

SCHOOLING IN DIVERSITY

**SCHOOLING IN DIVERSITY: THE EDUCATION OF
NEW IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL**

By

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ABSTRACT

A participant observation study was conducted at a public elementary school (using the pseudonym Blossom School) situated within a medium sized industrial city in southern Ontario. Along with this, documentary research was also done using census material and other government statistics. Through examination of the development of immigration policies the pattern of changes became evident. Canada has shifted from a relatively homogeneous nation founded on the two cultures of English and French, to one that has great cultural diversity. This has had an impact on the education system where many schools have been challenged to develop a programme that meets the needs of new immigrant students and the needs of the Canadian-born. Since the early 1980s the neighbourhood in which Blossom School is situated has been a favoured destination for many new immigrants, especially those from South East Asia. The most significant adjustment to accommodate the change has been the introduction of the English as a Second Language programme. This could have been a source of division between the immigrant and non-immigrant students. However, the language classes are closely linked to work in the regular classroom. This has required close cooperative planning between language and classroom teachers which has facilitated the emergence of a sense of community within the school. The effect of the language programme then has extended beyond

language acquisition and has become a strong influence on the general direction of the school.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

1.	INTRODUCTION	1
2.	METHODOLOGY.....	5
3.	QUALITATIVE METHODS	14
4.	IMMIGRATION	26
5.	MULTICULTURALISM	46
6.	MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION.....	54
7.	THE CONTEXT	61
8.	ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE	79
9.	TEACHING IN DIVERSITY	106
10.	PERSPECTIVES OF THE CHILDREN	131
11.	SUMMARY	153

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Official Language Ability of Immigrants, Ontario and Hamilton, 1989.	27
2. Comparison of Additional Education Funding, per Pupil, for the Elementary Level, Selected School Boards in Ontario, 1991.	30
3. Canadian Immigration Statistics, 1956-1985.	40
4. Shift in the Top Three Source Countries, in Ontario, 1991.	44
5. Population Under Age 15 Years, 1985.	45
6. Countries of Origin of New Immigrants Arriving in Hamilton-Wentworth, January to August, 1989.	65
7. Dwelling by Period of Construction, School Area and Hamilton, 1986.	65
8. Dwelling Characteristics, for the School Area and Hamilton, 1986.	66
9. Family Structure, for School Area and Hamilton, 1986.	67
10. Population 15 Years and Over, by Highest Level of Schooling, School Area and Hamilton, 1986.	68
11. Average Income by Work Activity, by Gender, for School Area and Hamilton, 1985.	69
12. Number of Children Coming into School, from Various Regions Around the World, October 1, 1989 to September 30, 1990.	74
13. English as a Second Language Class List, by Language First Spoken, 1991.	75

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Period of Immigration, by Selected Ethnic Groups, for Canada.	32
2. Changes in Canadian Immigration Policy Since World War Two.	37
3. Composition of Population, Immigrants and Non-Immigrants, Ontario and Canada, 1986.	43
4. Number of Mother-Tongue Languages in the Classroom.	77

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Education in English Canada has, in the past, had a commitment to monoculturalism. New immigrants were expected to assimilate into the dominant Anglo culture. This meant relinquishing ethnic identities and cultures and replacing them with new values. This process often took concrete form through the adoption of Anglicised names and the replacement of first languages with English. The education system assisted in this task through presenting the values of the Anglo community as the norm and educating new immigrant students using this perspective.

Demographic changes, due mainly to immigration, have created the need to reconsider the efficacy of casting Canada as a nation based on the two dominant cultures of English and French. Since the 1960s changes in immigration policy provided the opportunity for many people who previously were denied entry to immigrate to Canada. The removal of racial barriers and opening up immigration to non-traditional source countries has resulted in changes in the make up of the immigrant population. Diversity has now become viewed by many as a fundamental characteristic of Canada. This has become recognised at the political level through the adoption of a policy of multiculturalism. In education this takes the form of multicultural education.

The task of this thesis is twofold. The first part describes the development of

policies on immigration and multiculturalism in relation to their impact on education. The second part provides an analysis of one elementary school in Ontario which has a large proportion of new immigrant students forming its student body. The following paragraphs provide brief outlines of each chapter.

Chapter Two describes the research methods used in this study. These consisted of participant observation and documentary research using census material and other government statistics. The particular problems inherent in doing research in educational settings are discussed. Chapter Three provides a review of qualitative methods, including research in education. Attention is given to the central role of the researcher in conducting participant observation. The special challenges facing those doing research involving children are also examined.

Chapter Four provides an analysis of Canadian immigration policy and its relation to education. The interrelationship between ideology, economic needs, and particular events, such as the Depression, and the declining birth rate, will be discussed in terms of the development of immigration policy. This analysis shows how immigration has changed over time from a restrictive policy allowing mainly white immigration from western Europe, to one that has increased ethnic and racial diversity among the immigrant population. Southern Ontario is shown to be the favourite destination of immigrants resulting in many schools in the larger metropolitan areas having high levels of new immigrant student enrolment.

Chapter Five discusses the development of a policy on multiculturalism. Events in the 1960s brought about discussion at the political level regarding the

nature of Canada. Questions were raised about the historical perception of Canada being based on French and English culture. Multiculturalism came to be viewed by many as a way to manage the increasing diversity within the Canadian population. The problem of developing a clear definition of multiculturalism is discussed. The deficiencies of this concept relating to visible minority groups are also addressed. In Chapter Six the adoption of the concept of multicultural education in Ontario is examined. This includes a discussion of the various approaches that have been developed and the problems associated with these.

In Chapter Seven the context of the neighbourhood, school, and classroom is presented. Census material is used to describe the characteristics of the neighbourhood including housing, family structure, level of education, and income. The school and classroom are described, including the diversity of the student population and the number of students enrolled in English as a Second Language classes.

Chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten describe the results of the research. The development of the English as a Second Language programme is discussed in Chapter Eight. The analysis includes teacher training related to the education of new immigrant students. Teachers views of English as a Second Language programmes are analyzed from a variety of perspectives. Work satisfaction, and the relationships between the language teachers and regular classroom teachers are explored. Reception of new students and first language maintenance are also discussed.

The experiences of typical classroom teachers working in a multicultural

setting are examined in Chapter Nine. Issues that are addressed include teacher characteristics and qualities, job satisfaction, parental involvement in the school, and difficulties with the curriculum.

Chapter Ten deals with the experiences of the children. The integration of new students into the classroom and the measures taken to alleviate their anxiety are described. The children express their views about school and their teachers. The extra responsibilities of new immigrant students both at home and in the school are discussed. Friendships between students and their interactions during recess are also examined.

The overall impression of Blossom School is one of a supportive and caring community. The children are mostly happy with few discipline problems. A close and positive relationship was found to exist between teachers and students. Teachers reported high levels of satisfaction with their work. Much of this was attributed to fewer discipline problems, the feeling they were making a positive difference to the lives of the children, and that they enjoyed a high level of autonomy in the classroom.

CHAPTER TWO METHODOLOGY

This study was carried out in an elementary school, which has been given the pseudonym of Blossom School. This is situated within a medium sized industrial city in southern Ontario. A majority of students at the school are members of new immigrant families. The school has a diverse ethnic and racial student population. This provided an appropriate research setting and allowed the researcher to examine the experiences of students and teachers within a multicultural context.

The research method I used was participant observation. I adopted the role of classroom helper, a usual volunteer position found within schools. The role of classroom volunteer is quite flexible and allows participation in many activities which enhance the opportunities for contact with the children. As this is a common role in the classroom I was able to become part of the context more easily. This helped to diminish the distortions caused by having a 'stranger' in the setting.

In any research endeavour the problem of access to the research site is one of the first obstacles to overcome. The type of approach needed varies with the type of setting. School settings are defined as closed, meaning that access is not available to everyone. Formal procedures requesting permission are necessary. Approval from the Board of Education was sought and enquiries were also made at the school regarding the possibility of conducting research there. These enquiries were made in

June, 1990, in the anticipation of beginning the research in the September. The application had more chance of receiving attention during the summer meetings than it would have had in September when the Board is faced with the start of a new school year.

A research proposal was prepared. I provided as much detail as possible along with evidence of credibility as a researcher. A letter from the University provided assurances of good academic standing and an awareness of the importance of ethics in conducting research involving people. On a personal level I provided pertinent information about myself having school-age children, and my involvement with school activities on various levels. This provided assurances of familiarity with young children and with the local school system.

One of the concerns of the Board about research in the schools is the disruptions in classroom programming. A strength of participant observation studies is that an emphasis is placed on naturalism. Daily routines are the focus. Therefore, little or no disruption should occur. This is one argument for using this research method in classrooms.

When conducting research within an institution some limitations are placed on the researcher. In this case the restrictions were few and concerned the protection of confidentiality. Individuals and schools were not to be identified. The Board also requested the right to approve any questionnaires or other research instruments that might be used. In this case questionnaires were not used. However, researchers intending to use these may feel this places undue restrictions on their abilities to

conduct complete investigations. They may feel under pressure to design the questions in a way that will be approved by the Board. This shows how research in a closed setting can create dilemmas for researchers. They may have to make accommodations in order to ensure access, while at the same time ensuring that these accommodations do not jeopardize the validity of the study.

This study was carried out between September, 1990 and June of 1991. I decided to spend time in one classroom because this would allow observation and interaction with the same group of children on a regular basis through the school year. The value in doing this is that patterns of interaction and behaviour between the students and teacher could be observed over time.

At a meeting with the principal, vice-principal and English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) Co-ordinator, prior to the start of my research at the school, it was decided that I could be placed in the Grade 3 and 4 split class. I had requested to work with children who were in the eight to nine years age group because it is during this period that children have begun to develop an independent identity. This is accomplished by creating strong peer group ties that help the child gain a "separate sense of self" from that of the parents (Stone, Church, 1968:370-71). By approximately eight years old children are also beginning to make social inferences. This means that they have developed the skills to make fairly accurate assumptions about the feelings, thoughts and intentions of others (Schantz, 1975:266). They are becoming aware of their ability to influence and construct events themselves. This makes possible the 'Kid Society' described by Glassner (1976) in his study of

playground behaviour in a St. Louis public elementary school.

I visited the school on a weekly basis spending most of this time in the classroom. Initially I experienced some discomfort at feeling 'out of place' and not sure of what I should be doing. However, I was able to overcome this by sitting and observing on the first few visits until I became familiarized with the 'flow' of events in the classroom. I became aware of the apprehension the teacher must have also felt on having a researcher observing her class when she introduced me to the other teachers in the staff lounge.

She introduces me to the other teachers telling them I am going to be coming in every week to observe the children in her class. There are then jokes made about how she [the teacher] will also be observed and she makes a gesture of biting her nails ... although this is all in fun I am made aware of the anxiety that the teacher must feel about having someone in their classroom, especially someone with a vague role such as mine.

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After the first few visits I began to participate in the classroom by working with the children on projects they were involved in and reading stories to the class as well as listening to individual children read. This involvement allowed me to build rapport with the children and helped them to come to accept my presence as a usual part of classroom activities. I also went with the children to music and gymnastic classes and spent recess outside with them. After each session in the school I made notes of what had been observed and these were typed up fully in the evening.

I decided to interview the children individually. This was done in late

February, a relatively quiet period in the school year. The children would have come to know me by this time. For these interviews I arranged with the classroom teacher to have the use of a separate room as this would provide a quiet environment with few distractions. It also gave some separation from the school setting which could influence the responses to questions if the children thought teachers or other students could hear what they were saying. I tape-recorded these interviews as I wanted to avoid the distraction of taking notes while the children talked. This helped as the children thought it was "neat" to be tape-recorded. At the end of each interview I was able to play back part of the tape so that they could hear their voices.

Along with classroom and playground observations I also arranged to interview some of the teachers. I selected several teachers to ensure some representation of special subjects, such as music and French, as well as the administration and various grade levels. Since English-as-a-Second Language was an important programme within the school, I talked with all of the four teachers involved. In the initial stages of the research the classroom teacher acted as gatekeeper by arranging the first few interviews with teachers. This supports the findings of Burgess (1991). He observed that in an institutional setting the researcher has to negotiate with a number of gatekeepers on different levels within the organization other than those granting access to the setting (Burgess, 1991:48).

Interviews with the teachers were informal. I took notes down as I talked with them and these were typed up fully at another time. In arranging these interviews I found it useful to know something about the patterns of the school year. For

example, awareness of when the busy periods occur is helpful as a request for an interview when the teacher is preparing report cards is unlikely to receive a positive response. Most of the interviews took place at the school, either in a classroom or the staff lounge. The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and one and one half hours. Other people interviewed included the secretary, the school nurse and two people from the Board of Education.

An important consideration surrounding research involving the public relates to ethical issues. These include consent and assurances that the research will not harm the subjects. This is particularly pertinent in research involving children. Due to their age, they are not legally responsible. Generally consent is obtained from the parents or legal guardians. However, in the case of the school setting this is often granted by the Board of Education and the school administration. Justification for this comes from the concept of *in loco parentis*, where the teachers take over parental authority and responsibility while the children are in their care (Dickinson, 1991:217). Initially, I was concerned that this practice undermines the authority of the parents. However, as the research progressed and I came to understand the context better, especially the difficulties in communication due to language barriers between many of the parents and the teachers. The qualms that I had experienced gradually faded.

Special care is required when researching within a community representing a variety of ethnic and racial groups. An insensitive approach could create rifts between groups if, for example, evaluative comparisons are made. Troyna and Carrington (1989) provide an illustration of the reinforcement of ethnic and racial

stereotyping when groups of elementary and secondary school teachers were surveyed in England. The purpose of the study was to measure differences in teachers' opinions concerning the response to education by students and parents of various ethnic groups (Troyna, Carrington, 1989:13-14). The questions posed included such status statements as, 'Asian pupils are usually better behaved than English pupils' and 'West Indian pupils resent being reprimanded more than English pupils do'. The teachers had to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with each statement using a Likert-type scale. The respondents were being encouraged by the questionnaire design to use racial and ethnic stereotypes as their frames of reference. The authors suggest that because the questions required comparisons between different groups legitimacy is granted to differentiation based on ethnicity and race. A further ethical concern is that this type of research provides an avenue through which racial and ethnic stereotypes can find expression within academic literature.

There are weaknesses and strengths to be considered when selecting the methodology to be used in a research project. One advantage in using participant observation is that problems linked with the design of questionnaires or other research instruments are avoided. Because the researcher takes part in the daily routines of the setting the issues that emerge will more likely reflect the reality of the community. The likelihood of distortion by imposing a framework that has been developed independently from the context is eliminated. In the study of communities of ethnic and racial diversity participant observation provides a way to observe interactions free from preformed assumptions.

One weakness in this research is that due to other responsibilities as a graduate student it was not possible to become completely immersed in the setting on a daily basis throughout the school year. This means that much was missed between visits which could have been valuable in analyzing events that were observed. A compromise was attempted by visiting the school daily and taking down extensive notes over a two week period.

Another problem, especially in institutional settings where formal permission is required, is that research intentions have to be provided for review. However, the exact direction of the research is not usually known until considerable time has been spent in the setting. This happened in this case, where I found my original topic of ethnic identity in immigrant children was not feasible in the school setting. In retrospect it seems a good idea to spend some time in a prospective setting prior to preparing a statement of research intentions.

The third weakness in the research is that it was not possible to include the views of parents. As a result an important component of the schooling triangle of parents, students and teachers is missing. This was due to the limited time that was available and to the problems associated with language. Many parents are unable to speak English, and it would have been necessary to use translators. This research has benefitted from the use of participant observation. For example, the participant observer role of classroom helper is one normally found within the setting. This minimizes the level of disruption created by the presence of the researcher so that behaviour within the classroom follows its usual patterns. A longitudinal view is

provided because the research extends through the school year. This avoids the problem associated with studies that are confined to a limited time frame. It becomes difficult to know if observed events are representative or anomalies. By having regular contact with the school over a long period of time this problem is avoided which strengthens the validity of the findings. The approach has also been holistic. Consideration has been given to the broader context. With the use of census material and other statistics the various reasons for the diversity have been explained. This increases our awareness of how world events, which may seem remote, can bring about changes in some of our neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER THREE QUALITATIVE METHODS

Qualitative methods often involve an inductive research strategy whereby data are collected within the natural setting. The researcher is not expected to have preconceived propositions or hypotheses to be tested, or a specific theoretical framework by which to organise the investigation. Hypotheses are generated from observations obtained within the research setting and they are continually being reformulated as new information is gathered. In this way the research process is continuous and generates itself. The goal is to unveil the social reality within the setting. The use of particular research paradigms is not justified as these could distort the reflection of that reality.

Critics of qualitative methods lament the apparent lack of rigour in field research when compared to other methods with more scientific orientations. One contention is that the validity of the results is questionable because the findings of studies vary, even when the research has been conducted within the same types of settings. However, Becker (1970) points out that a number of erroneous assumptions are made in relation to these criticisms. One is that although certain organizations or communities may be categorized as being the same type, the internal organizations of these groups may vary. Therefore, researchers could be expected to produce different results.

Another point is that within an organization there are several units making up the overall structure. Findings could be different because researchers focused on units with different characteristics (Becker, 1970:40,41). For example, Whyte and Gans studied rather similar working class Italian communities in the same city. Yet their descriptions of these communities were quite different. Whyte focused on single young men and Gans focused on families. As Becker points out, the test for validity in these studies is not that results should be similar but that they should be compatible. The findings should not be contradictory, but should dovetail in such a way that findings in one study help to explain the findings in another.

A further criticism of qualitative methods is that the research endeavour does not follow progressive, incremental steps. The collection, coding, and analysis of data are often discrete procedures that are completed in a particular order. However, fieldwork represents an interactive process where there "tends to be a continual blurring and intertwining of all three operations" (Glaser, Strauss, 1970:291). The direction of the research is determined by the occurrences within the setting, not by *a priori* selection of variables to be examined, or by the hypotheses to be tested.

Placed at the centre of these events is the researcher. In the progress of the research, she/he is forced to move from the passive role of observer and become an active participant in seeking out pertinent data and in developing and testing hypotheses (Glaser, Strauss, 1970:289). This raises the issue of researcher bias. The absence of a formal, or structured, research strategy appears to enhance the possibility that the researcher may influence the responses of the subjects. However,

Becker (1970) points out researchers using structured methodologies are in fact more prone to influencing subject responses. This is because in a structured situation the researcher occupies an important position within the research context. Subjects seek cues from the researcher regarding appropriate responses. In the natural setting the social forces within that context are more influential. Responses are more natural (Becker, 1970:46,48). Within the natural context researchers have limited influence because their status is generally marginal to the existing organization and networks. In an experimental or survey situation the context is contrived and of fleeting duration. The researcher occupies a dominant position.

It is the context in the natural setting that enhances the validity of the research findings. The length of time spent in the research setting which allows the collection of much rich and detailed data and also reduces the possibility of manipulation by the subjects or by the researcher (Becker, 1970:52). However, Trow (1970) points out that in some situations the social context itself can inhibit the behaviour of the subjects. For example, in instances where loyalty to the group is proscribed then dissenting opinions within the group tend to be held in check by the social context. This blocks off potentially important avenues of research. In these cases other methods, such as interviews conducted away from the setting, may produce better results (Trow, 1970:145-6).

Fieldwork methodology differs from other methods in that the researcher plays the pivotal role of 'human instrument' through which all stages of the research process are conducted. Therefore, the personality traits of the researcher can affect

the research endeavour. This can be a source of anxiety. Subjective senses, such as thoughts and feelings, are used to guide the development of the research. In other methodologies the instruments are designed, calibrated, and tested to ensure accuracy. The 'human instrument', although a responsive and discriminating research tool, can focus on data within the field, especially in the initial stages, and produce biased findings (Fetterman, 1991:92).

Schwartz and Schwartz (1969) view anxiety itself as a distorting factor. They believe that this anxiety can stem from either the individual researcher or from events within the social setting, some of these events are likely to arouse anxiety in most people (Schwartz, Schwartz, 1969:100-1). Whatever the source of the anxiety, it affects the capability of the researcher to observe and interpret events objectively. For example, a researcher in the initial stages of a study may be so anxious about becoming accepted into the setting that attention becomes directed towards the self rather than the setting. This diminishes the opportunities for gathering data. Also, anxiety may create distortions in the observational abilities of the researcher where some events may be ignored, while others are given more prominence than is warranted. Therefore, anxiety in the researcher can affect the quality and validity of research findings. This matter cannot be taken lightly because the nature of participant observation tends toward anxiety production due to the central role played by the researcher within the research process.

