Education: The French Case", Comparative Education Review (October 1981), 353-368.
- Otheguy, Ricardo and Ruth Otto. "Static Maintenance in Bilingual Education", The Modern Language Journal (January 1981), 32-35.
- Padfield, Clive A.F. "Why School Boards Should Have Consultant Development Programs", Education Canada (Summer/Été 1981).
- Patkowski, Mark S. "The Sensitive Period for the Acquisition of Syntax in a Second Language", Language Learning, Volume 30, Number 2.
- Pellegrini, A.D. "Speech Play and Language Development in Young Children", Journal of Research and Development in Education, Volume 14, Number 3 (1981), 73-80.
- Préfontaine, Robert R. and Hubert Provost. Le Sablier Français 2; Guide Pédagogique langue maternelle et seconde. Ottawa: Le Sablier Inc., 3^e trimestre, 1978.
- Préfontaine, Robert R. and Gisèle Côté-Préfontaine. Français 1^{re} année (6 ans); Guide Pédagogique. Ottawa: Beauchemin, 1972.
- Ritter, Ellen M. "The Social-Cognitive Development of Adolescents: Implications for the Teaching of Speech", Communication Education, Volume 30 (January 1981), 1-10.
- Savignon, Sandra J. "Three Americans in Paris: A Look at 'Natural Second Language Acquisition'", Modern Language Journal, 65 (Autumn 1981), 241-247.
- Smith, Allen. "Piaget's Model of Child Development, Implications for Educators", The Clearing House, Volume 55 (September 1981), 24-26.
- Smith, Paula and Barbara Simmons. "Evaluating Learning Centers", Education, Volume 98, Number 4, 403-405.

- Stern, Hans H. "Immersion Schools and Language Learning", Language and Society, Number 5 (Spring/Summer 1981), 3-6.
- . Three Approaches to Teaching French: Evaluation and Overview of Studies Related to the Federally Funded Extensions of the Second Language Learning (French) Programs in the Carleton and Ottawa School Boards. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976.
- Stern, Hans H., C. Burstall and B. Harley. French From Age Eight or Eleven? A Study of the Effectiveness of the Teaching of French at the Primary Level in the Schools in England and Wales. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1975.
- Stern, H.H., M. Swain and L.D. McLean. French Programs--Some Major Issues: Evaluation and Synthesis of Studies Related to the Experimental Programs for the Teaching of French and Second Language in the Carleton-Ottawa School Boards. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976.
- Sullivan, Edmund V. Piaget and the School Curriculum; A Critical Appraisal. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Bulletin Number 2 (1967).
- Swain, M. "What Does Research Say About Immersion Education?", in B.M. Jacak and E. Isabelle (Eds.), So You Want Your Child To Learn French! Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French (1979), 20-27.
- Swain, Merrill, Sharon Lapkin and Christine M. Andrew. Early French Immersion Later On. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (1981).
- Taylor, Nancy E., Sarah Pichert and Martha Chase. "Views on Language and Reading: A Comparison of the Opinions of University Faculty Teachers and Parents", Educational Research Quarterly, Volume 5, Number 3 (Fall 1980), 74-84.
- Teitelbaum, Herta. "Unreliability of Language Background Self-Ratings of Young Bilingual Children", Child Study Journal, Volume 9, Number 1 (1979), 51-59.
- Tremblay, Florent. "Le Bilinguisme Est-Il Pour Tout Le Monde?", Education Canada (Fall/Automne 1981), 36-41.
- Unda, Jean. "An Approach to Language and Orientation", TESL Talk, Volume 11, Number 4 (Fall (1980), 33-42.
- Wade, Barrie and Alan Wood. "Assessing Talk in Science", Educational Review, Volume 32, Number 2 (1980), 205-214.
- Wagman, Anita. "Language Experiences in Bilingualism", Childhood Education (September/October 1981), 14-19.

Wilkes, Elizabeth M. "A Description of Language Development for Parents",
Volta Review, Volume 83, Number 6 (October/November 1981), 394-403.

Winkeljohann, Sister Rosemary. "Queries: How Can Teachers Promote
Language Use?", Language Arts, Volume 58, Number 5 (May 1981),
605-606.

Withrow, Margaret S. "Technology to Facilitate Language Acquisition",
Volta Review (September 1981), 310-320.

APPENDICES

Introduction

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire Text (plus accompanying letter), pp. 87-94.

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire Results: Answers to Multiple Choice Questions, pp. 95-102.

In this appendix, the results of the answers to the multiple choice questions have been given in table form. In each case, the total numbers and the percentages they represent are specified. Final total percentages may not always equal 100% due to rounding.

APPENDIX 3

Questionnaire Results: Answers to Comment Questions, pp. 103-126.

In this appendix, the comments written in on the questionnaires have been reproduced in full. Where necessary, syntax and spelling have been normalized. For questions A-1 to E-3 and E-5 to F-1, the comments have been classified as Positive (Affirmative, Agree, Higher), Negative (Disagree, Lower) or Other. Each category has been further subdivided between the type of respondent: Regular-stream teachers or Immersion teachers.

For questions E-4 and F-2 to F-6, where the Positive-Negative classification is inappropriate, only the respondent categories have been used.

Questions giving rise to specific comments have been reproduced as is. Questionnaire sections or groups of questions producing comments indirectly have been condensed. Questions for which no comments were given have not been reproduced.

APPENDIX 1QUESTIONNAIRE TEXT

June 21, 1982

Dear Colleague,

I am currently enrolled in the M.A.(T) Programme at McMaster University. One of the course requirements is a research project related to education. I have chosen to study the socially felt effects on the school community (i.e. parents, teachers and students) of the implementation of a French Immersion programme. I will be placing great emphasis on the role of the teacher in this special situation. Your experience and knowledge should provide invaluable input into this study!

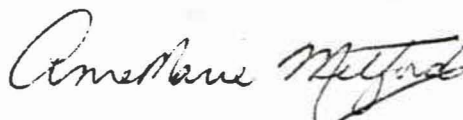
It is for this reason that I am asking you to do me the very great service of completing this survey. It is, of course, voluntary and confidential. I am asking for your opinions and perceptions only.

There may be sections of the survey that do not apply to your situation. Please feel free to complete only those questions which concern or interest you. Any comments or answers possible will be greatly appreciated! You may wish to use the backs of the pages to add any additional comments.

I very much appreciate this sharing of your knowledge. I believe that it will make a significant contribution to the body of research concerning the implementation of French Immersion programmes. Thank you again!

HAVE A GOOD SUMMER!!

Sincerely,



Anne Marie Metford

P.S. I WILL BE COLLECTING THE FORMS MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1982.
PLEASE GIVE THE COMPLETED FORMS TO YOUR SECRETARY IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED.

QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR AREA OF ASSIGNMENT: PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE, JUNIOR,
SENIOR PUBLIC
FRENCH, ENGLISH

SECTION A

Comparisons between French Immersion and Regular-stream children based on standardized tests seem to show that Immersion students are, as a group, more gifted intellectually. This evidence contributes to the perception of the programme as elitist in nature.

1. Would you agree with this perception of the Immersion group's elite status? Please circle your choice.

strongly					strongly
agree	agree	neutral	disagree	disagree	disagree

2. Compare, if possible, the following attributes of Immersion students to those of Regular-stream students. Please circle the code which corresponds to your observations.

HS - highly superior
SS - somewhat superior
S - superior
E - equal
SL - somewhat less
ML - much less

- a) The motivation of the Immersion student is: HS SS S E SL ML
to/than that of the Regular-stream student.
- b) The peer interaction of the Immersion student is: HS SS S E
SL ML to/than that of the Regular-stream student.
- c) The work habits of the Immersion student are: HS SS S E
SL ML to/than that of the Regular-stream student.
- d) The behaviour of the Immersion student is: HS SS S E SL ML
to/than that of the Regular-stream student.
- e) The listening skills of the Immersion student are: HS SS S E
SL ML to/than that of the Regular-stream student.
- f) The oral expression of the Immersion student is: HS SS S E
SL ML to/than that of the Regular-stream student.
- g) The attitude towards work, i.e. work completion, homework of the
Immersion student is: HS SS S E SL ML to/than that of the
Regular-stream student.

- h) The attitude towards authority of the Immersion student is:
 HS SS S E SL ML to/than that of the Regular-stream student.

Comments: _____

3. Given the fact that these children tend to be more gifted intellectually, could you comment on any positive or negative effects that the programme seems to have on the child's classroom functioning and development?
- _____
- _____
- _____

4. In your opinion, would the average child have functioned as well or better in a Regular-stream classroom? Please circle your choice.

better, as well, equally well, less well, no opinion

SECTION B

1. Do you feel that the presence of these children in your school has had a significant influence on their Regular-stream peers in such areas as behaviour or attitude? Please circle your choice.

very	somewhat		no
significant	significant	significant	effect

2. Do you feel that there seems to be a problem of these children being accepted or fully integrated into the school by their Regular-stream peers?

yes, there seems	no, there does not seem
<u>to be a problem</u>	<u>to be a problem</u>

3. If you answered yes to the above question, could you indicate some ways in which this lack of acceptance is manifested?
- _____
- _____
- _____

4. Is the programme perceived negatively or positively by the Regular-stream children? Please circle your choice.

very positively	somewhat positively	positively
very negatively	somewhat negatively	negatively

SECTION C

I would now like you to compare, if possible, the Immersion parent to the Regular-stream parent. Please underline your choice.

1. In your dealings with Immersion parents have you found them to be:

- a) enthusiastic: very enthusiastic, somewhat more enthusiastic, enthusiastic, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- b) positive: very positive, somewhat more positive, positive, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- c) supportive: very supportive, somewhat more supportive, supportive, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- d) interested: very interested, somewhat more interested, interested, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- e) informed: very informed, somewhat more informed, informed, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- f) demanding: very demanding, somewhat more demanding, demanding, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- g) aggressive: very aggressive, somewhat more aggressive, aggressive, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- h) unrealistic: very unrealistic, somewhat more unrealistic, unrealistic, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- i) anxious: very anxious, somewhat more anxious, anxious, no different from the Regular-stream parent.
- j) negative: very negative, somewhat more negative, negative, no different from the Regular-stream parent.

Comments: _____

2. Do you feel that the presence of these parents has had a significant effect on the organization or atmosphere of your school? Please circle your choice.

very somewhat no
significant significant significant effect

3. If you feel that there has been an influence, do you feel the influence has been positive or negative?

very positive somewhat positive positive
very negative somewhat negative negative

4. Could you comment on some ways in which this effect has been felt?

SECTION D

I would like you to compare, if possible, your perceptions of the differences between an Immersion and a Regular-stream classroom situation in the following areas of concern.

1. Please circle the code which corresponds to your observations.

SM - significantly more
M - more
E - equal
L - less
SL - significantly less

- a) numbers: Immersion programme student numbers per classroom are: SM M E L SL compared to Regular-stream programme.
- b) split grades: Immersion programme numbers of split grades per school are: SM M E L SL compared to Regular-stream programme.
- c) resource people: Immersion programmes have: SM M E L SL resource people available compared to Regular-stream classes.
- d) teaching materials: Immersion programmes provide: SM M E L SL teaching materials compared to Regular-stream classes.
- e) release time: the Immersion programme provides the Immersion teacher with: SM M E L SL release time compared to the Regular-stream programme.

- f) parent volunteers: the Immersion programme seems to attract:
SM M E L SL parent volunteers compared to the Regular-stream programme.
- g) special events and activities: the Immersion programme seems to provide: SM M E L SL special events and activities compared to the Regular-stream classes.
- h) administrative time: i.e. time spent by the principal of a school with an Immersion programme on such things as organization and discipline which are directly related to the Immersion programme. This time is: SM M E L SL compared to time allotted to such things for the Regular-stream programme in that school.

Comments: _____

SECTION E

1. How do you feel the demands made on the Immersion teacher compare to those made on the Regular-stream teacher? Please circle your choice.
 - a) Programme and curriculum development
far exceed exceed equal are less
 - b) Parental interaction obligations
far exceed exceed equal are less
 - c) Professional development obligations (i.e. conferences, meetings)
far exceed exceed equal are less
2. Are there some advantages to be gained by the Regular-stream teacher from having an Immersion programme in the school?

3. Are there some disadvantages to be felt by the Regular-stream teacher in a school with an Immersion programme?

4. What do you see as the reason for the existence of Immersion programmes?

5. Do you think these programmes serve a useful purpose?

6. Do you perceive them as being successful for all children and not just those who could be classified as elite?

7. Given the choice, would you enroll your child in an Immersion programme?

SECTION F

1. The Federal government has released monies to develop Immersion programmes in boards of education. Do you think these monies could be better spent on other language programmes that would benefit all children? Please circle your choice.

strongly
agree

agree

neutral

disagree

strongly
disagree

Comments: _____

2. Teachers' federations have voiced concerns that Immersion teachers, because they are in a specialized programme and therefore protected because of their qualifications, are displacing teachers with more seniority. Do you feel this concern is: (Please circle your choice.)

very				
important	important	somewhat important	unimportant	no opinion

Comments: _____

3. Immersion classes themselves are seen as contributing to declining enrolment because they skim students from the regular programmes. In your opinion, is this concern: (Please circle your choice.)

very				
important	important	somewhat important	unimportant	no opinion

4. What could your board do to improve Immersion programmes?

5. What could teachers do to improve Immersion programmes?

6. Do you have any other suggestions about Immersion programmes?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS: ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

SECTION A

1. Would you agree with this perception of the Immersion group's elite status?

	Total Answers	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		% Totals
Immersion	9	1	11%	5	56%	2	22%	0	0%	1	11%	100%
Regular	14/23	3	21%	3	21%	1	7%	7	50%	0	0%	99%

2. See chart, p. 96.

3. Comments.

4. In your opinion, would the average child have functioned as well or better in a Regular-stream classroom?

	Total Answers	Better		As Well		Equally Well		Less Well		No Opinion		% Totals
Immersion	7	0	0%	3	43%	4	57%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
Regular	15/22	2	13%	7	47%	4	27%	1	7%	1	7%	101%

Section A (cont'd.)...