One of the most stressful periods occurs during the initial stages when the researcher is attempting to become immersed in the group being investigated.

Rosalie Wax (1971) points out that acceptance does not occur because of a unilateral decision made by the researcher, but is dependent on the willingness of the existing group to accept the researcher into their community (Wax, 1971:42-3). Therefore, this kind of research involves a joint approach where many accommodations and adjustments have to be made by both sides. However, at the beginning of a project researchers often feel pressured to merge into the group immediately in order to begin their data collection. In their attempts to achieve this they may take on the mannerisms of those under study. This can have the effects that are the opposite of those desired in that members of the community may find it necessary to make clear the demarcation between themselves and the researcher. William Foot Whyte reported such an incident in Street Corner Society (1970). He attempted to meld with the Nortons by swearing along with them. However, they immediately let him know this was appropriate behaviour for them, but not for him. They effectively established the boundaries between themselves and the researcher (Whyte, 1970:304).

For the field researcher the issue of distance and nearness in relation to data presents a problem. If researchers maintain too much distance between themselves and events in the community they may appear aloof and uninterested, thus diminishing opportunities to learn more about the way the group works. However, if the researcher attempts to become immersed within the group as quickly and deeply as possible this could bias his/her work. Subjects may resist their efforts, and in doing this may contaminate the data. And peers may dismiss the researcher's findings as invalid because he/she has 'gone native'.

The researcher is torn between the need to observe and analyze data objectively and the need to gain insights into the perspectives of the community. This involves subjective approaches to members of the research community, a reaching out to them as human beings. In order to analyze collected data in a way that accurately reflects perspectives within the community it is necessary to develop an understanding of the ways in which individuals come to act and to construct meaning within their social context. Sherryl Kleinman (1980) considers empathy to be the appropriate channel through which to develop understanding of others. This enables the researcher to conduct data collection and analysis in a way that is sensitive to the community culture (Kleinman, 1980:177-8).

Attempting to understand the perspective of the group is central to the majority of researchers involved in fieldwork. However, in order to derive sociological significance from the field data objectivity is also required. Schwartz and Schwartz (1969) discuss the two roles that can be adopted. One is a passive role, in which the researcher maintains emotional detachment in order to observe events within the setting objectively, with minimum affective involvement. This appears to reduce problems of validity because the researcher maintains distance from events within the setting. However, the lack of involvement could result in the researcher being unaware of subtle or hidden events known only to those directly involved. Relevant data that could provide better understanding of the focal issues could be missed. The other role is an active one. The researcher becomes involved as much as possible in events within the setting and therefore becomes able to "experience the

life of the observed" (Schwartz, Schwartz, 1969:96-7).

Researchers usually attempt to maintain a balance between these two approaches. Fetterman (1991) calls them the emic and the etic perspectives. An emic perspective being where the researcher strives to become close to the data, and to develop insights into how subjects act in and understand their world. He/she balances this with an etic perspective where events are observed and analyzed objectively, through the researcher stepping back and distancing the 'self' from events within the community (Fetterman, 1991:90-1). Self-awareness constitutes an important aspect in the practice of fieldwork. The researcher, as 'human instrument', has to mediate the roles of 'member' and 'stranger' in order to collect and analyze social data that accurately reflect the setting, and at the same time elevate findings from mundane happenings in daily life to events that have sociological relevance. Everett Hughes (1960) observed that the "unending dialectic" between these roles forms an essential component in the practice of fieldwork. This shows the central importance of the researcher as a sensitive and thinking human being.

Research in Education.

School and classroom studies in North America have generally adopted a social psychological approach, with an emphasis on interactional analysis. Research has involved such matters as the coding of classroom talk, examination of teacher style, peer group relations, and student teacher training (Delamont, 1983:16-23; Rist, 1975:88). These approaches have all required direct observation of events within the school and classroom. Fieldwork, or participant observation, within school settings

has now become a popular methodology. Part of this is due to recognition of the shortcomings of the use of abstract measures when examining such areas as attitudes, grades, or I.Q.. These provide valuable information on certain aspects of schooling, but say little about the dynamic processes from which these specific results emerged (Rist, 1975:89).

Recognition has been given to the need for the researcher to become part of the milieu of the classroom in order to gain a sense of the processes involved in interactions between teachers and pupils. This can present possible problems related to researcher bias as researchers may have well developed opinions regarding schooling resulting from years of personal involvement as a student and perhaps as a parent (Lutz, 1986:110-11).

There are those who criticise this type of research in education and find the approach too subjective. This disapproval is reflected in the following quotation from a United States Department of Education official. "Anything anyone wants to do that has no clear problem, no methodology, and no theory is likely to be called 'ethnography' round here" (Yates, 1986:62). Those who practice field work express concern that some studies of classroom processes are too narrowly focused. This creates the possibility that some important factors could be excluded. A more holistic approach allows one to examine the broader context of the school, incorporating school boards and school districts (Lutz, 1986:110).

An advantage in the use of field methods in educational research is that it allows the researcher a protracted period within the setting. He/she can make a

detailed examination, and perhaps develop a longitudinal perspective. Many studies of education adopt a 'single time frame approach'. This tends to provide a static view of schooling comparable to the "description of a still-life painting" rather than a multi-dimensional ongoing process (Rist, 1975:91).

Research within school settings involves the inclusion of children as research subjects. The use of children poses specific problems to the researcher. These stem mainly from the tendency to see children as immature and incompetent. Support for this view of children comes mainly from developmental theory which places an emphasis on what children do not possess. For example, in stressing limited language ability and immaturity, children are defined in terms of negative categories (Mandell, 1988:434; Waksler, 1986:73). The commonsense view takes for granted that children know less than adults and that because of this their voices are less important and need not be taken seriously. Waksler (1986) suggests this view of children is judgemental. A better approach would be to question what ways children are 'different' from adults. This would open up possibilities for research within the child's world (Waksler, 1986:74).

In the practice of field work the relationship between the researcher and the subject is ideally one of equality. However, in the case of children there are obvious power differentials. The adult holds the position of authority. Fine and Glassner (1979) present four possible roles that adults can take when researching children. These are the roles of leader, friend, supervisor or observer. These roles are defined using the two dimensions of degree of direct authority, and amount of positive

contact occurring between the children and the researcher. The authors advocate the role of 'friend', although they admit this is an ideal type as the authority dimension cannot be entirely eradicated (Fine, Glassner, 1979:157).

Waksler (1986) suggests that children can be studied if researchers are willing to view the categories of adult and child as social roles rather than naturally given. Researchers can then postpone their adult view of children as immature while in the research setting. This allows them to approach children as subjects with their own, valid, sociological insights (Waksler, 1986:78-9). Mandell (1988) calls this the 'least adult' role where the researcher is able to conduct research with children using a strategy of complete involvement as a participant observer. Only physical size separates the roles of adult and child. This allows the researcher to become closer to their social world (Mandell, 1988:435). However, adopting a 'least adult' role is a difficult endeavour as children tend to cast adults into authoritative roles due to their own experiences. Adults generally occupy dominant positions within adult-child interactions.

Other problems associated with doing research with children as subjects relates to their status as minors. This means that consent to participate in research must be granted by others, such as parents, teachers. This excludes children from the process (Siegert, 1986:361). Some children may resent their involvement in an activity to which they did not give consent. This could compromise the validity of the research findings.

There is an assumption that because permission has been obtained this

automatically means gatekeeping problems have been overcome. However, children can resist researchers' approaches and acceptance usually has to be negotiated. This generally involves defining who the researcher is and what role she/he will play within the community of children (Mandell, 1988:441). The compliance of children cannot be taken for granted. Although they have little formal control over events, children can exert considerable informal control within their own spheres.

Stone and Church (1968) observe that children create their own separate subcultures, complete with traditions, values, rules and so on. These worlds act as "proving grounds" for children, six to twelve years old. Here they can learn to participate in society free from adult involvement (Stone, Church, 1968:371). The penetration of adults into this community is difficult because children have developed strategies for keeping those particular attitudes and thoughts that are important within children's culture to themselves. This is a world they are unwilling to share with adults. This poses problems for the researcher (Fine, Glasser, 1979:170).

Future Developments.

Debates within qualitative methodology have generally involved the defence of this form of research against the dominance of survey research of various kinds. However, the merits of combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been recognized. The two approaches have complementary strengths (Fetterman, 1982; Filstead, 1979; Light, Pillemer, 1982). For example, qualitative research mostly deals with a single classroom raising questions about how typical it is, whereas with quantitative methods it is possible to study many. With the use of a well structured

research design quantitative methods are able to establish what forms a typical classroom. Quantitative approaches, however, tend to assume a stable social reality where data collections occur at specific periods which are usually detached from the context in which they arose. Qualitative methods examine the context, social processes, and level of meaning to the actors involved (Schofield, Anderson, 1987:260-1). Use of both research methodologies will lead to more reliable findings.

CHAPTER FOUR IMMIGRATION

In recent years the numbers of immigrant students entering the Canadian school system who are members of visible minority groups and have first languages that are neither English or French have risen. The majority of new immigrants tend to settle in larger urban areas resulting in concentrations of immigrant students within some school districts. There have been substantial changes in the composition of the student populations in certain schools, especially those located in the industrialized areas of southern Ontario.

Increases in the number of immigrant students lacking ability in either official language can be seen by the fact that in 1981 forty nine percent of immigrants aged fourteen and under had no ability in the two official languages. By 1986 this had increased to sixty eight percent. Many of these children were under the age of four, so there will be increased demands for kindergartens and the early grades to accommodate students whose first language is neither French or English. Table 1 below shows the language abilities of immigrants entering Ontario and Hamilton in 1989.

Table 1: Official Language Ability of Immigrants, Ontario and Hamilton, 1989

	Ontario		Hamilton	
	N	%	N	%
English	49,328	47.0	1,042	29.0
French	979	0.9	21	0.6
English & French	2,263	2.2	55	1.5
No Ability	52,216	49.8	2,487	69.0

Source: Immigration Statistics, Table 1M5 and Table 1M24. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1989.

It can be seen that a higher proportion of immigrants settling in Hamilton had no ability in either official language than was the case for Ontario as a whole. This reflects the tendency of new immigrants to settle in urban industrialized areas.

Differences are found between classes of immigrants. Convention Refugees and Designated Classes are less likely than the Independent Class to know one of the official languages. For example, 83 percent of refugees coming to Ontario in 1988 were unable to speak English or French compared to 32 percent of those coming as Independents (Ontario: Ministry of Citizenship, 1991:8). This is partly due to the points system. Those with ability in either official language are given points for language skills. Independents will tend to be young adults with English or French. There are two factors that deserve consideration. There has been an increase in the number of refugees intending to settle in Ontario. For example, in 1985 there were 49 percent which increased to almost fifty eight percent in 1989. The second factor is that this class of immigrants, especially those from Central and South America, tend to have disproportionately higher numbers of children compared to the

immigrant population as a whole. For example, in 1981 Refugee Class immigrants represented 11.6 percent of all immigrants to Canada but 15.3 percent of the children (Hersak, Francotini, 1987:24).

There is a tendency for new immigrants to concentrate in low-cost residential areas. This means that there are especially high proportions of immigrant students in some schools. One problem for immigrant families is that qualifications gained in their home countries are often not recognized in Canada. Inability to speak one of the official languages also narrows employment opportunities. Many new immigrants take employment with lower pay in relation to their qualifications and work experience (Richmond, 1989:6).

Residential concentration has been explained in a variety of ways. Some feel it is due to newcomers wanting to live near relatives and friends. Others attribute it mainly to cultural differences, while others view it as being caused by socio-economic factors. An influential factor is the length of residence of particular ethnic groups. For example, there is a higher degree of residential segregation among recent arrivals than among groups such as the British, Germans and other Europeans. However, recent Asian immigrants do not reflect this tendency. As a group they have residential patterns similar to the British. This is probably due to their higher educational and occupational status on arrival in Canada (Burnley, Kalbach, 1985:20).

Schools that serve communities with a high proportion of new immigrants also tend to have many students from low income Canadian-born families. Many of these families are headed by single parents. Concentration of these two groups in certain areas is probably a result of the clustering of low cost and subsidized housing. This places greater demands on schools in these areas compared with those in more affluent neighbourhoods. The disparities between schools have been recognized and extra funding has been made available to enable programs such as language instruction and compensatory education.

Funding for education is a provincial responsibility shared by the local school boards. In 1991 the standard level of funding per pupil for all school boards from the provincial government was \$3,700 for elementary schools and \$4,710 for secondary schools. A Compensatory Education Grant of \$84.9 million was made available to school boards in areas where poverty is prevalent. An Additional Language Instruction Grant of \$96.1 million was available for school boards needing to provide language instruction to students whose first language is neither English or French. The size of the grant is based on the number of teachers employed in English/French-as-a-Second Language programmes. The following Table provides a comparison between selected school boards in Ontario and additional funding.

Table 2: Comparison of Additional Education Funding, per Pupil, for the Elementary Level, Selected School Boards in Ontario, 1991.

School Board	Language Instruction	Compensatory Education	Small Schools	Goods & Services
URBAN/IND.	\$	\$	\$	\$
Hamilton	28.21	140.00	13.48	---
London	34.24	69.00	---	---
Metro Toronto	120.02	140.00	---	---
RURAL				
Brant	---	---	---	---
Essex	---	---	8.67	---
Peterboro	---	---	4.15	---
NORTHERN				
Sudbury	---	105.00	36.57	189.95
Timmins	---	105.00	27.90	232.16
Kenora	---	175.00	49.01	348.81

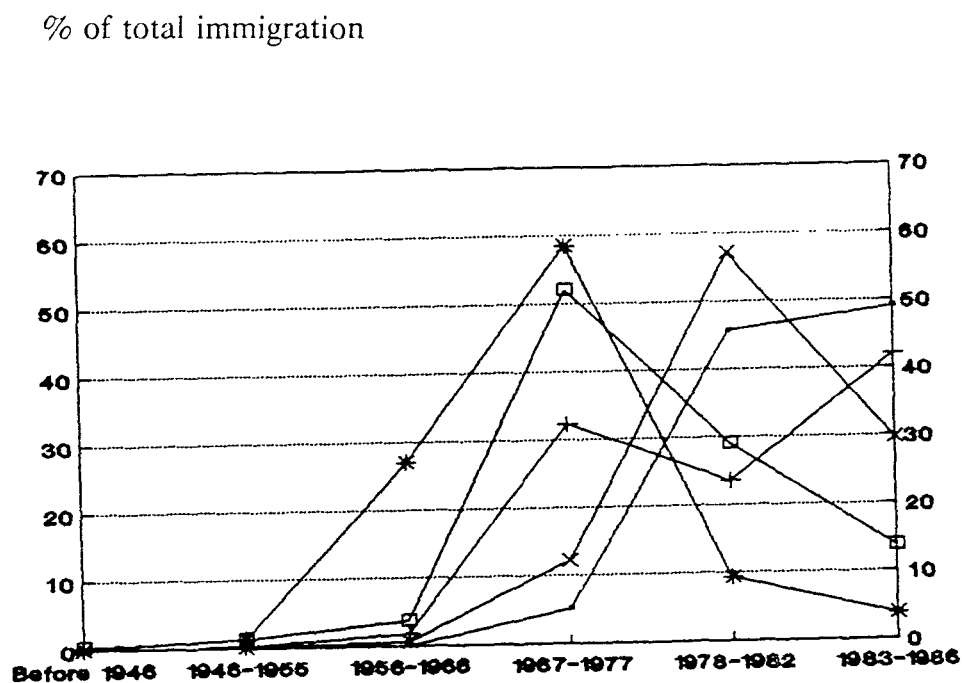
Source: Education Funding in Ontario. The General Legislative Grants Regulations. Ontario Ministry of Education, 1991.

Table 2 shows that school boards have different funding needs reflecting the particular regions of the province in which they are situated. The funding of language instruction reflects the concentration of new immigrant populations within urban areas of southern Ontario. Rural schools, with the exception of small northern schools, have few additional funding needs. Northern regions have the greatest need, except in the area of language instruction. Costs are high for consumers and school boards alike as goods must be transported there. These regional differences make it difficult to develop an overall policy for education.

Mary Ashworth (1988) has pointed out the need for planning ahead regarding

the education of immigrant children. She has also noted the difficulties. Many factors are not within the control of Ministries of Education or school boards. Matters of immigration are within the federal jurisdiction, whereas education is a provincial responsibility making coordination of these two elements difficult. Planning for the future needs of immigrant students is made ever more difficult because their countries of origin cannot be accurately predicted. Figure One, below, shows the patterns of immigration of ethnic groups according to period of immigration.

FIGURE 1: PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, BY SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, FOR CANADA.



LEGEND

Cambodian (Kampuchean) = ■
 Central & South American = +
 Portuguese = *
 Punjabi = □
 Vietnamese = x

20% Sample Data

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Groups, 1986 Census of Canada, 1988.

The Figure 1 shows that each selected immigrant group tends to follow a similar pattern of immigration, beginning with few immigrants and then making gradual increases over two to three decades. This is followed by large increases and then substantial drops in the numbers of immigrants, creating 'waves' of immigration.

The exodus of immigrants from particular regions is generally precipitated by specific political and economic events. For example, the influx of immigration from Portugal can be linked to the military coup in that country in 1974, while the Cambodian (Kampuchean) pattern can be attributed to the formation of the Khmer Rouge government in 1974 and its overthrow by the Vietnamese in 1978. These events cannot be predicted so it is hard to plan in the areas of both immigration and education. Some student populations become increasingly diverse while there are lags in government and school board responses. Teachers and school administrators are left to cope with their changing communities on their own. The remainder of this chapter will examine the development of immigration policy and will describe the present situation in Canada.

Canada shares with the United States, and to some extent with Australia, and New Zealand the image of itself as an 'open' country, a destination for immigrants. Immigration has been an important factor in the development of Canada. However, it has not become an essential element in the emergence of a national identity. In the United States immigration and the concept of the melting pot have formed the major components of a nation-building myth. In Canada the concept of the "two solitudes" formed by the English and French (Aboriginal Peoples are ignored) has taken precedence in the development of a national mythology (Hawkins, 1972:34). This has implications for attitudes toward potential immigrants, especially with regard to views about their ability to assimilate into either of the two dominant groups.

Immigration to Canada has not followed an orderly pattern. It has occurred

on the basis of ad hoc decisions regarding economic needs and has been influenced by an ideology giving preference to those who are white and speak English. This has resulted in great fluctuations in immigration rates resulting in a "jagged" pattern emerging through the decades (Herberg, 1989:66).

For most of the nineteenth century there was virtually unrestricted entry into Canada. Immigration officials were mainly concerned with ensuring that criminals, paupers and the diseased did not enter the country. However, due to pressure from British Columbia, an Act was passed in 1885 to restrict Chinese immigration. This came in the form of a "head tax" of \$100 (\$500 in 1903) to be paid on entering Canada. This practice continued until the late 1940s (Dirks, 1985:864). Restrictions were viewed as necessary because people had become alarmed at the number of Asians, especially Chinese, who were entering the country and settling in British Columbia. In 1881 there were 4,400 Asians living in Canada. Between 1881 and 1884 15,700 Chinese came as contract labourers to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and by 1901 Asians represented 11 per cent of the population in British Columbia (Report on Bilingualism & Biculturalism, 1969:21).

The first Immigration Act received royal assent June 22, 1869 and came into force in January, 1870. Responsibility for immigration came under the Department of the Interior in 1892 and Clifford Sifton became its Minister in 1896. At this time priority was given to settlement of the Prairies and through the dynamic leadership of Sifton, along with an increased budget for immigration and improved economic conditions, large numbers of Europeans settled in the West. Favourable conditions

for settling the Prairies came into being because of the completion of the transcontinental railroad and booming markets for agricultural products, especially hard wheat (Dirks, 1977:24).

Many of these new immigrants were from non-English speaking countries such as Ukraine and Russia. This created anxiety in some Canadians, including politicians and immigration officials. Efforts were made to strike a balance between the need to settle the prairies and the need to quell anxieties resulting from the introduction of large numbers of people who did not reflect Anglo culture and values. This provides an example of the dual influences of economic needs and ideology on immigration policy within the Canadian context.

In an attempt to control the type of immigrants entering Canada four categories of preference were created. The most preferred were British and American farmers, followed by groups that included Scandinavians, Finns, Russians, Ukrainians and Poles. Among the less preferred were Italians, Greeks and Syrians, while the least preferred included Jews, Asians, gypsies and black people (Troper, 1985:863). This, along with the 'head tax' levied against Chinese immigrants, marked the beginning of restrictive immigration policies in Canada that favoured white immigrants. This remained in place until policy changes in 1962.

World War One resulted in lower levels of immigration into Canada. Immigration did not rise again until the early 1920s. At this time the United States implemented a formal quota system, based on proportions of nationalities already in the country, to restrict the number of immigrants entering the States, especially those

from southern and eastern Europe. Canada then became a favoured destination among immigrants. In response Canada began to employ the established list of 'preferred' and 'not preferred' countries from which to select suitable immigrants rather than adopting a formal quota system (Report on Bilingualism & Biculturalism, 1969:25).

Immigration levels experienced an abrupt drop in 1931 at the beginning of the Depression and did not increase substantially until after the Second World War. The declines in the levels of immigration were partly a result of the stricter application of existing regulations, especially those regarding health and medical requirements (Dirks, 1977:42). This occurred at a period when political and racial intolerance were on the rise in Canada. With the high unemployment levels of the 1930s immigration was discouraged to prevent further social instability.

After World War Two there has been a progressive loosening of restrictions resulting in increased ethnic and racial diversity within the immigrant population. Quotas were awarded to some Asian countries. For example, India and Pakistan were allowed 150 and 100 immigrants respectively per year, accompanied by their spouses and dependents (Ashworth, 1988:35). This remained in effect until 1962. Figure 2 below provides a summary of the changes in immigration policy since World War Two.

Figure 2: Changes in Canadian Immigration Policy Since World War Two.

Period	Policy
Prior to World War 2	Restrictive. Favoured groups of immigration were British, N. Europeans, Americans.
World War 2	Changes in immigration policy due to rising number of refugees and displaced persons resulting from war.
1953	Immigration Act: increased Immigration; the beginning of egalitarian policies, but discrimination against non-white immigration remains.
1962	Removal of racial barriers to immigration.
1966	Universal and non-discriminatory policy introduced in White Paper on immigration; integration of immigration with economic needs.
1967	"Points System" introduced: immigrants selected on variables such as education/occupation rather than on grounds of ethnicity or geographical location.
1976	Immigration Act (proclaimed 1978: set out fundamental objectives including the promotion of economic, social and cultural goals; family reunion; nondiscrimination; compliance with international obligations regarding refugees.

Source: The Canadian Encyclopedia, 1985: 865.

World War Two marked a turning point in Canadian immigration patterns. There was concern over the numbers of refugees and displaced persons. There were over one million refugees and displaced persons in international camps in Europe. Many Canadians, especially those who had relatives in these situations, expressed the need for Canada to accept war refugees solely on humanitarian grounds. Others adopted a more utilitarian approach, pointing out the need for mining and agricultural labourers in the expanding economy (Dirks, 1977:130-1).

In April, 1947 the Labour Department became involved with industries in developing the sponsored labour scheme. This scheme allowed the selection of refugees on the basis of specific skills required by industry. On June 6, 1947 the

Canadian government passed an order-in-council allowing 5,000 displaced persons into Canada. Between July, 1947 and October, 1948 special orders-in-council were passed. These allowed fixed quotas and a total of 40,000 people were admitted (Dirks, 1977:154-5). The use of quotas with regard to refugees remained until 1978 when an amendment to the Immigration Act of 1976 allowed refugees to apply for admission as immigrants.

Canadian economic needs have been granted priority in policy decisions regarding refugees. But political factors and public sympathy have also influenced responses to various persons seeking asylum. For example, Canada was willing to accept 11,000 Czechoslovakian refugees after the 1968 invasion into that country by the Soviet Union. However, only a few Chilean refugees were admitted after the overthrow of the Marxist government of Salvador Allende in 1973. The Czech refugees were viewed as supporters of democracy and freedom, while those from Chile were regarded as too 'left-wing' to be able to settle into Canadian society. Thus Canadian policy has generally been cautious and focused on economic needs, and influenced by ideology, even within the context of obvious human suffering.

Figure 2 shows that immigration policies became more expansionist with the 1953 Immigration Act. However, it was not until 1962 that racial barriers were removed allowing greater numbers of immigrants of visible minority groups to settle in Canada. In the mid-1960s policy changed once again, with closer linkage being made between immigration and Canada's economic needs. There was the introduction of the 'points system' in 1967. This allowed a more objective evaluation

of potential immigrants. It also provided a means of selecting immigrants whose qualifications matched the needs of the Canadian economy. On the surface this appears egalitarian. However, immigration officials have some subjective discretionary powers and can award up to 10 points for "personal suitability". This is based on the applicants "adaptability, motivation, initiative and resourcefulness" (Young, 1991:20).

In February, 1975 a Green Paper on immigration was tabled in Parliament outlining the intentions of the government with regard to immigration. This study was to form the basis for public debate and a Special Joint Committee of Parliament was created to tour Canada and receive submissions from interested individuals and groups. This was the first occasion when the views of the public regarding policy were sought by government (Dirks, 1977:251). In 1976 a new Immigration Act was introduced. It included most of the Committee's recommendations, and provided clearly stated objectives that reflected a more open immigration policy. Among the objectives was the following goal:

to ensure that any person who seeks admission to Canada ... is subject to standards of admission that do not discriminate on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion or sex.
(Immigration Act, 1976-77, Obj.3,f)

This statement contrasts sharply with the sentiments expressed earlier in the Immigration Act of 1910 that prohibited "for a stated period, or permanently, the

landing in Canada ... of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada ...". This provides an illustration of the changes in attitude that have taken place over time.

Table 3: Canadian Immigration Statistics, 1956-1985

	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1985
Total Immigration Population	1,245,259	1,715,555	1,012,468
	%	%	%
Europe & Other Countries	58.5	38.3	21.3
British	28.4	20.8	13.4
U.S.A.	9.4	13.0	10.0
Asia	2.9	18.2	42.4
South America	0.5	3.5	6.2
Central America	0.2	3.4	2.0
Africa	0.003	2.8	4.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, 1988

Table 3 shows the changes in source countries for the three immigration periods between the years 1956 to 1985. Between 1956 and 1965 the majority of immigrants came from Europe and Britain. In the second period, between 1976 and 1985, the major source was Asia. It can be seen that the composition of the immigrant population has changed. It was predominantly white and has become increasingly ethnically and racially diverse. For example, prior to 1960 visible minorities represented less than 1 percent of all immigrants, while during the 1960s this increased to approximately 13 percent. In the third period between 1971 and

1980 visible minorities have made up 41 percent of all immigrants (Herberg, 1989:71).

Although the immigrant population has become more diverse since the introduction of less restrictive immigration policies, there has also been an increased emphasis on educational and occupational qualifications. This tends to favour those from the middle classes (Beaujot, 1985; Michalowski, 1987:26). The criteria for selection have shifted from preferred ethnicity and geographical location to preferred educational and occupational achievement. This has allowed an increase in the number of source countries, but has narrowed class diversity.

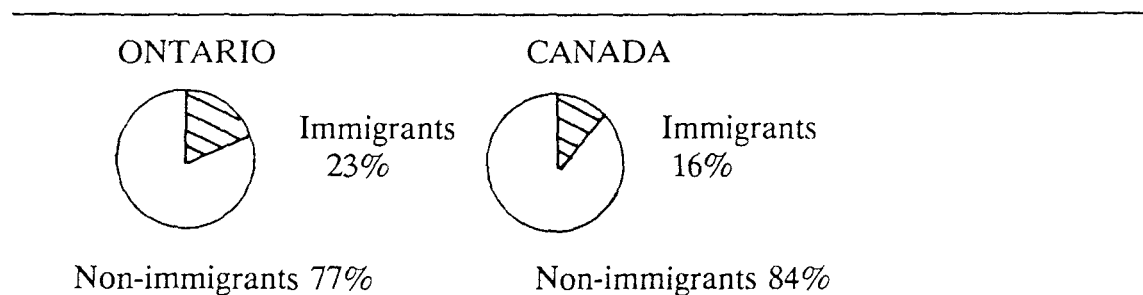
This trend is tempered by the existence of the family and sponsored classes of immigrants. Levels of education and occupational suitability are not stressed for these groups. This tends to divide the immigrant population into two streams. The independent and entrepreneurial classes tend to cluster at the higher levels of education, while the sponsored and family classes are more likely found at the lower educational levels. Immigrants, as a group, tend to be more highly educated and more urbanized than the general Canadian population. However, children of immigrants tend to take advantage of opportunities to achieve educational and occupational qualifications at a higher rate than does the non-immigrant population (Rao, 1984:96).

Immigration levels into Canada have tended to fluctuate. There was a peak period between 1910-1913, when over 1.3 million entered Canada. Then came a period of low levels during the 1930s Depression when few immigrants arrived. Since

1945 the number of immigrants has never fallen below 70,000 (Herberg, 1989:66). The importance of immigration is reflected in the announcement by the Mulroney government, in October, 1990, of a five year plan regarding levels of immigration. The government's intention is to increase immigration levels to reach a target of 250,000 immigrants per year by 1992. The government also intends to place a priority on social and economic needs of Canada. Immigration centres abroad have been directed to give priority to applications from spouses and dependent children. The intention is to increase the number of immigrants selected because of specific skills from 34,000 in 1991 to 45,000 by 1995. Early results from the 1991 Census indicate the intended levels will be reached as approximately 219,000 immigrants entered Canada during 1990. This is the highest level since 1970 when 258,618 immigrants arrived (Immigration Canada, 1991).

Within Canada, Ontario has consistently been the favoured destination of immigrants. Over half of all immigrants settle there, mostly in the larger urban areas of Southern Ontario. Figure 3, below, shows the ratio of immigrants to non-immigrants for Ontario and for Canada.

FIGURE 3: COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, IMMIGRANTS AND NON-IMMIGRANTS, ONTARIO AND CANADA, 1986



Source: Ontario: A Diverse and Changing Society. A Report on Selected Demographic Trends. Ministry of Citizenship, Ontario, 1991.

There has been a shift in the source countries. There has been a trend toward more immigration by visible minorities. In 1986 members of racial minority groups made up 9 percent of Ontario's total population. If present trends persist, this level could reach 15 percent by the year 2011. An example of this is found in the top source countries for refugees and business class immigrants in 1991. The top five source countries for refugees were Sri Lanka, Somalia, USSR, China and Iran, while the top three for the business class were HongKong (30%), Taiwan (13%) and South Korea (7%). Table 4, below, shows the shift in the most important source countries of immigrants to Ontario between the years 1980 and 1988.

Table 4: Shift in the Top Three Source Countries in Ontario, 1980, 1988.

Country	1980		Country	1988	
	Rank	%		Rank	%
Vietnam	(1)	15.3	HongKong	(1)	15.2
England	(2)	11.2	Poland	(2)	7.3
U.S.	(3)	6.2	India	(3)	6.4

Source: Immigration Statistics, 1988, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship.

Vietnam ranked first in 1980, with the exodus of many Indo-Chinese refugees. This was in response to the Chinese invasion of Vietnam during February to March of 1979. They fled in various types of boats and became known as the 'Boat People'. An international conference was held in Geneva in 1979 to address their dilemma. Canada accepted many of these refugees. The percentage of refugees in the annual intake of immigrants rose to 25 per cent in the period 1979 to 1980. The usual rate had been approximately 10 per cent (Dirks, 1985:865). Over 32,000 of these refugees were sponsored by private or church groups. This meant that they were dispersed across Canada. However, many later migrated to the larger cities.

The instance of HongKong as a source in 1988 stems from the agreement reached between the British and Chinese governments in 1984 to return the colony to Chinese control in 1997. This has created an uncomfortable environment. Many business people and entrepreneurs are unsure about their prospects under Communism. Efforts have been made to recruit these immigrants because they are regarded as immediate assets to Canada, bringing in wealth and creating new businesses.

Immigration will continue to play an important role in Canada. Fertility rates stood at 1.57 in 1986, far below replacement levels. Canada is experiencing population ageing, and future problems in maintaining an adequate workforce are foreseen (Passaris, 1987:362). This is a demographic pattern shared by many modern industrialized nations and there may be increased reliance on developing countries to maintain population levels. Predictions of future immigration patterns suggest that Asia will continue to be a major source. Africa and Central and South America will continue to be important. These countries have high fertility rates and high mortality rates. The proportions of children in their populations are high.

Table 5: Population Under Age 15 Years, 1985.

Region	%
Africa	45
Asia	37
North America	22
Latin America	38
Europe	22
Oceania	29
The World	35

Source: Population Reference Bureau, 1985 World Population Data Sheet.

Africa, Asia, and Latin America have greater proportions of their population less than fifteen years old compared to more developed countries. Table 5 shows the pattern. The majority of these countries have limited resources. The situation is often exacerbated by civil unrest. The result is that many wish to emigrate to countries that promise them more stable and prosperous futures.

CHAPTER FIVE MULTICULTURALISM

Dramatic changes occurred during the 1960s regarding government policy on language and culture within Canada. In 1963 the federal government, under the leadership of Lester B. Pearson, established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The Commission was a federal-provincial response to increasing conflict between English and French Canadians over issues to do with language and culture. The status of the French language appeared to be in decline. The conflict rose to crisis proportions as a significant number of French-speaking Canadians began to identify themselves as Quebecois, and raising the possibility of separation from the rest of Canada (Samuda, 1986:105). The Commission focused on French and English cultures in its quest to find a means to reduce tensions. Consideration was also given to Native Peoples and other ethnic groups, but only as they related to the relationship between the two founding groups (Burnet, 1979:45-6).

It became apparent during the hearings that other ethnic groups wanted recognition and support from government for their contributions to Canada. These sentiments were effectively voiced by the more organized and powerful groups, especially by the Ukrainians. Language was viewed as a central issue. With the passing of the Official Languages Act in 1969, French and English were made the two official languages, and where special language rights were granted to

Francophones living outside of Quebec. Then other linguistic groups agitated for recognition of their languages (Samuda, 1986:105).

The Trudeau government responded to the Royal Commission recommendations by adopting bilingualism as national policy. It rejected biculturalism and introduced, in its place, an image of Canada as a multicultural society (Rocher, 1990:43). On October 8, 1971 a policy on Multiculturalism was enacted by Parliament. The focus is reflected in the following extract:

We are of the belief that cultural pluralism is the very essence of the Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context.

Rocher (1990) claims this view of Canada is innovative and moves away from a historical view, reflected in the 1963 Royal Commission, of Canada as a dual society where new immigrants assimilate into either the French or the English cultures. The new approach of multiculturalism reflects a particular social-psychological perspective. The ethnic community is seen to act as a primary group fulfilling the need for identity, a need which can be difficult to fulfil in contemporary society (Rocher, 1990:44).

Following the introduction of the policy on Multiculturalism in 1971, the office of Minister of State for Multiculturalism was established in 1972 to administer the policy. In 1973 the Canadian Consultive Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) was established. Its purpose was to advise the minister on multicultural matters. In the same year the Multiculturalism Directorate was created within the Department of the

Secretary of State. Its role was to develop links with ethnic communities and with the press, and to become involved in research (Burnet, 1979:47). However, considerable time elapsed before these policies became formalized in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988.

Other legislation has been passed addressing the issue of human rights, such as the Federal Bill of Rights, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the Employment Equity Act. However, the 1988 Act is more specific and supports the principle of multiculturalism as being integral to the Canadian identity (Friesen, 1990:179). At the provincial level Manitoba was first to establish a policy in 1972. Ontario created the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism in 1973. This body influences government departments such as, Citizenship and Culture, and Community and Social Services. Other provinces that have enacted legislation include Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia.

Although there has been many pieces of legislation supporting the concept of multiculturalism, there has also been considerable ambiguity as to its meaning and application in Canada. One of the problems has been the inability to develop a precise definition of what 'multiculturalism' means. Various interpretations have emerged. Jean Burnet (1979) points out that in its literal sense the term suggests that many cultures can remain intact within Canada. However, this is impossible as whole cultures are not transplanted from one country to another. Also, in the course of interactions with other groups these cultures become transformed into new entities. It would be more accurate to recognise it is ethnic identity that persists (Burnet,

1979:48). For others multiculturalism is just another term that reflects the demographic reality, replacing the terms 'cultural pluralism' and 'mosaic'. At a deeper level it can be viewed as a social philosophy that emphasises equality among the various ethnic groups with the sharing of power within social institutions (Lupal, 1989:5,6).

There has been much criticism of the policy of multiculturalism in Canada. In Quebec, especially within the Francophone community, the rejection of biculturalism and its replacement with multiculturalism created fears that the federal government was weakening its commitment to protect French language and culture (Mallea, 1989:73). Arguments against multiculturalism pointed out that language and culture were inseparable. The policy of multiculturalism and bilingualism was a contradiction that had no historical or sociological basis. Rocher (1990) points out that French Canadians had viewed the adoption of official bilingualism as a means to assure their culture equal recognition with English-Canadian culture. However, in the separation of language from culture then French Canadians could no longer feel so confident their culture would be maintained. Because of this multiculturalism posed a threat (Rocher,1990:46).

One argument against multiculturalism, from some in English Canada, stems from the perception that it fragments the country into various cultural enclaves. Those who support the notion of Canada as a unified nation built on the British model, where newcomers are expected to acculturate into the existing social order, feel that bilingualism and multiculturalism are disruptive forces that threaten their

identities as Canadians (Breton, 1984:130). Others feel that it also fosters divisions among the various ethnic groups as they concentrate on differences between groups in order to define their own ethnic identity. Detractors of multiculturalism point out the emphasis on differences could encourage ethnocentrism and, therefore, erode any sense of a unified nation, which, taken to its extreme could result in Canada becoming an "agglomeration of ethnic principalities" (Friesen, 1990:180).

One of the major contentions is that multiculturalism places an emphasis on group rights. Some see this as representing a backward step away from the modern Western emphasis on individual rights as the basis of citizenship (Edwards, 1985:106). There are also problems in defining group membership based on ethnicity. This is not a clearly bounded or fixed category, but, generally involves considerable self-selection (Burnet, 1979:50). Porter (1990) points out this selection is made arbitrarily to maximize advantages to the individual according to the particular circumstances (Porter, 1990:70). This presents a relativist perspective which disturbs those who support the ideal of national unity with a core of shared values that remain constant over time.

Those who support the concept of multiculturalism claim that "cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity" (Samuda, 1986:106). It provides opportunities for the involvement of a broader spectrum of the population in the various social institutions. This participation of various cultural groups represents an inclusive approach that increases unity as it reflects more accurately the reality of Canadian society.

The pluralistic approach to social organisation can appear disruptive as various ethnic interests jostle one another to exert influence and gain recognition for their contributions. This confirmation of ethnic identity is attained not only by cultural expression, but, also by inclusion in official history (Breton, 1984:136). Burnet (1979) points out this desire to be included has inspired some ethnic groups to write their own histories. She suggests that these contain 'facts' that are not readily substantiated, and more accurately resemble myths or legends of inclusion, and are no more factual than the myths of exclusion that were prevalent in the prewar period (Burnet, 1979:49-50).

Differences in attitudes toward multiculturalism can also be found within the immigrant community. The view of the older, more established European community differs from that of the new and often visible minority immigrant community. Traditionally new immigrants of less preferred groups have been expected to fill low status occupational positions on their arrival in Canada. Porter (1965) coined the term "entrance status". New arrivals were not only restricted to low level jobs, but were also expected to become assimilated into the new society (Porter, 1965:63-4). As has been mentioned, in 1967 the 'points system' of selection was introduced. This system favoured those with higher levels of education and occupational skills. The usual pattern of status entrance was altered as the new immigrants were more qualified to fill higher level occupations (Lupal, 1989:2). This has resulted in some distancing between 'old' and 'new' immigrant groups. The more established

communities tend to support the earlier pattern of starting at the bottom and, through hard work, gradually come to occupy higher status positions.

Many of the 'new' immigrants are members of visible minority groups and, therefore, are susceptible to racism and discrimination. Since the multicultural policies of the 1970s were designed for the more established ethnic groups, the issues of discrimination on the basis of colour were not addressed (Burnet, 1985:1174-5). One criticism of this policy is that it advances a "surface veneer" through "celebratory multiculturalism" involving displays of ethnic music, dance and cultural activities but, can also serve as a means for concealing the fundamental problem of racism and discrimination experienced by visible minorities (Cummins, Danesi, 1990:15).