2. Compare, if possible, the following attributes of Immersion students to those of Regular-stream students.

	Total Answers	Highly Superior		Somewhat Superior		Superior		Equal		Somewhat Less		Much Less		% Totals
a) <u>motivation</u>														
Immersion	12	0	0%	4	33%	4	33%	4	33%	0	0%	0	0%	99%
Regular	14/26	0	0%	5	36%	3	21%	5	36%	1	7%	0	0%	100%
b) <u>peer interaction</u>														
Immersion	11	0	0%	2	18%	2	18%	6	55%	1	9%	0	0%	100%
Regular	15/26	0	0%	2	13%	0	0%	11	73%	2	13%	0	0%	99%
c) <u>work habits</u>														
Immersion	10	0	0%	0	0%	6	60%	4	40%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
Regular	14/24	0	0%	4	29%	2	14%	6	43%	2	14%	0	0%	100%
d) <u>behaviour</u>														
Immersion	10	0	0%	0	0%	1	10%	9	90%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
Regular	15/25	0	0%	3	20%	1	7%	11	73%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
e) <u>listening skills</u>														
Immersion	9	1	11%	2	22%	2	22%	4	44%	0	0%	0	0%	99%
Regular	15/24	2	13%	4	27%	4	27%	5	33%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
f) <u>oral expression</u>														
Immersion	9	0	0%	2	22%	6	67%	1	11%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
Regular	14/23	0	0%	6	43%	5	36%	2	14%	1	7%	0	0%	100%
g) <u>attitude towards work</u>														
Immersion	9	0	0%	0	0%	2	22%	7	78%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
Regular	11/20	0	0%	3	27%	3	27%	5	45%	0	0%	0	0%	99%
h) <u>attitude towards authority</u>														
Immersion	9	0	0%	0	0%	2	22%	6	67%	1	11%	0	0%	100%
Regular	13/22	0	0%	1	8%	0	0%	10	77%	2	15%	0	0%	100%

SECTION B

1. Do you feel that the presence of these children in your school has had a significant influence on their Regular-stream peers in such areas as behaviour or attitude?

	Total Answers	Very Significant		Somewhat Significant		Significant		No Effect		% Totals
Immersion	9	1	11%	2	22%	1	11%	5	56%	100%
Regular	15/24	2	13%	2	13%	3	20%	8	53%	99%

2. Do you feel that there seems to be a problem of these children being accepted or fully integrated into the school by their Regular-stream peers?

	Total Answers	Yes		No		% Totals
Immersion	9	1	11%	8	89%	100%
Regular	12/21	1	8%	11	92%	100%

3. Comments if answered yes.

4. Is the programme perceived negatively or positively by the Regular-stream children?

	Total Answers	Very Positively		Somewhat Positively		Positively		Very Negatively		Somewhat Negatively		Negatively		% Totals
Immersion	10	0	0%	6	60%	3	30%	0	0%	1	10%	0	0%	100%
Regular	11/21	0	0%	2	18%	8	73%	0	0%	1	9%	0	0%	100%

SECTION C

1. I would now like you to compare, if possible, the Immersion parent to the Regular-stream parent.

	Total Answers	Very		Somewhat More		Word Itself		No Different		% Totals
a) <u>enthusiastic</u>										
Immersion	10	6	60%	1	10%	1	10%	2	20%	100%
Regular	11/21	5	45%	3	27%	2	18%	1	9%	99%
b) <u>positive</u>										
Immersion	8	2	25%	2	25%	4	50%	0	0%	100%
Regular	9/17	1	11%	2	22%	4	44%	2	22%	99%
c) <u>supportive</u>										
Immersion	8	3	38%	1	13%	0	0%	4	50%	101%
Regular	12/20	4	33%	0	0%	4	33%	4	33%	99%
d) <u>interested</u>										
Immersion	10	6	60%	0	0%	2	20%	2	20%	100%
Regular	13/23	6	46%	3	23%	3	23%	1	8%	100%
e) <u>informed</u>										
Immersion	9	4	44%	0	0%	4	44%	1	11%	99%
Regular	12/21	1	8%	3	25%	6	50%	2	17%	100%
f) <u>demanding</u>										
Immersion	10	7	70%	2	20%	0	0%	1	10%	100%
Regular	12/22	3	25%	3	25%	3	25%	3	25%	100%
g) <u>aggressive</u>										
Immersion	11	5	45%	3	27%	0	0%	3	27%	99%
Regular	10/21	2	20%	4	40%	1	10%	3	30%	100%
h) <u>unrealistic</u>										
Immersion	9	1	11%	1	11%	1	11%	6	67%	100%
Regular	8/17	0	0%	2	25%	2	25%	4	50%	100%
i) <u>anxious</u>										
Immersion	10	6	60%	3	30%	1	10%	0	0%	100%
Regular	11/21	6	55%	2	18%	1	9%	2	18%	100%
j) <u>negative</u>										
Immersion	9	1	11%	4	44%	0	0%	4	44%	99%
Regular	11/20	0	0%	2	18%	3	27%	6	55%	100%

Section C (cont'd.)...

2. Do you feel that the presence of these parents has had a significant effect on the organization or atmosphere of your school?

	Total Answers	Very Significant		Somewhat Significant		Significant		No Effect		% Totals
Immersion	6	2	33%	2	33%	2	33%	0	0%	99%
Regular	11/17	6	55%	4	44%	1	9%	0	0%	100%

3. If you feel that there has been an influence, do you feel the influence has been positive or negative?

	Total Answers	Very Positive		Somewhat Positive		Positive		Very Negative		Somewhat Negative		Negative		% Totals
Immersion	8	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	2	25%	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	100%
Regular	11/19	1	9%	4	36%	3	27%	1	9%	0	0%	2	18%	99%

Two respondents felt that the effect of this influence has been both positive and negative, depending on what aspect of school life is considered.

SECTION D

1. I would like you to compare, if possible, your perceptions of the differences between an Immersion and Regular-stream classroom situation in the following areas of concern.

	Total Answers	Sig. More		More		Equal		Less		Sig. Less		% Totals
a) <u>numbers</u>												
Immersion	12	0	0%	2	17%	3	25%	3	25%	4	33%	100%
Regular	13/25	0	0%	0	0%	4	31%	2	15%	7	54%	100%
b) <u>split grades</u>												
Immersion	11	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	18%	9	82%	100%
Regular	10/21	0	0%	0	0%	1	10%	0	0%	9	90%	100%
c) <u>resource people</u>												
Immersion	12	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	8%	11	92%	100%
Regular	14/26	1	7%	1	7%	6	43%	2	14%	4	29%	100%
d) <u>teaching materials</u>												
Immersion	12	1	8%	0	0%	3	25%	3	25%	5	42%	100%
Regular	15/27	2	13%	3	20%	2	13%	5	33%	3	20%	99%
e) <u>release time</u>												
Immersion	10	2	20%	3	30%	5	50%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
Regular	13/23	4	31%	7	54%	2	15%	0	0%	0	0%	100%
f) <u>parent volunteers</u>												
Immersion	10	1	10%	2	20%	4	40%	1	10%	2	20%	100%
Regular	11/21	2	18%	3	27%	5	45%	1	9%	0	0%	99%
g) <u>special events</u>												
Immersion	11	2	18%	2	18%	6	55%	1	9%	0	0%	100%
Regular	12/23	0	0%	1	8%	10	83%	1	8%	0	0%	99%
h) <u>administrative time</u>												
Immersion	10	0	0%	2	20%	5	50%	0	0%	3	30%	100%
Regular	12/22	3	25%	2	17%	6	50%	0	0%	1	8%	100%

SECTION E

1. How do you feel the demands made on the Immersion teacher compare to those made on the Regular-stream teacher?

a) Programme and curriculum development

	Total Answers	Far Exceeds		Exceeds		Equal		Less Than		% Totals
Immersion	11	7	64%	3	27%	1	9%	0	0%	100%
Regular	14/25	3	21%	6	43%	5	36%	0	0%	100%

b) Parental interaction obligations

	Total Answers	Far Exceeds		Exceeds		Equal		Less Than		% Totals
Immersion	10	3	30%	6	60%	2	20%	0	0%	100%
Regular	14/24	1	7%	8	57%	5	36%	0	0%	100%

c) Professional development obligations (i.e. conferences, meetings)

	Total Answers	Far Exceeds		Exceeds		Equal		Less Than		% Totals
Immersion	12	4	33%	5	42%	3	25%	0	0%	100%
Regular	13/25	2	15%	5	38%	5	38%	1	8%	99%

2. Comments on advantages to be gained by the Regular-stream teacher from having an Immersion programme in the school.
3. Comments on the disadvantages for Regular-stream teachers.
4. What respondent sees as the reasons for the existence of the Immersion programmes.

SECTION F

1. The Federal government has released monies to develop Immersion programmes in boards of education. Do you think these monies could be better spent on other language programmes that would benefit all children?

	Total Answers	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		% Totals
Immersion	11	0	0%	1	9%	1	9%	6	55%	3	27%	100%
Regular	15/26	2	13%	3	20%	3	20%	5	33%	2	13%	99%

2. Teachers' federations have voiced concern that Immersion teachers, because they are in a specialized programme and therefore protected because of their qualifications, are displacing teachers with more seniority. Do you feel this concern is:

	Total Answers	Very Important		Important		Somewhat Important		Unim- portant		No Opinion		% Totals
Immersion	10	0	0%	2	20%	4	40%	3	30%	1	10%	100%
Regular	15/25	3	20%	3	20%	1	7%	7	47%	1	7%	101%

3. Immersion classes themselves are seen as contributing to declining enrolment because they skim students from the regular programmes. In your opinion, is this concern:

	Total Answers	Very Important		Important		Somewhat Important		Unim- portant		No Opinion		% Totals
Immersion	7	1	14%	0	0%	1	14%	5	71%	0	0%	99%
Regular	15/22	1	7%	4	27%	2	13%	8	53%	0	0%	100%

4. What could your board do to improve Immersion programmes?
5. What could teachers do to improve Immersion programmes?
6. Do you have any other suggestions about Immersion programmes?

APPENDIX 3QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS: ANSWERS TO COMMENT QUESTIONSSECTION A

Comparisons between French Immersion and Regular-stream children based on standardized tests seem to show that Immersion students are, as a group, more gifted intellectually. This evidence contributes to the perception of the programme as elitist in nature.

1. Would you agree with this perception of the Immersion group's elite status?

a) Agree

i) Regular-stream teachers

"I agree that the Immersion group is elite in status but it is becoming less so as the programme infiltrates the community."

ii) Immersion teachers

"Elitism: because the programme is 'elite' or because those who choose Immersion tend to parent children of better than average intelligence? The programme in and of itself is not 'elite'; it simply works out that those parents who 'risk' Immersion happen to have children of generally higher than average intelligence. Some people might consider the programme 'elite' because of the groups it attracts: university professors, doctors, lawyers. I must point out that the background of the children at Pauline Johnson is much less impressive. The parents are mainly steel-workers, nurses, policemen, postmen, teachers, etc.--the 'lower' ranks of professional status. All parents have the option of enrolling their children in the Immersion programme."

b) Disagree

i) Regular-stream teachers

"I don't believe the Immersion students are necessarily more gifted. They happen to have come, until recently, exclusively from a stratum of society that is privileged academically, socially and culturally. I believe with the advent of Junior Kindergarten and other factors this picture may change substantially."

ii) Immersion teachers

"I disagree with the idea that the children are more gifted or more 'elite'. There are, as in an English stream, all groups of children working in one language. The only difference is that the language is French."

2. Compare, if possible, the following attributes of Immersion students to those of Regular-stream students: motivation, peer interaction, work habits, behaviour, listening skills, oral expression, attitude towards work, attitude towards authority.

a) Superior

Nil comments.

b) Inferior

Nil comments.

c) Other

i) Regular

Work: "It is the parents of the Immersion groups that have a highly superior attitude towards work."

ii) Immersion

Quality: "These children are quality because their parents are quality."

3. Given the fact that these children tend to be more gifted intellectually, could you comment on any positive or negative effects that the programme seems to have on the child's classroom functioning and development?

a) Positive effects

i) Regular

Curriculum: "Second language development promotes more self-confidence in self-expression orally because of the increased opportunity to speak."

"The programme is intellectually challenging. It forces the students to use their listening skills more acutely."

"There is good reception of new and interesting materials."