At the present time attitudes towards multiculturalism appear to be in a state of flux. "The multicultural movement appears to lack direction; there is no common agenda any more" (Lupal, 1990:8). The policy of multiculturalism also appears to be under attack. For example, Premier Getty of Alberta has asked the federal government to abandon the policy of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism. The media also present arguments against multiculturalism. It is seen as being divisive and too costly to the taxpayers. Reports from the various committees travelling across the country looking into the Canadian Constitution are not reassuring to those who are concerned about the future of multiculturalism in Canadian society. One is left with the sense that multiculturalism, in its existing form, has not brought about "unity in diversity" as promised, but, has led to a "visionless coexistence" (Bibby, 1990:202). It

seems that attention needs to be paid to central values that can be shared by all.

John Porter observed:

... if a complex structure is to survive, the over-all value system for the society must have some meaning for all groups, and at the same time consistency for the total society.

(Porter, 1965:460)

CHAPTER SIX MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The adoption of a policy on multiculturalism in 1971 provided an impetus for school boards to examine their needs in this area. With the increasing numbers of new immigrant children entering the school system, it became necessary to create a policy to address the issues and practical problems involved. This resulted in the Ministry of Education for Ontario adopting a policy on multicultural education in 1984.

[multiculturalism should] permeate the school's curriculum, policies, teaching methods and materials, courses of study, and assessment and testing procedures, as well as the attitudes and expectations of its staff and all of its interaction with students, parents, and community.

(Ontario Ministry of Education, 1987:41)

The very term multicultural education, is problematic in that it has no well defined meaning and tends to be interpreted according to the particular perspectives favoured by individuals (Mallea, 1989:74). Implementation of multicultural education is also dependent on whether the individuals involved favour assimilation, cultural pluralism, or anti-racism frameworks (Modgil, Verma, Mallick, Modgil, 1986:5).

Those who support an assimilationist approach regard the purpose of multicultural education as being the means by which new immigrant children can

become part of Canadian society. Aoki, Werner, Dahlie, Connors (1984) found that ethnic minorities are often regarded as marginalized Canadians, and education is viewed as the means by which they can enter into the mainstream of society. In this way ethnic minorities come to be viewed as beneficiaries. Education enables them to move nearer the dominant culture's standards. This is not in keeping with the official policy on multiculturalism (Aoki et al, 1984:272). According to this perspective language occupies a central place, and often English as a Second Language (ESL) is viewed as synonymous with multicultural education. Therefore, in this context, it is an educational programme aimed at settling new immigrant children into the host society (Ashworth, 1989:209).

Detractors of this approach claim that multicultural education is a form of compensatory education that attempts to ameliorate cultural and language 'deficiencies' in new immigrants (Verma, 1983:109). Immigrant children are viewed as deprived, thus intimating that experiences prior to coming to Canada are substandard or deficient, and that the task of the education system is to remedy this and bring the child closer to the 'average student'. Some ethnic communities view this as detrimental to their children's self-identity and progress within the educational system. This has led some to adopt an "ethnic-specific" approach by establishing their own schools to serve their own communities, thus resisting assimilation (Ouellet, 1987:131). One example of this is provided by the Greek community in Montreal. In 1971 this community established a school system to meet the needs of Greek-speaking students. This school system was initiated as a result of dissatisfaction with

the public system. Many people in the community felt Greek-speaking students were disadvantaged and "left to drift through the system" (Ottawa House of Commons, 1984:113-115). The Greek community negotiated with the Quebec government. The government agreed to fund four fifths of the costs of running the school. As the ethnic school system reflected the values of the community regarding education, it was felt this would eventually enable Greek-speaking students to gain access to colleges and universities. Under the old system many were 'dropping out', or reaching school-leaving age without gaining sufficient credits to pursue post-secondary education. This initiative appears to have been successful as in 1971 only 4 percent of these students went to university. In 1984 84 percent of the graduates of the Greek school system entered post-secondary education.

Those who adopt a cultural pluralist stance stress the importance of enhancing the understanding between different cultures, and the school is viewed as an important means for achieving this. The words of Keith McLoed, cited in Ashworth (1989), reflect this view.

schooling must now perform the functions of socializing youth into a pluralistic society, and of developing an understanding of inter-group relations. This aim must be the development of an awareness of and respect for the individual and group differences and similarities.

(Ashworth, 1989:209)

Some express doubts about these attempts to promote intercultural understanding. In the process of defining the differences and similarities between

ethnic groups, stereotypes and prejudice could become more firmly entrenched, creating even greater barriers between groups (Phinney, Rotheram, 1987:277).

There are also concerns over the problem of balancing the specific needs of minority group children with the need to ensure that they acquire skills needed to become active and productive citizens in society (Phinney, Rotheram, 1987:279). This is particularly important in relation to language. Some view acquisition of official languages to be the first priority, while others view first language maintenance to be crucial in supporting a positive ethnic identity as well as facilitating second language acquisition.

Others point out that in defining culture only observable attributes are considered, for example, such issues as religion, language, and food. The effect of membership within a particular culture on the individual is not addressed (Verma, 1983:108). By defining ethnic and racial groups as homogeneous, intra-group differences tend to be ignored. This may lead to stereotypical views of ethnic and racial group members.

These criticisms lead into the third framework for multicultural education, the anti-racism perspective. Adherents to this view claim multiculturalism, as it is usually practised, acts as a facade, that obscures the realities of racism within society (Cummins, Danesi, 1990:9). While multiculturalism has advanced the idea that groups with diverse cultural heritages can co-exist in the same society and maintain their ethnic identity, insufficient attention has been paid to the racial inequities that pervade society. The emphasis on diversity between ethnic groups has deflected

attention from the experience of racism shared by many visible minority groups. This can obstruct full participation in society (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1987:38).

Some people argue that multicultural education has placed an emphasis on individual expression of ethnicity. The context of group membership and the obligations of individuals to the group does not tend to be considered. An emphasis is placed on developing empathy, appreciation, and understanding between individuals from diverse cultures, as if these cultures were all valued equally in society. This approach does not acknowledge the presence of prejudice against some minority groups. This can result in resistance to accepting individuals from these groups on equal terms with others. By focusing on the development of understanding between individuals this approach may encourage harmony at the micro-level, but it does not address the problems of racism within the wider society. Neither does it represent pluralism as this places an emphasis on the autonomy of ethnic minority group interests (Olneck, 1990:160).

Problems with multicultural education are related to the complexity of this topic which makes it difficult to develop clear proposals on how it should be implemented in the classroom. Generally, the curriculum is the accepted means by which to introduce multicultural education into the classroom. This involves changing the curriculum to exclude ethnocentric bias of the dominant culture and to incorporate material representing a variety of cultures. Therefore, there is a need to improve teacher education to ensure they acquire knowledge of language skills, race

relations, and are able to develop an awareness of cultural differences in order to be able to deliver a multicultural curriculum in the classroom.

There is evidence that the topic of multicultural education continues to occupy a marginal position among the various priorities in teacher education. For example, the 1991-1992 Calendars of the three universities, University of Toronto, York University, and Brock University, that serve the urban, industrialised area of southern Ontario, revealed that courses in multiculturalism or ethnicity were offered as electives but not as required core courses in the B.Ed. Programmes. Although these enable intending teachers who are interested in this area to increase their knowledge, it does not reflect the sentiments expressed in the 1984 policy on multicultural education. The policy was expected to "permeate" all aspects of school life, including the attitudes of teachers. It would seem reasonable to expect that multicultural education would form part of teacher training programmes, especially in areas with such high percentages of new immigrant students. However, this does not appear to be the case.

The success of implementing multicultural education in the classroom depends not only on the skill level of teachers, but also on their willingness to support this innovation in education. Frequently new programmes are introduced by the Board without teacher consultation or preparation. This places the programme in jeopardy as teachers may not be adequately prepared to teach using the new approach. They may feel antagonistic toward changes that have been imposed upon them by others.

This is reflected in the following quotation from the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation cited in Bullivant (1981).

Over the last 30 years the goals of education have changed frequently. With each change, little has been done to acquaint teachers with the new concepts or ways to implement them. Classroom teachers have seldom been involved in formulating philosophical change; change was imposed from above without adequate preparation of teachers or teacher training institutions. The consequences have often been confusion over aims, contradiction between philosophy and practice and lowering of teacher morale.

(Bullivant, 1981:62)

Adequate preparation of teachers working in multicultural settings is an important issue as the successful implementation of multicultural education is closely linked to teacher attitudes (Verma, 1988:11). It can be difficult for teachers who are unfamiliar with the basic tenets of multicultural education to know how to interact with students who are members of ethnic or racial minority groups. In attempts to be equitable some teachers ignore ethnic and racial differences and claim to treat all students the same. However, as the teacher is usually a member of the dominant culture this often translates into the imposition of these values on all the students. This can affect the self-concepts of minority group children and can result in lowered school performance (Verma, 1988:13). Therefore, it is important that schools attempt to provide environments that are tolerant and accepting of ethnic and racial diversity so that children do not become ashamed of their families and origins. This can have negative effects on their development as human beings, as well as on their educational attainments (Edwards, 1985:130).

CHAPTER SEVEN THE CONTEXT

The Neighbourhood

The neighbourhood in which the children at Blossom School live has many characteristics of an inner-city area. These include older housing stock, a lower proportion of single-family homes, more of the population with lower levels of education and lower average incomes. Many new immigrants have also settled in this area, especially those from Asia and Indo-China.

New immigrant groups frequently share similar characteristics. They have language difficulties, fewer financial resources, and they are not familiar with Canadian daily life. Because of this it is thought that recent immigrants will tend to settle in the same neighbourhoods (Balikrishnan, Selvanathan, 1990:400). This perceived tendency has been described by Louis Wirth. He wrote:

... persons of homogeneous status and needs unwittingly drift into, consciously select, or are forced by circumstances into, the same area. The different parts of the city thus acquire specialized functions. The city consequently tends to resemble a mosaic of social worlds in which transitions from one to the other is abrupt.

(Wirth, 1957:42)

In classical urban theory it was thought after the initial settlement new immigrants would eventually move into other neighbourhoods and become

assimilated into the general population. The effects of ethnicity were thought to decrease by the second generation and that this would be reflected in residential patterns, moving from the homogeneous ethnic communities to more heterogeneous areas (Park, 1967:27).

In Canada there is little support for the classical model of urban residential patterns and the assimilation of ethnic groups. Kalbach (1990) found that in Toronto many immigrant settlement areas show increased concentrations and that ethnic residential segregation has persisted over several generations (Kalbach, 1990:95). Although ethnicity has influence on the choice of where to live, other factors are also important. For example, the choice of where to live within a city is greatly influenced by available resources, the cost of housing and the availability of transportation in particular areas. In the school neighbourhood access to shopping, government offices, churches, parks and the library are all within walking distance. This reduces the reliance on private or public transportation.

A survey in Toronto found that economic reasons were given in half the responses to a question of why the respondents had moved to their present neighbourhood. Only ten percent gave ethnicity as a consideration for moving (Kalbach, 1990:109). Those who have more limited economic resources are more likely to be concentrated in areas containing low-cost housing, whereas those with more resources have a greater choice. The placement of public housing also strongly influences where those at lower socio-economic levels live. An example of this was found at Blossom School.

Q: I have noticed that a lot of the children seem to know each other, even though they are in different grades. Is this due to the open-concept design of the school?

A: Well, it could be partly that, but it is more likely that the children do know each other because they live in the same place. Over half of the student population lives in the [two] apartment buildings and this includes many of the immigrant children, but also others as well.

(TI433OCT2590)

The two apartment buildings were constructed by Ontario Housing in the late 1970s and many of the Vietnamese refugees were housed there.

Also at this time there were two large apartment buildings put up by the provincial government near to the school, and many of these refugees came to live there.

(TI330OCT2590)

In the classical model the retention of immigrant communities was generally viewed as negative. However, some research has shown there are positive aspects to living in an ethnic community. A sense of belonging and support is provided when living near people who share a common language and culture. This applies to both adults and children (Health and Welfare Canada, 1988:14). Recognition of the importance of support for new immigrants was given by one of the teachers.

For the families, too, when they first began coming they had their sponsors who could explain things to them. Now many of the ethnic communities, for example, the Portuguese community has resources and support for new immigrants. It has been in the last five years that this type of support has grown up. Also, many of the families now have relatives here so they help each other, so they have family support. There is also lots of visiting. I'm often told about trips to other parts of Canada and the United States to see relatives who now live there.

(TI652NOV1590)

This supports the findings of Kalbach (1990) where the initial settlement area of new immigrants tends to become more concentrated as friends and family members join those already here. Length of time in the country also influences the types of resources and support that a community can provide. For example, Portuguese immigrants have been in the country longer and have established organizations to assist new-comers. With the Asian refugees assistance was initially provided by sponsors who were mostly private citizens and church groups. Family support has replaced this over the years showing that many new immigrants' needs are met in ways that do not involve government assistance. The observations of the teacher also reveal that family and community are not restricted by geographical boundaries. Due to the availability of various transportation options family connectedness can be maintained, even when they are geographically distanced.

The Hamilton region receives most of its immigrants from Europe. This is shown in Table 6 below. Hamilton is an industrial city. It is highly unionized and has traditionally relied on immigration from Britain to fill jobs in steel production. Being smaller than Toronto, it attracts fewer new immigrants. They tend to settle in the

larger metropolitan areas. However, it can be seen that while immigrants from Europe form the majority coming into the region, those from Asia form the majority of other immigrants, reflecting the general Canadian trend.

Table 6: Countries of Origin of New Immigrants Arriving in Hamilton-Wentworth, January to August, 1989.

Countries of Origin	N	%
European	1,096	73.2
Asian	247	16.5
Middle Eastern	66	4.4
Caribbean	48	3.2
Central American	41	2.7

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, 1988.

Over half of the housing in the school area was constructed prior to 1946, indicating that the school is situated in an older neighbourhood.

Table 7: Dwelling by Period of Construction, School Area and Hamilton, 1986.

Period	School Area		Hamilton	
	N	%	N	%
Before 1946	1,535	(52.3)	44,685	(22.2)
1946-1960	240	(8.2)	47,385	(23.5)
1961-1970	160	(5.5)	44,550	(22.2)
1971-1980	1,000	(34.0)	51,775	(25.7)
1981-1986	0	(0)	12,930	(6.4)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, 1988.

The Table 7 shows that most housing in the school area was built before 1946. There was also a peak in new construction in the 1971-1980 period, when a thousand new dwelling units were constructed. The Ontario Housing apartment blocks were

built during this period. In comparison Hamilton, as a whole, has a much steadier pattern of building activity. The exception is the period for 1981 to 1986 when numbers dropped. This fall was probably due to the recession in the early eighties.

Table 8: Dwelling Characteristics, for the School Area and Hamilton, 1986.

Occupied Private Dwellings	School Area		Hamilton	
	N	%	N	%
Tenure:				
Owned	1,270	(43.0)	129,225	(64.5)
Rented	1,685	(57.0)	71,195	(35.5)
Type of Dwelling:				
Single-detached	865	(29.3)	120,415	(60.0)
Apartments:				
5 Stories +	1,110	(37.6)	38,255	(19.0)
Others	975	(33.1)	42,650	(21.0)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada. Profiles: Hamilton Part Two, 1988.

A larger portion of people live in rented housing in the school area compared to Hamilton, where the majority own their homes. Just under a third of the dwellings around the school are single-detached. In Hamilton these form approximately two thirds of the housing.

Table 9: Family Structure, for School Area and Hamilton, 1986.

Family Structure	School Area		Hamilton	
	N	%	N	%
Husband and Wife Families	1,405	(85.5)	135,330	(88.3)
Lone Parent Families	235		17,855	
Female Head	190	(11.5)	14,905	(9.7)
Male Head	50	(3.0)	2,950	(2.0)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, 1988.

Table 9 above shows that husband and wife families are the most prevalent type. However, lone-parent families represent 14.5 percent of all families in the school area, compared with 11.7 percent for Hamilton as a whole. Overall, there has been a considerable increase in lone-parent families. In 1971 they represented 9.4 percent of Canadian families. By 1986 this had increased to 12.7 percent.

Table 9 also shows that women head the majority of lone-parents households. This is important because women, as a group, are more likely to be poor. Women as lone-parents are more vulnerable because of the added costs of raising children, the difficulties in finding employment and the availability and affordability of daycare.

Level of education are also linked with socio-economic status. Those with higher levels of schooling tend to have better paying occupations. Using this information we can expect the level of schooling in the school area to be lower than that of Hamilton. As Table 10, below, shows, this is true for the 'Less than Grade 9'

category, where 27.2 percent have attained this as their highest level of schooling compared to 14.7 percent in Hamilton.

Table 10: Population 15 Years and Over, by Highest Level of Schooling, School Area and Hamilton, 1986.

Area	Total Pop. 15 +	Highest Level of Schooling				
		Less than Grade 9	Grade 9-13, No Cert. No Dipl.	Grade 9-13, With Cert. With Dipl.	Some Post Secondary	University Degree
		%	%	%	%	%
School	5,930	27.2	28.0	13.0	23.7	8.5
Hamilton	441,310	14.7	29.7	13.4	33.2	9.1

20% Sample Date

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada. Profiles: Hamilton Part Two, 1988.

Most other categories are comparable except in the 'Some Post Secondary' category where a little under a quarter attained this level in the school area compared with approximately a third in Hamilton. The proportion of those holding university degrees is about the same in both areas. This could be due to a trend where visible minorities, as a group, tend to have higher levels of schooling than the general population.

Table 11: Average Income by Work Activity, by Gender, for School Area and Hamilton 1985.

Type of Employment Gender	Average Income	
	School Area	Hamilton
Worked full year, full time		
Males	\$ 23,757	\$ 32,737
Females	16,553	19,697
Worked part time/part of year		
Males	12,800	13,438
Females	7,438	7,256

20% Sample Data

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada. Profiles: Hamilton Part Two, 1988.

Table 11 shows that both men and women from the school area who worked full-time through the year earned significantly less than the average wage in Hamilton. Those working full-time earned approximately 77 percent of the average earned in Hamilton, whereas the part-time earnings were comparable. The lower income could be partly explained by the fact that more people in the school area had less than a Grade 9 level of formal education. Other reasons could be associated with the immigrant population. Research has shown that Canadian-born people with university degrees earn twice as much income as those with only elementary level education. However, male immigrants with university education make only three quarters as much more than counterparts with just elementary education (Richmond, 1989:47-8). This suggests many immigrants are employed in occupations that do not match their qualifications. Part of this may be explained by lack of language ability. Other reasons include the effects of breaks in careers and the tendency of employers

to not recognise education and qualifications obtained in other countries. They often insist on Canadian experience. Many highly qualified immigrants find they have to take lower level employment, especially in the initial years.

Table 11 also shows disparity between the average earnings of men and women in the paid labour force. In Hamilton women earned 60 percent of the male income for full-time work. In the school area this was 69.7 percent of the male earnings. Much of this differential can be explained by the clustering of women in low paying clerical and service occupations. These types of concentrations in specific work areas are not apparent in male employment patterns.

Describing the neighbourhood using the Census provides information about its various dimensions but gives no insights into how the people living there feel about their community. All the children at the school live in the community and are within walking distance. Comments from two of the students give an idea of how they regard the neighbourhood as home. One boy talked about the Chinese corner store he goes to with friends.

And we can walk to buy something, when we have money. I go a lot of times, to buy movie, Cambodian movie.

Q: Oh, so you can get Cambodian movies from there?

Yes. Cambodian movies make you cry.

Q: Why?

They are sad stories...just pretend...they cry sometimes, people.

Q: What in the movie?

Yes...and my mum cry too.

(SI12113FEB91)

Neighbourhood corner stores provide a place where younger children can go on their own with no adult supervision. They are also places that reflect the communities in which they are situated as the majority of customers are local. In this case the store provides the means by which this family can enjoy ethnic films that help maintain links with their language and culture. They have a means through which to reminisce about their past experiences which perhaps renews and sustains them in their present situation. Another student reveals the network of relatives that live nearby.

My grandpa has eight sons and eight daughters. So I have lots of aunts and uncles.

Q: Yes, and do they all live around here?

My grandma lives near me, that's where lots of my aunts and uncles live, near my grandma um... my mum and dad live with me and my brother and some live at [the apartment building].