"The teachers can cover more material at a greater depth with more interesting and animated discussions."

Students: "The students are inspired by their capable, academically-oriented peer group. The parents are supportive for learning."

"The children are 'keeners' who love to work."

Parental Anxiety: "The parental pressure that exists due to increased demands made on these 'gifted' students can be positive. It seems to increase the child's ability to problem solve and deal with new situations calmly and analytically."

Parental Stress and Anxiety: "Parental support, interest and increased pressure on teachers and on students are typical by-products of the Immersion system."

b) Negative effects

i) Regular

Curriculum: "The really gifted children do not seem to be challenged enough."

c) Other

i) Regular

No effect: "There seems to be no effect when the subject is of a practical nature."

ii) Immersion

Nil comments.

SECTION B

This section deals with the perceptions of the Immersion and Regular-stream teacher regarding the integration of the Immersion students into the existing school community.

If the teachers felt that there had been an effect felt by the school community as a result of the presence of these classes, they were asked to comment on the positive or negative ways in which this effect was felt. Their comments follow.

a) Positive

i) Regular

Motivation to Speak French: "Children in the English stream classes try to use a few words and expressions in French. They are very interested and claim: 'I can speak French'."

Appreciation of the Programme: "In a senior school other unilingual students appear to think the Immersion programme is an asset to the school."

ii) Immersion

Increased Awareness: "English-speaking students gain an increased awareness that groups speaking another language are just like themselves."

Motivation to Speak French: "The English-speaking children enjoy trying to speak French."

Personality of Immersion Students: "The students are more socially outgoing and seem to have a lot to say."

b) Negative

i) Regular

Curriculum: "The programme is too highly structured which is not best for 'enrichment'."

"Teacher expectations are too high."

"The really gifted children do not seem to be challenged enough."

Students: "The students perceive themselves as superior. This will certainly show as social strain later on."

"The students are aware of their own special status, i.e. intellectual and language abilities. They feel they do not have to work as hard as the other students."

"The children themselves have an elitist attitude. They have been together too long as a group. They are overly competitive in a negative sense."

Parental and Student Anxiety and Stress: "There is a lot of stress associated with the programme because of increased parental expectations."

"A lot of intra-classroom peer competition exists."

"There is a lot of stress because of high parental expectations."

ii) Immersion

Curriculum: "The Immersion teacher doesn't know how to recognize or deal with the average or below average child and often establishes very unrealistic expectations of what 'average' is in the real world."

"The English programme that has been developed for the Immersion students presupposes that the child's English oral skills (answering questions and story telling, etc.) are already developed. It seems to overlook the developmental link between the oral and written skills which is emphasized in the regular English programme."

"Materials are limited due to lack of funding. Some of the children are not sufficiently challenged."

Students: "Immersion students are often made fun of. They seem to be babied by their parents."

b) Negativei) Regular

Immersion Student Attitudes: "The Immersion students are seen as 'brown-ers'. It is evident that there is less peer interaction outside of the Immersion classroom."

Regular-Stream Student Insecurity: "Regular-stream students are inhibited by their lack of fluency. They feel left out, at a disadvantage. They perceive themselves as different."

Avoiding a 'Special' Status: "There were initially some problems caused by the 'special' status of the Immersion group. These problems were eliminated by: giving both groups the same hours of timetabling, increasing the numbers of school clubs, having some grouping of French and English classes for theme work, having the Immersion teachers teach some subjects to the English classes."

ii) Immersion

Immersion Student Attitudes: "Immersion students create their own problems by their superior attitude. They sometimes make comments about the Regular-stream students, i.e. they're dumb, retards."

c) Otheri) Regular

Boredom: "Problems only arise in situations such as assemblies when the students who understand no French become bored. The solution is to avoid these situations."

Future Problems: "There is no problem because the French classes are still in the minority. The problems will come later."

ii) Immersion

Public Relations: "Problems only arise when teachers or students don't understand what is happening in the Immersion programme."

A Positive Staff Attitude: "No problems will occur among the students if the staff attitude is positive."

SECTION C

This section deals with the perception Regular and Immersion-stream teachers have of Immersion parents. Comments about these parents, when compared to the Regular-stream parents are classified as to their nature (positive or negative).

a) Positivei) Regular

Parent Participation: "The Immersion parents are more willing to volunteer their time."

"Most parents when approached will volunteer."

"Extra help is available, i.e. volunteers, trip supervisors, etc."

"They have 'sparked' enthusiasm in the Home and School Association and have, along with other parents, given adventurous leadership."

"Parents' minds are eased when exposed to evidence that all is running as it should. Their anxiety is lessened."

ii) Immersion

Parent Participation: "There are lots of parent volunteers".

"Parents often volunteer to help."

"Parents are often in the school which makes communication easy."

b) Negativei) Regular

Teacher Anxieties: "Teachers feel they must over-justify their actions because of parental anxieties."

"Teachers' anxieties about parent/teacher interviews are greater. Parents' complaints, justified or not, affect programmes and class activities and atmospheres."

Parental Involvement: "The parents are somewhat negative as regards school set-up, timetabling, priorities and staffing."

"These parents seem very vociferous. This must influence school policies."

ii) Immersion:

Teacher Anxieties: "There is very low teacher morale because of parent criticism, negativism and their desire to take over."

"There is teacher stress due to a lack of direct communication on the parents' side, i.e. they deal with problems via the principal."

Parental Involvement: "Parents are often over-anxious and have unrealistic expectations for their children. For example, in the early primary years--grades 1,2,3--parents are overly concerned if their child has reading problems. Consequently, they put a lot of pressure on their child and on his teacher. The child and the teacher must constantly perform."

"The parents seem to have too much power. They are often negative in their input. Parents will gather in groups, make a general complaint, often unfounded, and call the board. They always request that their names be withheld—how valid is the criticism then?"

"Involved parents criticize the teachers rather than the programme."

"A loud vocal minority warps the perception by the teachers of the Immersion parents in general."

"Parents seem less willing to put their trust in Immersion teachers."

"Immersion parents are: condescending, patronizing, anxious and threatening."

Students: "The Immersion children are together for so long that personality conflicts become critical."

"The child's inadequacies are often blamed on the teacher. Everyone seems to feel that the pupils are way above average. This is not necessarily true."

SECTION D

This section deals with the perceptions Immersion and Regular-stream teachers have of the differences between the Regular and Immersion classroom situations from the organizational point of view. Comments made by the teachers are classified as negative or positive in nature.

a) Positive

i) Regular

Nil comments.

ii) Immersion

Nil comments.

b) Negative

i) Regular

Working Conditions: "Animosity results when work conditions are not equal."

"Librarians must spend a much greater amount of time to order books, catalogue, process books, review, read and be up to date in French."

Resources: "Events in Ontario for francophones, i.e. theatre, concerts are not easily available."

"The cost of materials for the Immersion programmes is a factor. They are very costly and as no sharing is possible the relative cost is even greater to the school on a per student basis."

ii) Immersion

Resources: "Resource people who are French speaking are nil. This problem seems to be particular to Hamilton. Other boards have hired consultants first and then developed the programmes."

"All consultants are available to the Immersion teacher but they do not speak French."

"The Immersion programme sometimes has fewer volunteers because the teachers insist they be French speaking."

The Immersion Principal: "Principals often do not have a good understanding of the programme."

c) Other

i) Regular

Working Conditions: "The numbers in the Immersion classes often depend on the grade level. The 'streaming out' of weaker students often affects the class sizes."

ii) Immersion

Enrolment: "Numbers vary from year to year."

SECTION E

This section deals with the teachers' perceptions of the impact of the Immersion programme on the teachers themselves. It also deals with the teachers' perceptions of the role and success of the Immersion programme. The comments are in direct reply to specific questions.

1. How do you feel the demands made on the Immersion teacher compare to those made on the Regular-stream teacher?

a) Higher

i) Regular

Nil comments.

ii) Immersion

Working Conditions: "I have come (after six years) to resent all the extra demands on my time that Immersion makes. The source of the resentment is probably the fact that both administration and parents seem to expect it as normal and there is no conception of how many extra 'beyond the call' hours one must spend nor any articulated appreciation of it. When the extras are taken for granted it encourages low teacher morale and a bitter teaching attitude."

b) Lower

Nil comments.

2. **Are there some advantages to be gained by the Regular-stream teacher from having an Immersion programme in the school?**

a) Affirmative

i) Regular

Inspirational: "Yes seeing that children are capable of learning two languages without any loss of achievement in English."

"Awareness that it is easy for children to become bilingual and to express themselves effortlessly in another language."

"There is no doubt that this could be an enrichment experience for Regular-stream classes if utilized properly. Cross-level planning of both language streams would encourage and enrich each teacher's knowledge and shared experiences would benefit the pupils."

"The behaviour influence is good, probably the nearness to brighter kids is a good influence."

Cultural: "Added cultural enrichment."

"It has prompted me to pursue French as a second language."

"Hopefully appreciation of the programme and the French language which can provide good public relations."

"Cultural enhancement and appreciation plus the incentive to 'pick-up' some French language conversation."

Working Conditions: "There is definitely more equipment allotted to the school because of this special situation."

"An argument for smaller class sizes because of the smaller Immersion classes."

"Input from parents through the Home and School Association!"

"Increased release time."

"Schools may stay open in an area where enrolment may warrant closure."

"Bilingual colleagues."

"Dealing with a new curriculum in a more intelligent classroom setting would seem to be a challenge for a hard-working, dedicated teacher."

ii) Immersion

Inspirational: "Exposure to another language and perhaps a different approach to teaching."

"A Regular-stream class and an Immersion class may collaborate on a theme and the Regular-stream class may learn from the positive behaviour and good work habits of the Immersion class."

"Awareness of French as a Canadian language and the fact that this is not unusual."

Working Conditions: "Teachers get extra release time."

"If there is some co-operation you can do some terrific team-teaching (i.e. theme work, trips, etc.)."

"A thriving volunteer programme."

b) Negative

i) Regular

"No."

ii) Immersion

"No."

3. **Are there some disadvantages to be felt by the Regular-stream teacher in a school with an Immersion programme?**

a) Affirmative

i) Regular

Teacher Anxieties: "Pressure from Immersion parents spilling over into the Regular stream."

"Immersion might tend to take over."

"Hassles from the Administration who seem willing to sacrifice everything else for the French Immersion programme."

Working Conditions: "Many of the brighter students are enrolled in the Immersion programme, therefore reducing the numbers of these students in the other classes."

"Timetables often have to be arranged to suit the Immersion teacher. New materials go only to the Immersion programmes. The Immersion teachers sometimes have smaller classes and more release time. The regular teacher may feel threatened by a language she does not understand and if the Immersion programme expands, the possible loss of her position."

"A comparison of class size is obvious."

"The English section becomes too small so that classes become too large in numbers with many split grades having very large ability ranges. There is no possibility of splitting up discipline problems."

"They feel put down in that they receive less work time and larger classes. Animosity can't help but exist."

"The English school decreases in numbers (pupils)."

"There is little extra space available within the school."

ii) Immersion

Working Conditions: "Reduced numbers of bright children in the English classes to supply answers, act as models, speed lessons."

"Regular classes have larger class sizes, more split grades."

"In primary grades the Immersion classes are smaller. This might cause political uneasiness."

"There are disadvantages only if the principal allows a two-staff system to exist within the school. One staff fully co-operating overcomes the problem."

"The Immersion teachers have more release time, less students and better students academically, behaviourally and socially."

"Class sizes out of sync. can cause hard feelings."

"Class sizes can cause problems. The Regular-stream teacher must have a positive attitude towards the programme or he/she may be a detriment."

Teacher Anxieties: "Regular-stream teachers feel threatened by the programme."

"There are constant comparisons between the programmes."

"Regular-stream teachers might feel threatened by the declining English population in their school."

b) Negativei) Regular

"No."

"None."

"None."

"None."

ii) Immersion

Nil comments.

4. What do you see as the reason for the existence of Immersion programmes?

a) RegularPolitical: "Parental pressure."

"Parent pressure."

"Demands by some to exercise their right to have a second language; namely, French which is written into our (constitution) B.N.A. act."

"To bend to pressure exerted by French Canadians on the Federal Government. Intelligent people realize the value of two languages and the intellectual advantages as well as the increased availability of future job opportunities."

Cultural/Bilingualism: "The fact that we are in a bilingual country."

"In this bilingual land bilingualism must be taught to those wishing it."

"A head start for bilingual communication and translation."

"To give children an opportunity to become bilingual."

"I had hoped that it was to assist children to become proficient and comfortable with the two languages of our country while at the same time developing a greater understanding of, and an appreciation for the franco-phone culture as well as their own."

"The opportunity to develop the language skills and hopefully for students to become bilingual is a primary reason. Also students may become more aware of French culture through their French studies."

Economic: "The economic considerations. The parents hope for a better future for their children if they have another language."

Academic: "To provide an alternative education for pupils."

"To allow pupils and parents an alternative educational programme from the regular run of the mill programme."

"Children develop powers of observation, think in a logical way, develop critical judgment, add to their body of knowledge, develop creativity, express their own ideas and opinions."

Unknown: "I really don't know."

b) Immersion

Political: "I feel that everyone should have the opportunity to choose one or the other. If the board does not offer this it takes away the right of choice."