(SI326FEB91)

She told me how one of her aunts was getting married and how another was having a baby. She will now have a new cousin. Her grandma babysits for many of the children when their parents are working. This gives an example of mutual support within the high levels of extended families. This creates a rich social environment, especially for the children.

These observations from the students give some insight into their experiences within a neighbourhood. Viewed from the perspective of the Census one sees an impoverished area. But for many children it is a highly supportive community that they call home.

The School

Blossom School is a two story brick structure situated in this older residential and industrial area. On the north side there is a fenced off area for the kindergarten playground. The main playground is on the south side of the school. It is mostly asphalt, but does have an area of grass. This area is bounded by roads on three sides, and by the school and backyards of houses on its northern side.

The ground floor of the school has classrooms for the higher grades and also the kindergarten. It also has the main office and Principal's office, dental and nursing offices, music room, gymnasium and the caretaker's room. The teachers' lounge is situated opposite the main office, with the kitchen adjacent. On the second floor there are more classrooms. The library and computer area are situated at the centre of the second floor classrooms. There are also a number of conference rooms where teachers can have meetings and where children can work in small groups on projects, or music lessons.

The school building has been designed using an open-plan concept. None of the classrooms are completely enclosed. This gives a sense of spaciousness and brightness within the school. Some teachers mentioned how the building design helped to create a cooperative and pleasant atmosphere in the school.

Teachers are more open with each other and I think it is the open-concept plan of the school that helps. We can't shut ourselves away in our own little classrooms. We are more aware of what others are doing
(FN10OCT490)

I also think the physical structure of the school has some effect... also the office itself is open, it is inviting to the children... it is not closed away behind doors where it would be difficult for a small child to get into... Upstairs the library is open to all the classrooms with it being in the middle like that. It is inviting to all the children to become involved with literature... I think it is an excellent design.

(TI13192MAY2991)

This type of design has been called a "building for human contact" where the structural designs "invite meeting" (Friedman, 1983:134). As the teachers observed the open structure allows for more interaction between everyone in the school and enhances the feeling of being part of a community.

During the school year 1990-1991 there were four hundred and fifteen students enrolled from Junior Kindergarten to Grade 6. There were eighteen different countries represented in the student population. Table 12 below shows the regions from which newly enrolled children came during 1989-1990.

Table 12: Number of Children Coming into School, from Various Regions Around the World, October 1, 1989 to September 30, 1990.

Region	Number of Children
Other Regions of Canada	10
United States	6
Central America	6
Other Regions of North America (eg. Puerto Rico)	1
South America	2
EUROPE	
Poland	1
Portugal	2
Other (Non-English speaking)	1
All Africa	1
ASIA	
HongKong	0
India	0
Indo-china (Cambodia, Vietnam etc.)	16
Other Asia	11
TOTAL	57

Source: Research Department, Board of Education for the City of Hamilton, 1991.

Table 12 shows that more students came from Asia than any of the other regions during this period. A number of children also came into the school from other areas of Canada. Very few came from Europe and only one came from the African subcontinent. Nine came from Spanish-speaking areas.

Approximately seventy percent of the students are enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. Of these, 138 attend daily withdrawal classes. They

go to a separate classroom with an ESL teacher and other same-age peers who are learning English.

Table 13: English as a Second Language Class List, by Language First Spoken, 1991.

Language First Spoken	N	%
Vietnamese	118	40.7
Cantonese	48	16.5
Spanish	38	13.2
Cambodian	37	12.8
Punjabi	9	3.2
Persian	8	2.8
Portuguese	7	2.4
Urdu	4	1.4
Other	21	7.0
Total	290	100.0

Over fourteen languages are represented in the school, in addition to English. South East Asian languages account for seventy percent of mother tongues, followed by Spanish at 13.2 percent. All other languages account for the remaining 16.2 percent.

During the years 1990-1991 there were twenty one teachers for Junior Kindergarten to Grade 6. Sixteen were full-time and five were part-time. There were three language resource teachers to assist those students having problems with language or math. In addition to these, there is one librarian, one music teacher, one French teacher, and three physical education instructors who came in on various days. There were also three full-time ESL teachers and one who taught on a part-time basis. Seven Educational Assistants also worked in the classrooms, mostly in the

Kindergarten and the lower grades. The Principal and Vice Principal filled the administrative positions and the office was run by two secretaries.

The school is one of seventeen schools within the City of Hamilton school district that is part of the Compensatory Education Programme. This programme was initiated in 1984 after the completion of the Compensatory Education Study that was set up to look into problems of poverty within some school districts. Problems associated with poverty among some students had become especially apparent during the recession of the early 1980s. The purpose of the programme is to assist schools that have a high proportion of students who are regarded as having limited backgrounds compared to the 'average' child. Through this programme designated schools are provided with extra resources, such as more funds for books, instructional supplies and trips. Extra resource staff, such as Educational Assistants and Language Resource teachers, are also provided.

The Classroom

The classroom to which I was assigned is situated on the second floor at the south-east corner of the building. Inside the room the teacher arranged the desks in groups around the open area so the children sit facing each other. The desks are used for written work and the children sit together on the carpet for boardwork. The walls are decorated with the work of the students and a large calendar is situated near the blackboard that is filled with important events in the school including students' birthdays.

At the start of the school year there were twenty four students in Grades three and four. Their ages ranged from eight to ten years old. During the year five children moved away and three new children enrolled. Three of the children moving away spoke English as their first language, one spoke Spanish, and the other one spoke Polish. The three coming into the class had Vietnamese, Punjabi and Cambodian as their first languages.

FIGURE 4: NUMBER OF MOTHER-TONGUE LANGUAGES IN THE CLASSROOM

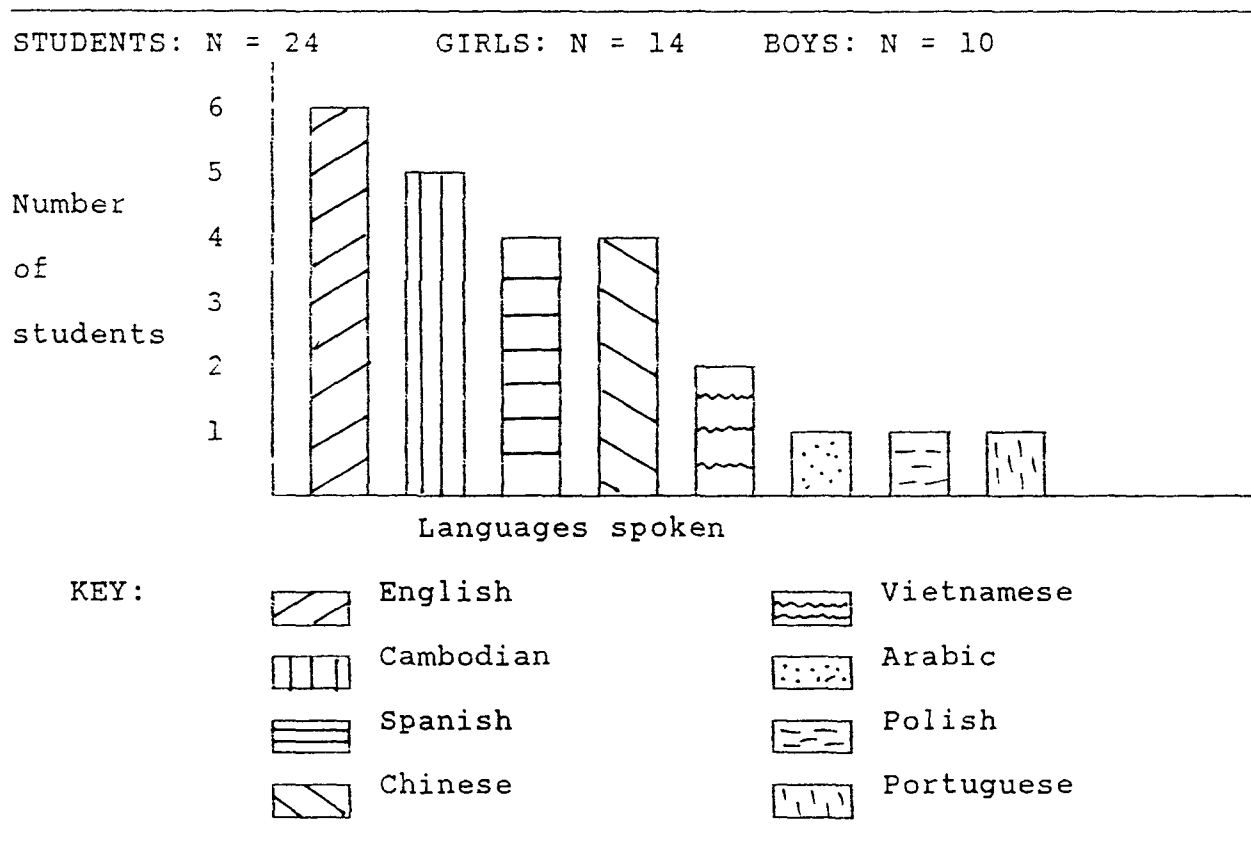


Figure 4 shows that almost half the children have mother-tongues from South East Asia. There are eight languages represented in the classroom. However, the majority of the

children are quite proficient in English. This is illustrated by the fact only three students are withdrawn from class each day for ESL classes. The children speak to each other in English most of the time. Occasionally they use their mother-tongues. Teachers encourage them to use English in school so as to facilitate acquisition of the language. Because there are so many different languages in the student population English becomes the common medium through which the students can communicate with each other.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

The arrival of large numbers of immigrants who do not speak English has led to the creation of programmes for teaching English as a Second Language (ESL). These exist at the primary and secondary grades, as well as at the adult level. This represents the most significant way that the school system has responded to the new students (Friesen, 1990:180).

There are three basic approaches to teaching ESL. These approaches are linked to the emphasis educators place on either language or culture as being of primary importance in the adjustment of new immigrant children. Some see language as the key factor in educational achievement. In these cases, intensive English instruction, away from the regular classroom, is favoured. It is thought that placement in reception classes enables rapid language acquisition. This allows the children to be integrated into the regular classroom more quickly.

Those who view culture as being of primary importance support an integrated approach where second language skills are thought to emerge from "commingling" with those speaking English. In these cases immigrant children are placed in regular classrooms where they are expected to learn through the "rub-off" effect. This approach is often used with children in the early grades.

The third approach is a compromise. Children are withdrawn from the regular classroom on a daily basis to receive extra language instruction among their peers. These approaches form the basis for the three types of ESL programmes in Canada which are, reception classes, total integration, or withdrawal classes (Ashworth, 1975:18,21).

The English as a Second Language programme was introduced in Hamilton in 1986 in three elementary schools and in one high school. Now there are seventeen schools and twenty six teachers involved, with over eight hundred and fifty students. Numbers are increasing. Initially the Hamilton Board created ESL centres in selected schools. The students were transported to them for half-days of language instruction. Problems occurred because the students felt they did not belong anywhere. Often the classes were of mixed ages and abilities, causing difficulties for the teachers.

But the half-day withdrawal where they have to be in ESL classes that have various age levels is difficult. You are not always able to find a theme for all the children when the range is from Grade 3 to 8. It is difficult to find something that will interest every one of them. It was very difficult for teachers as there was such diversity in age and ability. Like I had eight different groups going according to levels and needs. Generally I started with the whole group together and then had them break up into the smaller groups... you had to hope that many could work on their own while more time was spent with those who needed more help.

(TI11182MAY2891)

In Hamilton at the present time ESL instruction programmes are developed in the individual schools in the public system. There is no overall policy. Each school

develops its own programme on an ad hoc basis to suit the needs of its own student population. The School Board has become aware of problems developing as more non-English speaking immigrant students have increased the need for language instruction.

Each school needs to develop a plan that needs to be clear regarding ESL. At the moment each school has its own way of doing things, there is a need for things to become more standardized.

(SBI207JU1791)

One problem with having each school develop its own programme is that each could also have a different definition of ESL. For example, a withdrawal class can comprise a half day or one hour of language instruction. This is an important distinction for the Board when decisions of funding and staffing have to be made. At the student level designation as intensive, partial, or tutorial according to their second language ability can also vary. An Area Supervisor stated, "This can mean twenty minutes per day to forty minutes per day, so the definition is critical". The lack of a shared definition means the Board has great difficulty in making budget and staffing decisions which could have negative affects on programming within the schools.

The ESL Action Committee explored many of the difficulties encountered in attempts to meet the needs of an increasing number of new immigrant students. This committee was set up as part of a general overall review of the education system in Hamilton by the Board of Education during 1991. An Area Supervisor at the Board of Education told me that one of the recommendations was to have

Resource Teams operating out of Area offices. Members of these teams would include people from various disciplines, such as educators, consultants, speech therapists and psychologists. Part of each team would be responsible for ESL students, helping in reception, placement, and monitoring. The recommendations include the need for members to be trained to work with new immigrants, and to be bilingual, experienced and to have lived in different cultures.

Through the establishment of these teams the Board of Education could provide a standardized approach to ESL. This could lead to improved services for students. The Board could also gain more control over this area at the expense, perhaps, of individual schools. At the moment, because of the absence of a cohesive policy, schools have a high degree of autonomy in this area. One teacher expressed appreciation of this autonomy:

Another reason why its pleasant here is that there is no pressure on us from the Board so we don't get on the teachers backs. The teachers are free to run their classes the way they feel is best.

(TI764NOV2090)

Training English as a Second Language Teachers

In Ontario it is mandatory for teachers teaching in ESL classes in the public system to have training in English as a Second Language instruction. There are three levels leading to the Ontario Ministry of Education certificate, with the third level being designated as Specialist. Interest in teaching ESL has increased according to one teacher at the school.

I would say there is a flood of people getting on the bandwagon now, it is an expanding area. I realized this when we put on a workshop for ESL and there were fifty students in it. When we went for refreshments we found all these other people there who were also attending other groups at the high school level or adult level. So the interest in the area is great.

(TI1183MAY2891)

This increased interest was perceived to have placed a strain on the Departments of Education at the College level. This has led to some deterioration in ESL training. One teacher said:

In Part One training we got actual teaching practice with elementary school children in the day time, and then we also had practise in the evenings with adult classes. So we had actual teaching practice which I do not believe they do now, perhaps the numbers are too great.

(TI1184MAY2891)

This illustrates the value that intending teachers place on practical experience in actual classrooms. In addition, the opportunity to gain experience in both child and adult classrooms seems valuable as a way to provide insights to teachers involved in teaching new immigrants. This way they gain knowledge about the differences of language acquisition between adults and children. They also have the opportunity to gain insights that could be valuable in appreciating some of the situations faced by new immigrant families.

Teacher training for the regular classroom places an emphasis on practical experience in the classroom. However, as was mentioned previously, in ESL this component is not mandatory. Mary Ashworth (1989), points out that "good" teacher training integrates theory and practice. Yet many intending ESL teachers have never

had to demonstrate their ability to teach in this subject prior to taking their own class (Ashworth, 1989:160). There can be wide variation in training programmes resulting in varying degrees of preparedness for teaching this subject. This reflects the absence of uniformity found within many school boards which seems to be a trade mark of new immigrant education in general.

Another deficiency in teacher training relates to the regular classroom teacher. At this time few teaching students receive training in second language acquisition in their Bachelor of Education programmes. Laurentian University is the only university in Ontario to list ESL as a possible teaching subject in the 1991-1992 application for admission to teacher training. However, many schools are placing an emphasis on integrating new immigrant students into regular classes with just one hour withdrawal daily. Consequently many of the teachers who have responsibility for teaching students with little English language ability have little or no formal preparation. A director at the Hamilton Board of Education also stated that "integration and interaction is the direction for the '90s". The education of new immigrant students will probably tend to take place within the regular classrooms. This underscores the increasing need to provide all teachers with training in this area.

English as a Second Language in the School

There have been a number of changes in the five years since English as a Second Language classes were introduced in Blossom School. Initially this was a centre where new immigrant students came for half-day language classes. There were problems with this concept. One teacher noted:

When I came here this area was seen as 'heavy' - we just had two teachers and one who came in half-time. At that time students were being taxied in from other schools but this didn't work very well because some of them were older than the elementary level and they didn't feel like they belonged anywhere. So it was decided to set up programmes in the different schools rather than have centres.

(TI114OCT1190)

Educators generally favour children being placed in classes with their age peers. This is thought to enable students to adjust better socially, emotionally and physically. The policy in Blossom School is that new immigrant students are placed in age appropriate classes.

In the past dissatisfaction has been expressed by some new immigrant parents, especially those from the Caribbean, about grade placements in some Ontario schools. Many of these students were regularly placed in lower grades or those in high schools streamed into non-academic programmes (Samuda, Crawford, 1980:3). Parents felt this practice narrowed their children's academic options.

In his study of an elementary school near Toronto Jon Young (1983) found that immigrant students were often placed below grade level. Samuda and Crawford termed this practice "negative placement" (Young, 1983:114). The rationale for this placement was that students would find it easier to work at a lower grade while they were learning English.

Other changes within Blossom School have included the transition from the segregated class to the holistic and integrated approach.

Initially these classes were segregated and the children were out of the regular classroom for half the day. Also, they were only concentrating on raw, gross language which was not connected

to the curriculum and so there were gaps in their skill development and knowledge, which became apparent later on. These problems are disappearing now that we have a more holistic approach.

(TI762NOV2090)

The half-day classes concentrated on the acquisition of language skills, and were separated from the context of the regular classroom. Students had no means by which they could link what they had learned in the language class to what was happening in the regular classroom. With the integrated approach the content of the language class complements the regular classroom work. For example, special units on topics such as fall, animal groups, friendships and so on, that are part of the curriculum are also included in the withdrawal classes. Work-sheets are also provided for the ESL students so they can work on these in the regular classroom. In this way they are continuously exposed to the curriculum. As their language abilities improve they will become increasingly integrated into the regular classroom. The transition becomes smoother and more complete.

A 'whole language' approach is favoured at Blossom School. This is not a clearly defined concept. There are various definitions. Some view it as a political activity that restores power to the classroom. The learning process emerges from interactions between teacher and students, not from lesson plans imposed from outside the context. Others view it as a movement away from traditional teaching methods, and see it as an overall philosophical approach that pervades the curriculum (Chester, 1990:398).

The school has adopted the recommendations set out in the Ministry of Education's guidelines to teaching English as a second language.

The whole language approach should be adopted to develop the four basic communication skills - listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

(Curriculum Guideline, 1988:15)

They also recommend that students' own experiences should be central to language development and that the everyday use of language should take priority over concerns regarding grammar. Emphasis is placed on experiential learning rather than the acquisition of skills separated from context. It is thought that by immersing students in the language as it is used in a natural context then they will learn both the language and its contextual meanings. For example, the nuances of language, such as meaning attached to the tone of the voice, can only be learned through interactions with others in natural settings. This could not be achieved so well in the sterile context of a language class that is divorced from regular classroom life.

The transition from the segregated half day class to the integrated approach seems to have been well accepted. One of the ESL teachers commented:

I prefer the one hour [withdrawal class]. I found it very difficult to find enough for them to do for a whole morning or afternoon. Often many of the children did not need that much time. Also, it was always difficult to know whether they were ready for the regular classroom... whether they should be in or out. Whereas the integrated system reduces this problem as they can get support in the regular classroom.

(TI11181MAY2891)

The integrated classes have taken pressure off the ESL teachers in a number of ways. The one hour withdrawal class means the students in these classes are at the same Grade level so the teacher can plan lessons more easily. Anxiety about the readiness of students to move into the regular classroom has subsided because they continue to receive ESL support. Initially they are given regular support through the ESL teacher coming into the classroom three times each week to work with them. Later, when they have become more integrated, they receive periodic support and their progress is monitored.

Before integration more onus was placed on the language teacher when recommending students attend regular classes full time. In the integrated system the decision has become a shared one. One teacher commented:

...the decision is made by the ESL and classroom teacher. It is a combined decision based on observations in here [the ESL classroom] and in the regular classroom.

(TI323OCT2590)

The class size has become smaller with the one hour withdrawal class. At this time the number in each class ranges between six to twelve students. The smaller group enables more interaction and opportunities to use the language than would be possible in larger classes. One teacher pointed out that numbers alone do not determine the quality of the environment. She said:

This is one of the concerns of the Board at the moment, for example, they are trying to work out how many students should be allocated to a teacher. When I was doing the half day it was thought fifteen was the limit, but I have had as many as twenty in the class and it worked out alright. It depends on the children and their abilities and needs. Numbers alone do not really reflect the conditions of the class. The Board is trying to get a handle on the numbers, but numbers do not take into account the various levels of the students. For example, intensive students, tutorial or monitoring, therefore, there are various need levels and numbers of children in the class do not reflect this.

(TI11183MAY2891)

This was a point made by an Area Supervisor at the Board, mentioned previously, concerning the need for a clear definition of ESL. More detailed information about the language abilities of students was thought to be needed when making decisions about the most appropriate approaches. However, at the classroom level the introduction of the one hour withdrawal class has reduced some problems because now the students are at the same grade level and have similar language ability.

The teachers of ESL express great satisfaction with their work. This could be due to the area being relatively new so there are many opportunities to be innovative and help develop improved programmes. The administration at the school have been "really supportive and interested". I was also told the Board has been exceptionally supportive with both staffing and funding. This support provides evidence for the teachers that their work is valued and is viewed as important. A further reason for high satisfaction was expressed by this teacher:

Well, its very rewarding as I see success constantly. The children learn the language quite quickly and its great to see them become settled in the school. This is a small group so I can get to know them well and they also get to know each other and are really good at helping each other.

(TI332OCT2590)

Lortie (1975) cited several studies where teachers reported their greatest rewards came from interactions with students and from knowing they had helped students learn. These intrinsic rewards took primacy over other rewards such as salary level or status and getting home from work the same time as the teachers' own school-age children (Lortie, 1975:103-6). In teaching English to new immigrant children the probability of frequently experiencing these rewards is high as the results of the teacher's efforts become apparent quickly. New immigrant students want to learn English so that they can integrate into the school. This helps to create an environment conducive to a high level of satisfaction among second language teachers.

In the initial stages of developing the ESL programme in the school there was some resistance from the regular classroom teachers. The main problem was preparation time so the ESL teacher and classroom teacher could work together on a plan for the students.

One of the concerns teachers had was getting preparation time to plan as a team. The administration then gave prep time to the teachers so that when their class was having Phys. Ed., for example, then the classroom teacher would be free to plan with the resource teachers. In this way prep time was brought into the timetable whereas before it had to take place in the teacher's own time, lunch hour or after school. (TI116OCT1190)

In elementary schools classroom teachers are with their students all day so concern about using part of their 'own' time as preparation time can be appreciated. Now teachers get regular time to work on class preparation, report cards and so on, when their classes are taking Phys. Ed., music or French. The introduction of this flexible time provided the opportunity for collaboration between classroom and ESL teachers within the timetable. Providing specific time slots adds value to shared planning. Before this activity had to be squeezed in at odd times when the teachers may be preoccupied with other thoughts. Bringing it into the timetable allows a more systematic approach and gives legitimacy to the discussions as an important activity.

The integrated approach had to be introduced gradually and with sensitivity toward the regular classroom teachers. They could feel threatened by another teacher coming into the classroom regularly to work with some of the students. The teacher responsible for developing the integrated programme related how she set about doing this.

I had to work on getting support and acceptance from teachers. I started off with four teachers initially. I picked those who showed interest and used them as communicators to the rest of the school. When people began to see the benefits of the programme then others became interested in getting involved.

(TI115OCT1190)

Benefits are gained through taking a gradual approach where the programme can evolve within the setting. Selection of a few teachers to act as gatekeepers to introduce the programme to others was probably more effective in persuading them of the benefits than the new teacher who came to the school to initiate the project. A positive acceptance by classroom teachers is needed as the effectiveness of the

programme is dependent on the cooperation and collaboration of the regular teachers and the ESL teachers. This seems to have been achieved. Many teachers remarked how helpful the programme is for the classroom teacher, especially in providing appropriate resources for them to use.

We have a growing ESL development which really helps in the classroom. For example, they make up some good resource materials that can be used with the new immigrant students. (She shows me a package of various activities such as matching-up objects, maze games, word puzzles, special theme poems etc. that are suitable for those who have limited English.) Also the ESL resource teacher comes in three times a week and has provided a lot of materials that have helped too.

(TI220OCT1190)

Handscombe (1989) points out the importance of the whole school becoming involved in the education of new immigrant students. All should have ownership so that these students and the programme for their education do not become marginalized within the school (Handscombe, 1989:32). The integration of new immigrant children into the regular programme with support from ESL helps to prevent some of the problems mentioned earlier where children are often placed below grade level. In this school integration may be easier than in some schools because the new immigrant students form the majority of the student population. This point was made by one of the school administrators.

Another positive aspect of the school is the good ESL programme which has alleviated the classroom teacher. There is now a shared ownership of the children. We now have much expertise in this area and the new immigrant child does not pose as a burden in the classroom as a result of the support of ESL. Whereas, in schools where there are few new immigrants, then the child who is unable to speak English is viewed as a problem as the classroom teacher does not know what to do.

Attention then becomes focused on this one child which disrupts the rest of the classroom. But here this does not arise and we are able to accommodate new children with little problem.

(TI436OCT2590)

The comparison between schools with large numbers of new immigrants and those with few illustrate the importance of the ratio of immigrant to non-immigrant students on interactions within the school community. Rosabeth Kantor (1977) defined this effect in her study of women in corporations dominated by men. She came up with four types of groups based on the proportions of categories of people found within them: two of these are relevant here. Those groups that have only a few of one category she called "skewed" groups made up of "dominants" and "tokens". The "tokens" are highly visible but tend to become symbols for their category rather than being related to as the individuals they are. Those groups that have more "tokens" (now called minorities), but maintain a majority of another group she called "tilted". In these cases the minority is large enough to have some effect on the group and for its members to be related to as individuals (Kantor, 1977:208-9).

There are differences between what Kantor found in the corporation and what often occurs in schools. One difference is that in the corporation "tokens" tended to be marginalized, whereas in schools, at least initially, they become the focus. This is seen to be due to the lack of preparation in these schools for the reception of new immigrant students from different cultures. Another difference is found in Blossom School, where there are analogies with the "tilted" group. The new immigrants form the majority and Canadian-born students, mostly from low income families, form the

minority. However, because the majority do not share one single homogeneous background, but come from a variety of cultures, their dominant effect is diminished. Because of the ethnic diversity within the school the community more resembles a balanced group. Individuals are affected more by factors outside group membership such as the accepting and open environment in the school that encourages tolerance and acceptance of others.

In the classroom that I visited many of the children who had gone to ESL said how much they liked the classes because they were small. Others in the class did not know much English either so they felt more comfortable talking.

We didn't do hard things... We never did math. We just did things for ESL. Sometimes the teacher he had us tell a story and sometimes he would put somebody up to the blackboard and this person would write down what the person with their hand up would say. And sometimes if you didn't know how to write it then he told us.

Q: Did you find this helped you to learn English?

Yes. In the big class no one could talk a lot of English, but in ESL we could talk English to each other a lot.

(SI11100FEB91)

The small group of children who are at the same grade level and similar language ability provides an environment that is comfortable for the new students. In the larger class most of the dialogue is between the teacher and one child while the rest of the class listens. New immigrant students are reluctant to speak in front of the other children and the teacher has to coax them to take a more active part in the class. However, the smaller language class provides a non-threatening environment where they can share stories and news with each other. In cases where

students speak little English another student translates what they say. Thus children not only acquire the language but do so in a way that bolsters their confidence.

The school has a 'buddy' system. New immigrant children are paired up with someone in their class who speaks the same language. Many of the children mentioned this when they were asked what they remembered about first coming to the school.

I have a friend and she was my best friend and she helped me when I first came. She said to me in English and I said to her in Spanish.

(SI538FEB91)

Some children from my country are in there [the class] so then I have some people to talk to.

(SI15133FEB91)

When I first went to ESL my friend he sit beside me and he tell me in Cambodian. I knew only a little bit of English. I felt sad. But the teacher he says, "You can be friends with them and they can help you." My friend when he come they helped him too.

(SI12110FEB91)

Having a 'buddy' or friend alleviates the fear of new students that they will be isolated and unable to understand anything that is being said around them. The friend can also show them what to do so they will learn the routines within the school day more quickly and with less anxiety. New students enrol in the school throughout the year so many do not have the advantage of beginning school with everyone else in September. Being introduced to a child in their class who can speak their language must bring tremendous relief.

Reception of New Students

The reception of new immigrant students and their families is viewed as an important aspect of the work of English as a Second Language programmes by the Ministry of Education. The Curriculum Guideline (1988) provides guidelines.

A warm reception of the new students and their families is a vital first step... The reception should be undertaken by the staff member designated as the continuing contact for the students and their families.

(Curriculum Guideline, 1988:11)

This view was also expressed by one of the ESL teachers.

[There is a] need to pay attention to the reception of these students. For example, some are still placing new students a grade or two back from their age level. Therefore, policies need to be clarified, although the Board is working on a package of reception procedures, so there will be some uniform system to receive these children... not just schools that have ESL students but all schools. To designate someone as the ESL representative just as you have a computer rep. Well here we already have these things because we have had to.

(TI1185MAY2891)

Reception at the school is for all new students and their families. However, because of the high number of new immigrants there have been some additions such as the use of translators and the recently made video has a Vietnamese and Spanish version in addition to English.

The school secretary and the ESL coordinator are both directly involved with student reception. It is considered important to have the same people responsible for this so future contacts with the families will be with someone familiar. This policy

reflects the recommendations of the Ministry of Education. The reception at school takes place as follows.

Well they come up to the counter and we get the paper work done. If the student is ESL then I get a student from Grade Six to come and translate if the family cannot speak English. Or sometimes they bring their own translator. When the paper work is done I contact [the ESL coordinator] and she comes down and gives the family a tour of the school.

(I17211JU2191)

When they come in to register then the secretary calls me and I come down to greet them. I do this because I think it is important that they get to know someone so when they return they will know at least one face.

(TI117OCT1190)

At this time the school relies on an informal network of people who are willing to help in translating when the need arises. The individuals involved include older students in the school, secondary school students, staff and relatives. It was pointed out to me that this is an area where networking is needed in order to develop a system that can be shared between schools to provide improved services.

The attitudes of parents toward the initial contact with the school vary with their backgrounds.

There are different reactions in the parents. For example, the immigrants from the Eastern Bloc countries are generally amazed that there is no cost involved. In Poland for example, not everyone gets the same type of education. Apparently only the very rich get a decent education as they have to pay for everything. So they are quite surprised. However, the Asian parents often appear frightened. They see the school as a government agency and they are afraid they might do something wrong here and get into trouble with the government.

(I17214JU2191)

In schools where students have a variety of cultural backgrounds and where many come from countries with repressive political systems, the staff cannot assume school means the same thing to everyone. This emphasises the importance of the initial reception of new immigrant families into the school being welcoming and willing to attend carefully and sensitively to their concerns.

One way to alleviate anxiety and fear is to provide information about what happens in the school so this will no longer be shrouded in mystery. The school has found a way to do this by making a video. This video shows a typical day at the school. It is approximately ten minutes long and is shown to new students and their families as part of reception when the students register. At this time it is in the three most prevalent languages in the school, English, Vietnamese and Spanish. Versions in other languages are planned, when translation has been arranged.

The video provides information that is pertinent to all new students. For example, it gives the time school begins, going home time and so on. The secretary and the principals are shown at the desk in the main office and captions on the screen indicate who they are so they can be recognized.

A tour of the school and the classrooms is shown. Children are filmed working together at tables, sitting on the floor grouped around the teacher, and so on. These scenes give the families glimpses of the cooperative and interactive styles of learning their children will experience. This is important for new immigrant families. Many will be unfamiliar with this approach to teaching. In many countries students are expected to listen passively and to learn by rote.

The video shows the children playing at recess during the summer and winter. Examples of appropriate clothing for both the seasons are shown. The need for suitable clothing for winter is stressed. The video shows children putting on hats, mittens, warm coats and snow boots. It is pointed out just how cold the winter weather can be. Children need to be dressed warmly. Many immigrant students come from tropical areas and need to learn about winter clothing.

Student translators are shown using the telephone. Parents are told they can get help from them if they want to talk to the teachers. They are also made aware that they can write to the school in their own language and that their letters will be translated for the teachers. This informs the parents of new students that communication with the school is expected.

First Language Maintenance

In Canada, and especially Ontario, the emphasis in the education of new immigrants has been on the acquisition of one of the official languages. The dominant model is English/French as a Second Language and little official attention has been given to first language maintenance. Cummins and Danesi (1990) point out that there are models for bilingual programmes. For example, in the Prairie provinces English and Ukrainian bilingual programmes have been successful. Other examples include trilingual Hebrew/French/English and Greek/French/English programmes in Quebec. However, the Ontario government has tended to resist these types of programmes, stating that the number of languages involved renders the approach unfeasible.

Attempts to introduce bilingual programmes are usually thwarted. For example, one school in the North York Board of Education submitted a proposal to introduce Greek/English and Cantonese/English bilingual options. But the Board of Education trustees denied approval on the grounds bilingual education could lead to eventual ghettoization (Cummins, Danesi, 1990:106,108). The authors felt this resistance to bilingual education represents a myopic approach and reveals a narrow interpretation of multiculturalism.

Teachers at the school felt maintenance of the first language was important. For example, one teacher said:

I think language maintenance is extremely important in order to keep their own identity. When they come here we throw so many things at them, and things are so different that maintaining their own language is one thing that can help them retain their self-identity. For example, in my class I like to incorporate other languages where I can show similarities. In showing the links with other languages the students are made to feel more comfortable.

(TI9168MAY2291)

This particular teacher views the first language as being a constant in the lives of new immigrant students who have experienced so many changes. In her teaching she uses language to show the connections many of the children have with each other even though they come from different linguistic backgrounds.

In Ontario the means through which first languages are developed and maintained is through the Heritage Language programme. This programme was first introduced in Ontario in the 1977-78 academic year and is funded under the

Continuing Education Programme. These classes occur outside regular school hours and are taught by members of various ethnic communities. Although these instructors are not required to have an Ontario teaching certificate they do have to meet requirements of the school board and parent groups that they are suitable (Majhanovich, Ray, 1991:86). However, there is ambivalence in teachers' attitudes toward these classes. One teacher said:

Many of the children here maintain their first language by speaking it at home and by going to Heritage Language classes where they learn to read and write their language. However, I have heard from some of the children who go to these classes that they do not enjoy them much... they don't learn much. So I would question the usefulness of these classes. After all the people doing these are not trained teachers, they do not know how to present information to a class. They do it from the goodness of their hearts.

(TI10175MAY2791)

Because the instructors of heritage language classes do not hold recognized qualifications and the classes occur outside regular school hours then the value placed on these is diminished.

Younger children seem to enjoy going to Heritage Language classes as these classes provide opportunities for meeting friends and doing special things.

I went fishing with my Cambodian teacher. I caught three fish.
 They were cat fish with moustache. My friend caught one fish.
 Teacher: Did you take them home or throw them back?
 No, I ate them. They were big.

(FN107MAY691)

However, the time commitment required is substantial.

I go to Portuguese classes after school. I go Tuesday and
 Thursday and Saturday morning... And then we have tests. I
 sometimes forget a word so I have to use an English word. But
 I have a dictionary that is Portuguese so I can look up the
 word.

(SI19154FEB90)

As students grow older and have more school homework and where socializing
 with friends becomes important the demands of the language class can be a burden.

Attitudes toward first language maintenance can be influenced by a variety of
 factors. A major influence is the degree to which the family is attached to their
 culture and language (Ashworth, 1985:57). However, there is a tendency for first
 languages to become displaced by one of the official languages, usually English.
 Driedger (1989) found a decline in the use of first languages in a study of five
 Canadian metropolitan areas. Fluency in the first generation generally remained high,
 but by the third generation the language was mostly displaced (Driedger, 1989:105).

Lambert (1990) has defined two types of bilingualism. One is an additive form
 where both languages have value so the acquisition of a second language does not
 detract from the first language. For example, becoming bilingual in English and
 French in Montreal. The second is a subtractive form, experienced by many

immigrant groups, where acquisition of the majority language tends to diminish or displace the minority first language (Lambert, 1990:246). Lambert suggests this subtractive form is greatly influenced by policies that encourage and support second language acquisition at the expense of the first language. Examples of this shift into the second language at the expense of the first are found in these comments made by students.

I feel easiest in English. When my friends come to the house I usually speak English to them.

Q: Even friends who know Chinese?

Yes. Its just with my family that I speak Chinese.

(SI329FEB91)

I have to speak Chinese to my mum and dad and sister. But I find it hard to speak Chinese because I speak in English more.

(SI436FEB91)

I find it hard in Spanish because when I am reading a book in Spanish I find I have to go and ask my mum because I have forgotten it. Because now everyday I read in English and now to me it is more easier than in Spanish. When I came here [Canada] I bring some books in Spanish and when I take books from the library I just read them in English and sometimes... sometimes I read them in Spanish.

(SI538FEB91)

These children appear to have adopted English as their main form of communication outside the family. However, research into second language acquisition reveals that it is important to continue cognitive development of the first language to at least age twelve, when acquisition is mostly completed (Collier, 1989:511). This is because the acquisition of a second language is interrelated with development of the first language. A good basis is needed in this to be able to acquire language skills capable of mastering the abstract language of schooling.

There are two levels of language development. The first level is the basic survival language. This is context dependent and requires little cognitive involvement. It can be acquired by new immigrants within two to three years. The second level is the more abstract and cognitively demanding language used in education. It can take between five to seven years for a new immigrant student to acquire a proficiency level that matches Canadian-born students (Collier, 1989:516).

In Ontario parents have the major responsibility for first language development and maintenance. This means that first language acquisition varies as some develop only verbal skills while others attend Heritage language classes to acquire reading and writing skills. As mentioned earlier the quality of these classes also vary. The language skills of parents also affect the quality of language skills developed in the children. One teacher observed:

We have no concept of the parents education level. Many of these parents are not well educated therefore, the children may not have been taught their first language fully. There may be deficiencies there.

(TI10174MAY2791)

Most of the children use their first language in the home either because their parents want them to maintain their language or because the parents do not understand English. In some schools greater emphasis is placed on acquisition of English in order to assimilate the children into the school quickly. Young (1983), found in his study that new parents were frequently asked to speak English at home until the child developed the second language sufficiently, then they could return to

their first language (Young, 1983:102-3). However, Cummins (1989) points out that research supports the use of the first language in bringing about better academic results and social benefits for the family and community (Cummins, 1989:10). Therefore, the practice of advising new immigrant parents to use only English is not helpful as their abilities in this language may be poor. The diminished quality of interactions between children and parents could weaken the conceptual and academic skills of the children.

At this school the importance of first language maintenance is appreciated. I was told, "We are tolerant of speaking in their own language providing it does not interfere with their learning of English." The acquisition of English is an obvious priority within the school. Yet, as research evidence suggests the incomplete development of the first language can hinder second language acquisition. Leaving first language development to the vagaries of the present system of Heritage Languages could place new immigrant elementary students in jeopardy in relation to further education at high school level and beyond.

CHAPTER NINE

TEACHING IN DIVERSITY

The diversity within the student populations at Blossom School is not reflected in the teaching staff. Only one teacher was a person of colour although a number of teachers had ability in languages other than English. This reflects the general bias in English-speaking Canada toward those who have ethnic origins in Britain. Approximately fifty six percent of teachers in Canada have Anglo origins. This means they have a twelve percent over representation in relation to the Anglo population as a whole. In Ontario this bias has been bolstered in its past by legislation. For example, the 1970 School Administration Act contained a restriction that only British subjects (meaning Canadian citizens and immigrants with British citizenship) could receive a permanent Ontario Teaching Certificate (Lockhart,1991:54,33).

Teachers also tend to come from the middle classes. This is a trend which became more pronounced in 1970's when a number of factors coalesced. There were fewer employment avenues open to university graduates, and higher education was required of intending teachers. There was also a rise in salary levels, making teaching a more acceptable career for the middle classes (Lockhart,1991:37).

The teachers population has become increasingly homogeneous while student populations have become more diverse. The effect on teaching is reflected in the observations of this teacher.

You have to be aware of the background of the children so you can understand some of their behaviour. This, of course, is true of inner-city schools too. You have to understand their backgrounds too. I don't think this is something you would have to be concerned about in a middleclass school. I think it would be easier to know where the children are coming from.

(T11651NOV1590)

Recognition is given to the lack of "shared understanding" between teachers and children within the school. Teachers have fewer insights about their students because less is known about them. They cannot take as much for granted in this school, as they could if they were teaching in suburban schools where the teachers and students shared similar backgrounds.