"Parental demand and interest."

"The reasons are political and economical (appease the Separatist) and somewhat cultural although not as significantly so."

Cultural/Bilingualism: "They provide the opportunity to become bilingual. This is a status symbol for many."

"To develop a certain degree of competence in speaking the French language."

"To provide children with the opportunity to learn French at a conversational as well as a written level so that they may continue their education in it if they choose to do so."

"I see it as the only way in which a child will grow up capable of functioning equally well in two languages thus giving him/her a considerable advantage over their unilingual comrades. It is also providing an almost certain way to achieve better understanding of both cultures which form this country."

"They are a method of providing children with a working knowledge of the French language and an appreciation of French and French Canadian cultures."

Economic: "The programmes are the best way to learn a second language for cultural and economic reasons, i.e. travel, or a future job."

"To acquire fluency in two languages. This is a possible advantage for procuring a job in the future."

5. Do you think these programmes serve a useful purpose?

a) Affirmative

i) Regular

Affirmative: "Yes." (Five replies with no comment.)

Affirmative with Reservations: "In essence yes, i.e. if the child be allowed to make his/her own choice."

"For those involved a positive gain. For those affected a negative experience."

Cultural/Bilingualism: "Yes, a greater number of our citizens will become bilingual ultimately."

"Yes, definitely. It is the only hope for the future of a bilingual country."

"Yes, it's quite an accomplishment to be totally bilingual at a very early age."

Academic: "Definitely...I only hope they increase and become the natural alternative."

"Yes, the kids will come out with a valuable skill, better listening skills and more intellectual capacity."

ii) Immersion

Affirmative: "Yes." (Six replies with no comment.)

"Absolutely." (Two replies with no comment.)

"Definitely." (Two replies with no comment.)

"Somewhat." (One reply with no comment.)

Academic: "Very much so. The success of these programmes is proven through research."

"Yes, they are intellectually enriching."

b) Negative

i) Regular

Nil comments.

6. Do you perceive them as being successful for all children and not just those who could be classified as elite?

a) Affirmative

i) Regular

Affirmative: "Yes." (Four replies with no comment.)

"I feel it's the desire of a child to want to be in this programme and consistent application with parental positive and open-minded support should mean success for all children."

Affirmative with Reservations: "Children that have learning disabilities, i.e., mentally retarded students would require too much teaching time for the output they could give. Any normal child would be successful."

"Yes, most children."

ii) Immersion

Affirmative: "All children who are willing to put in the extra effort and time can succeed. The degree of success depends on their various abilities."

"Indeed I do."

"Yes, all children speak in French."

"Yes." (Two replies with no comment.)

b) Negative

i) Regular

Negative: "No." (One reply with no comment.)

Student's Intellectual Ability: "No, some children who will have difficulty even in English should forget Immersion."

"Slower learning children would have difficulty in learning both languages."

"No, evidence the drop-out rate at grades 2, 3, and 4."

Elitist Curriculum Effects: "At the moment they are not successful for all children; however as numbers increase I can see the programme developing in such a way that society can reinforce the desirability of success for all children."

"No, I do not feel that all children could handle the work pressures, i.e. parents, until they have already attained a stage of maturity that includes good work habits."

ii) Immersion

Elitist Curriculum Effects: "The programme is not for all students."

"The programmes should be geared to all children although it is true that the underprivileged cannot get the same help and encouragement. They do not have the same access to books, trips to Quebec, etc."

c) Other

i) Regular

Nil comment.

ii) Immersion

Student's Intellectual Ability: "The programme can be successful for all children. However, a slower learner will struggle to keep up."

"Definitely—unless they have specific learning difficulties."

"For children who experience considerable difficulties in school I think the burden of a second language is a disadvantage."

"Yes but deaf children, blind children (Bill 82 G.L.D., S.L.D., T.M.R. children) would not thrive in an Immersion programme. It must be understood that average children will perform averagely."

"The programmes are successful for all those not suffering a learning difficulty which would pose a problem even in the native language."

Unknown: "Answer not known."

7. **Given the choice, would you enrol your child in an Immersion programme?**

a) Affirmative:

i) Regular

Affirmative: "Definitely."

"Yes." (Eight replies with no comment.)

Student's Intellectual Ability: "Yes, definitely, without reservations, if he could handle it. I guess a few years would be needed to determine this."

"Yes, of four children the two youngest could definitely handle the work. The two oldest would have difficulties as they find school overwhelming as it is."

Student's Choice: "Yes, had I a child who would wish to do so."

ii) Immersion

Affirmative: "Absolutely."

"Of course."

"Yes, have done so."

"Yes I would."

"Yes." (Seven replies with no comment.)

b) Negative

i) Regular

Negative: "I don't think so."

"Not particularly."

ii) Immersion

Elitism: "No, not if the attitude of parents remains the same. I do not want my child to feel that he is from an elitist group which is the attitude conveyed by most people."

c) Other

Nil response.

SECTION F

This section deals with teachers' opinions about some of the political issues currently surrounding the Immersion programmes. Questions 4 to 6 ask these teachers for any general recommendations they may have as to the implementation and development of Immersion programmes.

1. The Federal government has released monies to develop Immersion programmes in boards of education. Do you think these monies could be better spent on other language programmes that would benefit all children?

a) Affirmative

i) Regular

Nil comment.

ii) Immersion

Other Ethnic Groups: "Monies should be available for other ethnic groups."

b) Negative

i) Regular

Bilingualism: "The acquisition of French is important in a country where English and French are the official languages."

Academic Concerns: "English programmes are already a flop. We need more back to basics not just more watering down of existing programmes."

The Heritage Languages: "The other languages do not play as strong a role in commerce and trade."

"While I endorse the Heritage Language programmes I feel the two official languages are of prime importance."

ii) Immersion

Expanding French Immersion Programmes: "Immersion programmes should be made available to all children with no limiting of enrolment."

"It is already not enough to make Immersion programmes available to all children. These programmes are currently limited because of the expense of transportation and the limited number of classes."

"The monies could not be 'better spent' but other programmes should be developed as well, i.e. late Immersion."

"French is one of our official languages and should be promoted before other languages."

Expanding Other Language Programmes: "We should have French Immersion but also programmes in other languages. Children in Europe and Asia speak 4 or 5 languages fluently."

"The Federal government has already released monies for E.S.L. classes which give English language teachers a chance to work."

c) Other

i) Regular

Access: "Greater numbers of children should be able to benefit."

ii) Immersion

Nil comment.

2. Teachers' federations have voiced concerns that Immersion teachers, because they are in a specialized programme and therefore protected because of their qualifications, are displacing teachers with more seniority. Do you feel this concern is: very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, no opinion?

a) Regular

There is no Problem: "They are not displacing teachers."