In the multiethnic school, when the teaching staff does not reflect the diversity among the students, generalisations may be made about particular groups. Students belonging to these groups are categorised as having particular qualities, and interactions are sometimes based on preconceived assumptions. One teacher commented:

A lot of people think that Asian children are very bright. Well many are, but over the years it becomes apparent that there are groups within groups. For example, the first "boat people" were wealthy and they could buy their way out (of Vietnam). They had strong motivation to do well here and build up a life for themselves. Therefore, their children did very well. Many of these kids learnt English in three months. Now we tend to have immigrant from the lower SES level, and they stay around here. So you come to see the same sort of divisions among the different groups of immigrants as you find in this society. You can no longer assume certain things about someone just because you know they come from Vietnam, for example.

(T1765NOV2090)

McLaren (1989) found the same attitude toward Asian immigrant in America. Prior to 1976 Asian immigrants were mostly from privileged backgrounds. However, since this time they are often impoverished refugees from rural areas. Yet, Asian students still tend to be stereotyped as successful because of their passivity and diligence in school. This has resulted in some resentment of these students (McLaren, 1989:12).

R. Patrick Solomon (1992) suggests that educators need to develop cultural competencies but should not be inflexible as "knowledge that freezes culture in time promotes stereotyping" (Solomon,1992:115). He points out that cultures are dynamic and teachers have a responsibility to develop an awareness of this so that students do not become trapped by preconceived views about the ethnic groups in which they have membership.

In this school, with so many immigrant students representing various ethnic and racial groups, the tendency toward stereotyping is not as prevalent. This is probably due to the large numbers. Individual differences in the students of the various groups soon become apparent, making it difficult to support stereotypical claims.

Diversity in the school is viewed by teachers as a positive aspect of the school environment.

I have taught at five or six different schools but when I go back to teaching Grade Four I will be asking for a placement here at this school. I find the children so tolerant of each other. In many ways I think that white children are lucky. They can develop that tolerance that will help as they grow up to become adults. This is what Canada will be, this is its future, and when

children are not exposed to different cultures until they are adults then they have difficulty coping with these differences.

(TI10177MAY2791)

The diversity in the school is seen as good preparation for life in a multicultural society. Through contact with many different cultures at an early age it is thought that children will become familiar with diversity. They will come to know people who are different from themselves as individuals, and will be less likely to develop stereotypical assumptions about others based on group membership.

Teacher Qualities.

Becoming a teacher involves becoming socialised into the profession. This is the case in many professions. Socialization, in general, can be considered a subjective process where the individual moves "through a series of structural experiences and internalise the subculture of its group of the group" (Lortie,1975:61). In the case of teachers, this process begins with formal education where, as students, they have spent many years in close contact with teachers. They will have achieved some degree of understanding of the occupation and socialization prior to formal training.

The length of the training period for teachers is short. For example, medical doctors, nurses and engineers have at least four years of demanding training prior to entering their professions. This enables considerable socialization to take place prior to entry into its professions. Intending teachers have a shorter and less demanding training period and do not really begin to be socialized into the occupation until they enter classrooms. Therefore, socialization into teaching is mainly selfsocialization. Learning through experience is important (Lortie,1975:79). Many teachers at Blossom School stated that they learn to do their work "by trial and error" and that the things

they find work in one situation are applied in others. The practice of teaching appears to be a dynamic process of 'becoming' rather than the static application of technique acquired through formal training.

Prior experiences of teachers, including formal education, teacher training, or teaching experience in other schools, does not prepare them to teach in multiethnic environments. Many teachers expressed some apprehension and anxiety about first coming to teach at the school. They were uncertain of what to expect in this setting.

When new teachers first come here they don't know what to expect. But once they have been here for a while they don't want to leave.

(FN10OCT490)

When I first knew I was coming here I felt nervous, but I found that if you are willing to adapt and be flexible than it is fine. But without this it would be very difficult here.

(TI9170MAY2291)

The differences in the backgrounds of many of its students makes teaching an uncertain task as the degree of shared knowledge is unknown. For example, one teacher related how she was discussing war with her class around the time of Remembrance Day. It became apparent that some of the students had witnessed war in their own countries. The teacher felt that what she was telling the class paled into insignificance beside the vividness of their lived experiences. This could be disconcerting for some teachers who hold the view that teachers possess valued knowledge which they impart to less experienced children. When teaching a diverse group the nature of the education process is interactive rather than a one directional process, with the teacher talking down to the students. In a multicultural context

"teachers can't act as dominant figures, they have to listen and learn from the children". They have to learn or "flow with it". Rather than establishing a clear separation between teacher and pupil, where the teacher is dominant and the pupil subservient, there is an emphasis on establishing cooperation within the classroom. Both teachers and students contribute to the learning process.

There is evidence that the most successful teachers adopt a non-threatening, empathetic style of teaching. However, this is often tempered by an inflexible and authoritarian school organization. Teachers tend to have more liberal humanistic values than the population as a whole. However, in teaching these personal values are often suppressed in favour of the traditional and dominant authoritarian style (Lockhart, 1991:50-56). The diversity within this school mitigates against the adoption of an authoritarian style and teachers find they need to have an open and flexible approach.

Those who stay in this area are warm and compassionate, who really care about the kids. There are no fixed standards here, no 'normal' child; so the teachers have to be flexible and understanding both with the children as well as each other. They have to be willing to help each other out when they have problems.

(TI649NOV1590)

It has become apparent to teachers that to be successful in the school certain personal qualities, such as flexibility and a willingness to cooperate with others, are essential. Because of the diverse student population teachers are unable to rely on formal information regarding children's norms, but have to consider each child as a

unique being. One teacher observed that "...what we as a staff have to come to understand is that the students are all different and we have to respect that, it is part of our role as teachers" (TI760NOV2090).

Responding to differences in students goes against the tenets of universality that have been associated with public education (Lortie, 1975:123). But in schools where there is a limited base of shared understanding due to the differences in backgrounds the practice of universality, where all children are treated alike, is more difficult to achieve. Because there is no clear understanding of the children's experiences this responding to each child in a particularistic way provides a means through which to build a knowledge base that allows more meaningful communication.

Communicating with the students as unique beings requires the teacher to take on the perspective of the child. This requires a holding back of any preconceived assumptions and becoming receptive to the reality of the 'other' (Friedman,1983:30). To communicate in this way teachers need to be empathetic. One teacher said:

One of the most important things is to have a sense of empathy as a human being to another human being. We can't know all the customs from all cultures but if we have this sympathy and respect for people as they are then any cultural mistakes we make will be seen as that, mistakes not discrimination. Just as we will accept their cultural mistakes. I think this is the key. ...We look for this special empathy in prospective teachers.
(TI769NOV2090)

This teacher observed that in multiethnic settings teachers need a readiness to accept others on their own terms and not to respond to individuals in a way based on preconceived and stereotypical assumptions. An emphasis is placed on empathy where there is an openness toward other human beings that transcends cultural differences. The qualities valued in teachers at this school are those that allow them to say: "I accept you as you are in your otherness and uniqueness" (Friedman, 1983:18).

Job Satisfaction

Many of the teachers experienced fewer discipline problems at this school compared to others. This was seen as a positive feature of the school.

I used to supply [teach] here and really liked the school. So when a vacancy came up I applied for it. There are so few discipline problems here, it makes it so much easier to teach.

(TI541OCT2590)

There are not the discipline problems here that you would find at other schools. The ethnic community tends to be more appreciative and they don't question what its school is doing. They don't have an attitude of 'who do you think you are?' about the teachers.

(TI435OCT2590)

Few of the discipline problems in the school were attributed to the influence of the new immigrant students. It was thought that parental attitudes toward education and teachers influenced the behaviours of the children at school. Their parents' high regard for teachers coupled with the norm in some cultures to show respect toward elders results in more compliant behaviour. Immigrant parents, especially those from South East Asia, 'tend to put the teachers on a pedestal and

accept what they say'. In many cases parents view teachers as experts. Children are less likely to hear parents making negative comments about teachers so the integrity of their status remains intact. The children's respect for their teachers lessens the incidence and seriousness of discipline problems.

Low teacher turnover at Blossom School is a clear indication of teacher satisfaction.

...in the last ten years we have had four requests to leave, which probably makes it one of the lowest in the system; in other Compensatory Education schools they would average ten to twelve in this period. Also, we have no problem getting people to come here, for example, last year we posted a vacancy and we got twelve applicants.

(TI763NOV2090)

Many of the teachers stated that they had chosen to work at the school. They had worked at the school previously or supply taught there and had found that they enjoyed being there. Many appreciated the lack of discipline problems. Another source of satisfaction was the perception that many of the children have "limited backgrounds", so they really needed the teacher's help. For example, one teacher spoke about her decision to come to work at this school rather than a French Immersion School.

I think that at this school I get more job satisfaction than I would get from French Immersion. Those children and their parents know what they want and how to get it, whereas here the children both need help and appreciate it.

(TI438OCT2590)

Value is place on helping children who are viewed as being less advantaged. In this school children's problems stem from language difficulties and poverty. Here teachers feel they can make a difference in the lives of their students. In schools where students have advantaged backgrounds and are highly motivated to succeed academically the teacher does not have such a significant role.

Another source of satisfaction for the teachers is the expression of affection from the children. "The children are very warm and appreciative. They come up and hug you a lot and seem happy to see you." The truth of this observation was confirmed by a notice on the gym door stating 'only three hugs a day allowed'. Peter McLaren (1980) found that the principal at the inner city elementary school in Toronto where he was working placed an emphasis on creating an environment of love and trust within the school. Because of this he became known as the "hugging principal" (McLaren,1980:37). This personal account dating from the late 1970s contrasts sharply with the reluctance of some teachers to show affection to children because of fears about sexual assault charges (The Spectator, January 4,1992). This fear is especially prevalent among male teachers working with the lower grades. However, this attitude is not found in Blossom School where the affection comes

directly from the children themselves. It may be that the open plan of the school provides security for the teachers as no one is shut behind doors.

Cooperation between teachers was also mentioned as a positive aspect of the school. Young (1983) found an absence of collegiality in the elementary school near Toronto that he studied in the early 1980s. Teachers did not share ideas or resources and there was little support for innovation in the education of new immigrant students. The teachers found their main source of legitimation in the school board's guidelines (Young,1983:159-60). However, at Blossom School there is a high level of support and cooperation between the teachers.

I have found this to be the most rewarding school I have been to yet, and I have taught in about ten other schools. There is a source of accomplishment here at this school. Although it can be difficult there is a lot of sharing and support from the staff. Also, the children all know who you are, its almost like being in a family. There is also a lot of caring about the children. Teachers tend to pass their students on from one teacher to another... there are instructions about anything special about the student when they move on to another teacher. So there is caring; we worry about our students.

(TI19169MAY2291)

The children are the central focus within the school and the common interest that teachers have in their students' lives binds the teachers together.

Teachers in many schools do their work in isolation "behind closed doors" with little input from colleagues. Because of this "closed-door autonomy" they sometimes do not develop a sense of shared interest in the community of the school (Peshkin,1991:115). This isolation of the classroom teacher tends to mute the high levels of enthusiasm and motivation that they possessed as beginning teachers.

However, in Blossom school cooperation and sharing of ideas is an integral part of the integrated approach to the education of new immigrant students. The English as a Second Language teachers work closely together, both as a group and with the regular classroom teachers, to plan and carry out programmes that benefit all students. One teacher commented that its rapport between teachers and students was "out of the ordinary" and that because of this "we are a very successful school."

Parental Involvement

The involvement of parents in the school is minimal. This was an area that was acknowledged by teachers as requiring some attention. The nature of parental involvement was not made completely clear. However, it seems to have been related to the need for improved communication between the home and the school. Research has shown that teachers do desire the assistance of parents, but they want it on their own terms. For example, Lortie (1975) doing research in the United States, found that teachers wanted to dominate in the relationships between themselves and the parents. Parents were expected to comply with teachers' plans. Teachers wanted to maintain their autonomy while receiving support from their students' parents (Lortie, 1975:191).

Peshkin (1991) noted that in the multiethnic high school in California that he studied, few parents became involved in the school. The school was situated in a low-income community that had experienced ethnic problems in the past. The student population included black, Chicano, and Filipino-Americans. Teachers felt "abandoned by parents" and would have liked them to become allies in supporting

teachers efforts with the student (Peshkin, 1991:116-17). They reported they would like parents to do this by reinforcing the values of education at home through emphasizing the importance of doing homework and by praising good efforts.

These two examples reflect the problem teachers have in finding the right balance of parental involvement. Lortie's study reflected the views of American teachers working in more middle class and suburban schools, where teachers have to guard against too much interference from parents who want to improve the education their children receive. The study by Peshkin shows concern over too little involvement, and shows how lack of communication with parents can undermine teachers endeavours.

One teacher at Blossom School spoke about the contrast in her experiences teaching at these two types of schools.

We don't get a lot of parental involvement here, many parents work shift, etc. and so would find it difficult to come in during school time. Others, perhaps, are not aware that they can get involved.

[This contrasts with the] dual-tract school where some were being educated in English and then in French... Teachers were constantly having to justify programming to parents who did not like something. Also complaints from parents often centred around things like 'hurt feelings', where a teacher had said something and the child had gone home and told the parent, who would then come in and complain. So teachers had to be careful what was said all the time. However, at this school, because the teachers are relaxed and the atmosphere is pleasant then it provides a nurturing environment for its children.

(TI13192MAY2991)

Implicit in the statement above is the view that less parental involvement means less pressure on the teacher. In Blossom School teachers enjoy a high degree of autonomy that is not found in all schools. They can pursue their teaching strategies with little fear of opposition from parents. This was stated more explicitly to McLaren (1989) by a fellow teacher at Jane-Finch Corridor school, in a low income Toronto neighbourhood.

But when you think of it, less involvement means less pressure on you as a teacher. For one thing, you don't have to worry about too many busy-body parents trying to run your class like they do in some middle class schools... For me its a lot better than having the community looking down your throat all the time.

(McLaren, 1989:94-5).

At Blossom School there was some concern about the low level of parental involvement.

We do not have much contact with parents of the immigrant children. Many parents are hesitant to get involved ...Right now I think too much trust is put into the school system, that parents trust the school system too much... They don't realise perhaps that they can come to the school and ask questions and make suggestions.

(TI10178MAY91)

This teacher felt that parents should take more interest in what is happening to the school. If parents knew what their children were doing in school they could assist their children more effectively. Parents could make themselves aware of any deficiencies in what was being offered and suggest how these could be rectified. This teacher felt that the various ethnic communities could provide valuable assistance.

One way that I can see this could be done is by their communities. They could explain how the education system worked and that they can get involved with the school. Really these community organizations could act as a liaison between the parents and the school.

(TI10179MAY2791)

Solomon (1992) also found that ethnic associations were useful in enabling parents to become informed about what was happening in their children's schools (Solomon, 1992:71). Solomon's study was conducted at a high school where many black male students devoted much of their school time to athletics, to the detriment of their academic careers. Because parents had little or no involvement with the school they were unaware of this situation until it became a controversial issue within their communities. In this particular case community organizations provided parents with information as well as a public forum for discussing various aspects of schooling. This kind of cooperation could be useful to schools in their efforts to provide adequate and appropriate programmes for all students. Teachers at Blossom School reported that in the past these community groups had been helpful in providing information to help sort out problems.

Although there is little involvement by parents in Blossom School it should not be assumed that they are apathetic toward their children's education. One teacher observed that immigrant parents, especially South East Asian parents, were highly involved in what their children were learning.

For example, in the Grade Six class the South East Asian students are always really worried about tests and work really hard at them because if their results are not good there are repercussions at home. So these parents tend to put pressure on their children to do well.

(TI13191MAY2991)

Although parental involvement in the school is minimal interest in the education of their children is high. This illustrates that interest of parents cannot be adequately gauged by their participation in the school. Education has a broader application than being confined to the education system.

One of the reasons why immigrant parents have little contact with the school could stem from the fact that they cannot speak English well. Interviews with the children revealed that almost half the parents (15) were unable to speak English very well. However, only six were taking English language classes. Comments from some of the children describe the situation.

My mum knows a little, but my dad speaks better. My dad goes to school. He goes to school at night time. He goes every night except Saturday and Sunday.

My mum? She goes to school too. She goes at nine o'clock in the morning.

(SI11FEB91)

My mum goes to classes, not my father. My father is working. He doesn't know English yet. He only go to work. He may learn at the work, they may help him. He can listen.

(SI16141FEV91)

My mother don't know the words if I talk to her in English.

Q: Are your mum and dad learning any English?

No, they just have to work.

(SI336FEB91)

There are many reasons why new immigrants have difficulty learning English. The major reason is that employment takes priority over language acquisition. Many have to stop taking English classes when they find work. For women with young children at home the lack of available child-care can present problems. Some of these difficulties can be eliminated through language classes in the work place and by providing child-care at other classes. This is being done in some places. However, this does not solve the problem completely. Many adult immigrants find they have limited opportunities to use the language in a variety of contexts. For example, they may only get to use English when at work or on shopping trips (Frideres, 1989:93-4). This is because as adults their friendships and social interaction occur mainly within their own ethnic community.

The absence of a shared language between many of the parents and the school has an effect on the teacher's ability to control their work situations. This is especially true when problems arise.

Sometimes you feel you are functioning in a vacuum because of the difficulty in communicating between home and school. We can't just call up home and get the problem sorted out. Often we have to wait for an aunt or other relative who knows English to translate and we are never sure that what we are saying gets fully translated.

(TI438OCT2590)

The use of translators means that the communication between teachers and parents is not direct, but mediated through a third person, usually a relative. This diminishes the spontaneity and directness of communication. The teacher may be

uncertain as to whether the parent has received all the information in the form in which it was expressed. Delays in the resolution of problems create anxiety. This weakens the teacher's control over school matters.

One of the ways in which the school has attempted to improve communication with immigrant parents is to have notices translated into various languages. This was thought to have some effect because attendance at the Meet the Teacher Night held in the Fall was higher than in previous years. However, one teacher observed that sending letters and notices home does not constitute interaction.

This is not really interaction. The messages go only one way and we don't know what happens to them. Also we are making a big assumption that these people can read. Many of the countries they come from have a low literacy rate. So we shouldn't really assume they can all read, even in their own language.

(TI757NOV2090)

This illustrates the complexity of teaching in a multiethnic school where many of the students are new immigrants. Because of the difficulties in communicating teachers find they are working alone and they often become aware of the "vacuum" when problems arise that need parental intervention. In the past requests to parents for help have tended to be of the negative type involving truancy or other problems with students. However, the school is now "attempting to create more positive links with parents".

One way of forging closer links between parents and the school has been the setting up of a Mum's Group. This project began in the Fall with twenty-five mothers. Only two of them are new immigrant women. Immigrant mothers are

generally employed and many work shift hours, so they are unable to attend. Therefore, the Mum's group is attended mainly by low income mothers, many of them are also single parents.

..The purpose of the group is to try to get the parents more involved with the school. Many of them did not have a good experience with school themselves and we are trying to break the cycle of negative attitudes toward school so they can come to see it as a place that can help them. This helps the school too, because if the parents take an interest then their children will also.

(TI14196MAY2991)

Most of the mothers have always lived in the neighbourhood of the school. Many were married at a young age and had their first child when seventeen or eighteen years old. The majority of these women have ex-husbands. Some have remarried.

The Mum's Group meets once a week. Activities include talks about child care, nutrition, schooling and so on. Another feature of the Group is that it appears to provide a social network for these mothers. They talk about various things, ranging from the best bargains in groceries, to children's medical problems.

The Mum's group seems to function as an extension of compensatory education. Attempts are being made to make up for parental deficiencies. The involvement of these mothers in the group contrasts with parental involvement in school situated in more affluent areas. In the Mum's Group parents come to learn about parenting skills and to socialize, whereas in more affluent school parents raise funds and appraise school activities in Home and School meetings.

However, the Mum's Group provides the means to bring parents into the school. The mothers seem to enjoy the meetings and find it provides an avenue for socializing and supporting each other. It is a place where they can bring their troubles and share information that is pertinent to them.