"I prefer the best person for the job."

"It sounds like typical complaining."

"The Immersion teachers are not displacing teachers unless those teachers can carry the Immersion programme."

"The impact is minimal."

A Problem Exists: "This is a major concern of a majority of teachers in a time of job insecurity. French Immersion teachers cannot be sure they will be backed by their Federations in a case of seniority versus language superiority. French teachers must do positive P.R. to point out the advantages of the programme, i.e. the need for English teachers for Immersion classes."

"This is a problem that will increase as numbers grow."

Retraining and Requalifying: "If you don't have the qualifications go out and get them."

"Teachers should review, revise and update their qualifications. They should consider teaching in the Immersion programme an option."

b) Immersion

There is no Problem: "There is no redundancy in the Elementary Panel."

"If taxpayers have chosen to enrol their children in these programmes the onus is on parents not on teachers."

"Absurd."

Immersion--A Specialized Programme: "This sort of problem has always occurred in other specialized programmes, i.e., Special Education and Alternate Schools."

"This problem occurs with any specialty: music, special ed., high school specialties, etc."

Retraining and Requalifying: "The opportunity is available for all teachers to retrain. Learning and retraining must be a continuous concern even for teachers with a great deal of seniority."

3. Immersion classes themselves are seen as contributing to declining enrolment because they skim students from the regular programmes. In your opinion, is this concern: very important, important, somewhat important, unimportant, no opinion?

a) Regular

There is no Problem: "I strongly disagree. Parents have the choice of sending their child to any school in the system. The Immersion children are still in the system."

"Teachers are still employed to teach these children somewhere."

"In a city the size of Hamilton this is not a serious concern."

A Problem Exists: "There is a great deal of hostility on the part of teachers who feel they have been left with classes of lesser ability and more learning disabilities."

"If programmes were to expand this would become a serious problem."

"This has been the case at Earl Kitchener for the last 5 years."

b) Immersion

There is no Problem: "This does not contribute to declining enrolment. The children are all from the same school board."

"The programme attracts children from other school boards. Parents have moved to provide them with the opportunity to be in the Immersion programme."

"The children are not out of school therefore enrolment is not declining."

"Ridiculous! The declining enrolment issue is a red herring."

"In many cases the Immersion programmes have been started in schools that would otherwise have closed because of low numbers in the English classes."

"Absurd! There are the same number of students."

A Problem Exists: "There is a difficulty with changes in the types of jobs available and the 'shuffling' effect caused by the Immersion programme. This is especially difficult for the older teachers."

"This is an important issue if the board realizes and gives all children the same class size regardless of the programme."

4. What could your board do to improve Immersion programmes?

a) Regular

A Separate Immersion School: "Put all Immersion classes in one school with no English and involve more men in the programme."

"A distinct separate Immersion school would eliminate some problems."

Curriculum Development Assistance: "Provide assistance for adapting curriculum to Immersion."

"The board must provide: more translation time, curricula written in French, remedial services for slow learners, more secretarial time for teacher-librarians."

"Develop a comprehensive programme for K-10 in advance instead of stumbling from year to year."

"Provide a full support system, i.e. remedial."

"Provide programmes for remedial work."

Resources: "Provide an Immersion consultant for the primary and junior grades."

"Provide support personnel who have the desire to improve their facility in French."

"Release more monies for Immersion teacher specialty training."

"Provide more money for French English exchanges and give more support to Immersion teachers."

"I think they are already doing it by opening another kindergarten in an east Hamilton school."

b) Immersion

Resources--Human and Physical: "Understand the programme and provide resource persons, i.e. consultants."

"Provide bilingual administration and resource people."

"Create a primary consultant for Immersion."

"Provide: more resource materials and personnel, transportation to the Immersion schools, more conferences for Immersion teachers."

"The programme needs: more resource people, more in-service not just meetings, subsidized conferences."

"We must have more resource people, i.e. remedial."

"Provide more aware resource people."

"Hire consultants who get materials needed."

"Have experts in the field available to the teachers."

Curriculum Development: "The board must provide more resource people, writing teams for curriculum and more attendance at conferences."

"Provide curricula in French."

"Provide a consultant, better programme guides and French curricula."

Expand Immersion Programmes: "Open more Immersion schools and provide busing so that the programme becomes more available to more students. Improve and rewrite curricula. Speak French only in the Immersion classrooms."

Back Teachers: "The board must back its teachers and put parents in their place."

5. What could teachers do to improve Immersion programmes?

a) Regular

Public Relations: "Work to improve their public image and lessen parent anxiety."

"Work together to present an organized position to officials for needed assistance."

"Assume a dignified, mature, open-minded attitude in schools where parallel English programmes exist. Be realistic in one's expectations."

"Regular newsletters to parents would improve co-operation and communication."

Curriculum Development Concerns: "Improve provisions for BRIGHT children."

"Tell the board to shove pressure put on for curriculum development."

"Teach kids at their level not at a level of testing. The testing by the board is felt by the teachers as a measure of their worth. Too much pressure is bad for morale."

Professional Development: "Search out and take advantage of professional development opportunities."

Positive Attitude: "Relax and confidently plough along."

"The Immersion teachers do an excellent job!"

b) Immersion

Public Relations: "Learn more about Immersion and be positive in discussions."

"Provide more 'hands-on' experiences of Immersion to English classes with excursions, trips to Immersion classes, théâtre, etc."

"Promote better P.R. with Regular-stream teachers."

"Promote a positive, cohesive atmosphere among the staff members. Maintain educational qualifications."

Curriculum Development Concerns: "Speak in French only from the end of Kindergarten and uniquely in grade one."

"Have more co-operative planning sessions."

"More sharing, less bitching."

"There must be closer monitoring of expectations (i.e. grammar) at all levels."

"Immersion teachers must participate in all decision making."

"Be francophone."

Already Exploited: "Teachers have been exploited in this board. They have been responsible for many of the things resource people usually do."

"They do plenty as it is and are unrewarded and unrecognized."

6. Do you have any other suggestions about Immersion programmes?

a) Regular

Development: "These programmes need but lack a clear-cut direction."

"The programmes are excellent and should be expanded."

b) Immersion

Resources: "Hire bilingual resource people."

"Have administrators who are 'up' on the programme."

Expand Immersion Programmes: "Expand the programmes irregardless of demand. All children need to be enriched and given the chance to learn another language."

"Make the programme more accessible to more students and encourage exchange programmes."

Planning: "Time should be allotted for Immersion teachers and administrators to meet and discuss the programme during work hours. This is done for curriculum in other areas."

"Plan ahead."

Public Relations: "Familiarize other teachers in the system with the programme."

"Provide more exchange opportunities with francophone students in the lower grades."