Curriculum

The curriculum is the basis around which daily classroom activity is structured. Although there has been an official policy of multiculturalism since 1971, the policy has not been fully reflected in the public school curriculum. The problems of a curriculum that centres around the achievements and experiences of Europeans has been a concern of the Ministry of Education in Ontario. The Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee states:

...unconscious transmission of Eurocentric, social and economic norms and expectations ... are so much a part of traditional schooling in a middle class Canadian context that they are seldom questioned and consciously examined.

[The Ministry states that] such curricula ill-prepare today's students to function effectively in multicultural Ontario.

(Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee, 1987:11)

As the composition of the population has altered and become more diverse, the education system is attempting to alter the school curriculum to reflect these changes. The intent is to eliminate the 'hidden curriculum' that presents the majority culture and the norm, implying that other cultures are either deviant or inferior. It is hoped that attitudes and behaviour in students will alter to reflect tolerance toward each other. This would be conducive to maintaining stability within the school system as well as harmony in a diverse society.

Teachers within Blossom School expressed some difficulty in complying with the curriculum guidelines.

I feel it [the curriculum] becomes tainted. What I mean is if a teacher has twenty-five children in the classroom then twenty will probably be immigrants. The teacher has to alter the curriculum and support the needs of the immigrant children.

(TI754NOV2090)

...teachers have to be willing to try different things and any one who wants to work closely to the curriculum would have trouble. People who are not willing to be flexible don't stay very long... We have to be much more willing to alter our curriculum to fit in with the needs of the children. They are diverse.

(FN10OCT490)

These quotations illustrate the difficulty of trying to apply a curriculum that has been developed by individuals distanced from the setting and that is expected to be adequate for all schools. The needs of immigrant children are different from those of children born in Canada, but the curriculum does not appear sufficiently flexible. Therefore, teachers have to work outside the curriculum in order to meet the needs of the immigrant students.

Teachers should not be stymied by keeping strictly to the curriculum. In fact a Board slogan is that the curriculum is the whole child. Well here I think we practice this whereas many schools do not. Our priorities are that we develop good citizens first, that we have happy children, that hungry children... get these needs met first, then we get on to the curriculum.

(TI765NOV2090)

A separation is made between the formal curriculum and the informal curriculum. The latter deals with socialization practices, with the developing of good citizens, and with the psychological and physical needs of the children. The role of

teacher extends beyond the confines of a narrow definition of curriculum and incorporates areas that do not have clearly stated guidelines. In these areas teachers must develop their own strategies and discover by trial and error what is effective within the classroom.

These deficiencies of the curriculum guidelines were recognized by the School Board. An official said:

We need to take a critical look at the curriculum to ensure that it reflects the multicultural nature of the schools. We need to budget for that. We should also be active in our recruitment of educational assistants from ethnic minorities. The funding that would be needed does not have to all come from the education system. Additional funding could come from other agencies such as recreation, social services, etc.

(SB1208JU1791)

Recognition is given to the need for school staff to reflect the diversity found in the student population. This provides role models for ethnic minority students and a source of cultural knowledge for other teachers. That funding could come from various agencies outside the education system indicates that schools are now involved in broader issues. The traditional perception of education confined to reading, writing and arithmetic is now too limited.

One concern regarding the curriculum of the immigrant student is "whether these children are getting the level of curriculum as found in other schools". Concern is warranted. Many teachers mentioned that they have to "modify expectations" when teaching new immigrant students. Immigrant students do not have problems learning, but they are not fluent in English. One teacher said:

I find I have to modify expectations; have to wait for them to progress when they are ready. Generally, I encourage them to participate orally rather than place an emphasis on reading and writing skills.

(TI9166MAY2291)

Teachers often find that they have to modify delivery of the curriculum by slowing down the pace until they are sure that the children have grasped what is being said. Slowing down the delivery coupled with lower expectations of new immigrant students could have future repercussions. This brings to mind the concept of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. Lowering teacher expectations can result in children fulfilling these lower expectations. Delamont (1983) points out that when teachers believe students have lowered abilities they tend to give them less material and do not expect students' responses to meet the usual standards (Delamont, 1983:65). Adjusting teaching practices to the perceived abilities of the children follows the philosophy of child-centred learning. However, it could limit these students' educational opportunities. Other students would have received a more demanding curriculum. This is an especially sensitive issue at a time of increased competition and decreasing resources.

Schools are now expected to provide more than education to prepare students for the world of work. Those schools situated in low-income areas often have the added responsibility of meeting primary needs usually filled in the home. One teacher said:

We have more staff at this school than at many others because it is classified as an inner-city school. Because the children are viewed as having deprived backgrounds then the school is encouraged to take them on trips, etc. For example, they go down to the public library quite often, they also go on trips to the parks, as well as things like swimming because many never get to go to the pool. We have quite a lot of children who are in for breakfast now as well as for lunch. Now with the Boys and Girls Club they are even here after school as well. So school can no longer be seen as nine to three any more, its more like eight to five or even six.

(TI868NOV2790)

The incorporation of these services into the school day are deemed necessary to compensate for the deprivation experienced by many children from low-income families. This forms part of the Compensatory Education Programme that was introduced in 1984. Discussed on page 75.

Compensatory education came to the fore in the United States during the 1960s. The goal was to improve the language skills of disadvantaged children prior to beginning formal education (Mifflin, Mifflin, 1982:181). It was felt this would help to bring these children up to par with class mates coming from more advantaged backgrounds and reverse the effects of deprivation. This concept has now extended beyond the notion of language deficiency and includes enrichment in various areas, including nourishment, in an attempt to provide disadvantaged children with experiences similar to those of 'average' children. One teacher commented on the changes she observed when she came back to teaching after twelve years away bringing up her own children.

I would say the main changes are societal changes. For example, when I first began teaching there were not so many social workers involved in schools. There were not so many problems due to poverty, single-parent families and things like that.

(TI13190MAY2991)

Enright (1989) in his study of building multicultural classroom communities, suggests there has been a loss of community due to social changes. He observes that in many cases children's supportive environments formed by the family, church and neighbourhood have been replaced by peer groups, malls and video arcades. These have become more dominant in their lives. There is concern that these children will be inadequately socialized (Enright, 1989:173-4).

Because of changes in society the role of schools in socializing young people will become broader. Along with developing a curriculum that reflects the diversity of student populations, there are questions of whether the whole burden can be borne by the educational system. Additional funding may have to be sought from outside agencies. This leads one to ask whether the direction of education can then legitimately be left solely to educators.

CHAPTER TEN

PERSPECTIVES OF THE CHILDREN

In many ways the daily living experiences of children are dependant on adult 'others'. Children's experiences of school are influenced by the ideals and philosophy of the principal and teachers. Whether the school is a warm, welcoming place or one that places an emphasis on discipline and compliance greatly affects children. Blossom School is centred around the needs of the children. The atmosphere within the school is one of openness and tolerance. This type of environment is needed in a school with such a diverse student population. Research has shown that there is less likelihood of problems due to racism in schools where the overall structure is open and tolerant of differences (Aboud, 1988:81). Although the proportions of ethnic groups within a population has some effect, the general atmosphere in the school is vital.

Implicit in the above statements is the notion that children themselves have little effect on their environments. They appear as "empty buckets" waiting passively to be filled with whatever teachers have selected for them (Waksler, 1991:14). However, it takes little time in the company of children to find they function competently within their environments and are able to construct their own meaningful worlds. In the school setting this ability is, of course, tempered by the structures within the school and classroom.

Some of the immigrant children at Blossom School talked a little about their families experiences in coming to Canada. However, many said they could not remember.

My brother is older than me because he was born in Thailand.

Q: So you come from Thailand?

No: My mum was at Vietnam. She walked to Cambodia and then walked to Thailand. My brother was born there. Then they took an airplane to come to Canada. My mum used to tell me.

Q: Do they talk about it a lot?

Not very much now...because most of my dad's friends and my friends and my mum's friends and my brothers friends know about it 'cause I told them already.

(S124FEB91)

The quotation above provides an example of the dramatic experiences of people escaping from repressive governments or social upheavals. One can see the importance that is placed on passing this account along to relatives and friends. The experiences become part of established family history.

Some of the students had attended school in their country of origin. Most of them said there was little difference between schools they first attended and Blossom School. Similarities existed in type of school building, class size, and school subjects; although the language had been different. Others commented on differences. For example, one boy from El Salvador compared the teachers. Teachers in Blossom School tend to be "friendly and kind", while he remembered that teachers in El Salvador had been more strict.

In my country sometimes they [teachers] are more angrier... if a student does something bad they can get hit with the ruler... not all the time but sometimes. Here the teacher talks to you or you get sent down to the office.

(SI1195FEB91)

The quotation above illustrates the impact physical punishment has on children. This child recalled this aspect of school life in El Salvador out of the many others he could have selected.

Another child remembers his Cambodian school as being very different.

In Cambodia the schools have a straw roof. And you can pick something to eat. They let us.

Q: What, something that is growing outside?

Yes, they let us pick the fruit and eat.

Q: Did you have classrooms like you have here?

Different, there were two rooms...Afternoon is different and morning is different. We read in the morning, do math in the afternoon.

(SI12104FEB91)

This student has been required to make a transition from a simpler rural setting where the school day is divided into morning and afternoon sessions, to an urban school with many subjects and a more complex day.

The Classroom

Each day begins in the same way. The children drift into the classroom and select books for quiet reading until Opening Ceremonies at nine o'clock. At this time the children stand at their desks and sing the National Anthem. They also recite the school prayer.

School Prayer

Thank you God for this new day.
For all good things you bring our way.
Thank you for food and clothes, for health and strength,
For homes and friends,
We're glad for the freedom to live and learn
Teach us Lord to show concern,
To help, to be kind, to share, to be friendly,
Please keep us safe from dangers around,
And help us know your love will abound.

This prayer was written for the school by the music teacher's wife about eight years ago. At that time a replacement was being sought for the Lord's Prayer as this was viewed as too complicated for young children. This preceded the removal of the Lord's Prayer from Ontario public schools in 1988 as a response to complaints from groups of parents. The saying of the prayer was seen as violating the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantee of freedom of religion (Purdy, 1991:102). The new prayer at Blossom School incorporates various aspects of life that are important to children, and is relevant to children of different faiths and cultures. An emphasis is also placed on citizenship and allegiance to the nation. This may be criticized as an assimilationist approach and it gives the impression Canada is some known entity rather than a society that is 'becoming'. However, preparing children for future participation in society is viewed as an important goal of education. It is thought new immigrant students need to know about the country in which they are living, and should come to feel some allegiance toward Canada. The key is that this should not diminish the importance of their own heritages to them.

Teaching in the multiethnic classroom requires a democratic approach. The children take active roles in the learning process because the levels and types of knowledge vary greatly between the students. One student said:

Like the nicest thing [about being a student] is by our teaching people and helping them learn other things. Like if they don't know a word they just come up and people find out.

Q: You mean asking other students.

Yes, we all get together and say the words and help them.

(S1873FEB91)

In schools where students are mostly Canadian-born talk between children during class work is not usually tolerated. Talking would be viewed as deviant behaviour, and seen as a sign that children were not attending to their work. However, in multicultural classrooms collaboration between students is expected. The adoption of a more democratic style emphasizing group work results in the behaviour of the children becoming redefined. For example, talking in such a class is not seen as misbehaviour but is appropriate or even desirable behaviour (Rizzo, 1989:153).

A preference for group work was expressed by many of the students. For example, one student said she liked doing environmental studies and activities because "you have a partner to work with."

Some things you don't get a partner to do things with but with these one you get a partner. You don't have to think of all the answers and you can help the other. You can ask them something...if they know a word to spell and you don't know it you can ask them.

(S1322FEB91)

In their study of Hispanic children in California Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991) found that students viewed others as resources for information that would help them complete their class work (Delgado-Gaitan, Trueba, 1991:125). Students worked together in a cooperative way to accomplish their tasks. This contrasts with the usual independent style favoured by those of European origin. Knowledge is shared so every one can benefit rather than being an individual effort to be used in a competitive way to gain better marks than other students.

Teaching style is important, especially in the education of immigrant students. Respect and appreciation for different cultures enhances the experience of schooling. For example, the teachers in the classroom frequently incorporated the experiences of the children into classroom discussion. In one class the topic was weather. When rain was mentioned one student, who came from Cambodia, stated that when it rained "in my country" the children all ran outside and danced around in it. The teacher then pointed out Cambodia on the globe and said how far this was from Canada. Then she asked the student:

Did you get your clothes all wet?

The student replied, "No"

T: You put on your bathing suit?

S: No (At this point the class was expectant).

The teacher looks around to all the students with a twinkle in her eye and asks:

T: You mean you wear ... nothing?

The student squeals: Yes! Every one in the class laughs.

(FN5FEB91)

In this way the teacher provides opportunities for students to relate their poor experiences within a respectful environment. This also provides a way to link past experiences with the present, giving students a sense of continuity in their lives.

New students who are members of ethnic and racial minority groups face little discrimination from other students probably due to the diversity from within the school. However, there are incidents where issues relating to skin colour have caused some hurt feelings between students. For example, one student made a remark to another student during a classroom argument.

M accused R of putting her name on M's eraser. R hotly denied this and said M had called her a "chocolate cup cake" (R is black). Meanwhile N was trying to calm them both down and sort the problem out.

(FN44OCT2590)

Another example was provided by a teacher. She remembered an occasion when her class were making comparisons between things.

A little Vietnamese boy was comparing the degrees of skin colours in the classroom. Well, he was saying that he had light brown skin and that a little girl from Jamaica had black skin. The little girl was really upset and felt he was being nasty to her. But he was only stating a fact as if he were, for example, saying, "I'm short", but she took it as an insult instead when he hadn't meant it that way.

(T1649NOV1590)

This incident illustrates that young children have an understanding of the strong symbolism of skin colour. They have in some way come to know the significance of this to many in the larger society. In one case this knowledge has been used to insult another child in an argument. In the second example an observation

became interpreted as a racist remark. Teachers need to be especially sensitive so that these situations can be handled in ways that do not harm the self-esteem in any of the children. In Blossom School disparaging remarks toward others are not tolerated. Behaviours that can damage self-esteem are not allowed. Negative remarks are given immediate attention and children are made aware these types of behaviours are not tolerated at school. The school is an environment where differences are accepted and children feel free to be who they are.

Acceptance and welcoming environments are especially important to newly arrived students. They can feel isolated from other students.

Like when I just came to this school I never had any friends to play, and they made fun of you, well you don't know the English and they made fun of you. Just like N, they made fun of him. But now he is fine, he knows a little English now. But when they have just come here they don't know nothing of English, they don't know what to do.

(S11199FEB91)

I observed the new students who joined the class during the year. Because they were not able to understand what was being said and had no knowledge of the patterns of the school day they had to observe the other children and search for cues. This meant that they were always a little behind the other children in their actions. This was particularly obvious in the gym class when the teacher gave instructions. The new students were always a few moments in following the others. The new children observed carefully what the others were doing. This monitoring behaviour has been noted in studies of nursery school children who are in a larger setting for the first time. They have been found to stay on the periphery of a play-group and

carefully observe the behaviours so they can learn appropriate responses to enable them to become part of the group (Mandell, 1988:457). New members are not fully accepted until they have learned the appropriate skills, and come to share common meanings.

Woods and Grugeon (1990) observed that new immigrant students go through various stages as they become integrated into the classroom. One of these involved an "over-reaching" as the child became more confident in the new languages and patterns of interaction. This meant the child could be "quite a nuisance" by being over demanding and disruptive at times (Woods, Grugeon, 1990:312). This was a pattern that I observed in one of the new students. Initially he was very quiet although attentive to what was happening in the classroom. Later, as his language abilities improved he became more active, giving answers and talking more with the other children. More overt and even disruptive behaviour was observed in the withdrawal class. For example, he would jump over desks and get to another part of the room. Later this transformed into leadership behaviour, and he assisted newer students. Demands for help from teachers remained. One of his teachers observed that, "He likes a lot of one-on-one work". The various patterns of integration of new immigrant students need to become known so that children can be given time to become integrated members of their classes. Undesirable behaviour should not result in those children becoming labelled as "problems". It results from their attempts to become part of the group.

Most students expressed a liking for school. They enjoyed their classroom work and the time spent with friends. An important factor in enjoyment and success in school is the relationship between students and their teacher. The ability to "get along" with the teacher has been found to be a primary reason for positive attitudes about school in general (Martin, 1985:58-9). Where there are good student-teacher relationships, students report feeling "more comfortable in school". Teachers who develop positive relationships with students are viewed as being "open and leisurely" and possessing qualities that encourage dialogue with the students.

The following quotations give an example of the children's high regard for their teachers.

My best friend in the school was my first teacher and I like her the best. She gives away old toys. We get to pick...there are books too and old clothing.

(SI15FEB91)

(My teacher) I think she's much kind because when in her class you can get Super Stars, and who ever gets most Super Stars you can go Harvey's or Swiss Chalet with her. Three boys, three girls.

(SI328FEB91)

I like it when the teacher thinks up stuff by herself...She makes it up instead of copying something. 'Cause like when the teacher copies something from something else its something boring. When she makes it up from herself she makes it like art and stuff like that.

(SI217FEB91)

Other comments were as follows: "She helps you in the classroom when you need help". "Being nice and kind and that". "She lets us play games, lets us get a drink". "If you do something bad she just says "Don't do that again." They don't make you feel sad about something you have done.

Students were asked about the work of the teacher. One student felt that it was easy.

"She learns to count by two's and five's and three's. I have a book from Cambodia and it can count from eleven, twelve and twenty five."

(SI19FEB91)

In this the student was confining the teacher to her own level of experience in the classroom. Similar observations were made by other students where the abilities of the teacher were thought to be limited to the level of work in the classroom whereas they considered themselves to have a broader perspective.

Some children felt teaching was hard to do because:

"They have to get things ready for school, they do things like work before school."

"Well you have to remember every thing you say out to the children."

"Because sometimes you might not know what to say...you are teaching somebody to learn English and you don't know if they are learning."

These comments show that the children are able to view teaching from the perspective of the teacher. They are able to take the attitude the 'other'. It also illustrates they have formed some opinion as to what teaching involves.

Responsibilities

The new immigrant students at Blossom School usually have more responsibilities than Canadian-born children. Because many parents do not speak

English well students frequently have to take on the role of translator. In school, they can be asked to help in the registration of new students, to be in the classroom at Open House in case the teacher needs help, and to be present for teacher-parent interviews. Sometimes they are requested to make telephone calls to home on behalf of the school. One group of children from Grade six have volunteered to act as translators for their teachers, and have become known as the "ambassadors".

At home, students are also requested to translate for their parents. Children often become translators during negotiations in business transactions, visits to doctors' offices and so on. One child told me what happens if somebody comes to the house to speak to her mother.

...so if someone comes in, and my mum doesn't speak English,
I say it to them and they say it to me and I say it to my mum in
Chinese.

(S1320FEB91)

The child who is a translator gains power. This comes both from his/her knowledge of English and the cultural awareness that is gained through interactions with members of the dominant culture at school. The parent becomes somewhat dependent on the child to bridge the two spheres. Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991) in their study of new immigrant students in the United States, found this dependence on the children spilled over into the school day. Students were often asked by parents to stay home from school so that they could act as translators (Delgado-Gaitan, Trueba, 1991:83). The teachers were concerned about this. Students were torn between loyalties to their families and to their school work.

One example that illustrates the extra responsibility that is often placed on new immigrant children is found in the following excerpt from field notes that deals with a visit to the public library.

Leaving the library LH is told that she owes some money for overdue books and that her parents should phone the library to find out how much the fine is. She becomes anxious, her parents do not speak English and so she is worried about their having to 'phone. She wants to pay the fine herself. It is ninety cents. She quickly looks in her pockets and counts out her change. She has enough and pays the fine.

(FN72NOV2990)

These children often find themselves in situations where they feel they need to protect their parents. They are required to take on adult responsibilities and be independent and self-sufficient.

Friends

Making friends is a spontaneous process based on mutual liking and shared interests. Some neighbourhoods can facilitate the development of friendships between children. Children living in suburban areas are often distanced from one another, and need formal arrangements and the assistance of parents to play together. In inner city neighbourhoods, on the other hand, children live in close contact with one another and their interactions can be spontaneous and informal (Rubin, 1980:137).

Another restriction on the ability of children to meet others is parental behaviour. Parents can influence the child's friendships by their approval or disapproval. For example, at the Mum's Group at Blossom School one mother

described how she would not allow her child to visit a friend who lived in an area that was perceived as being rough.

One of the mothers talked about how one of the children had asked her daughter to go and play at her house. But she lives in "those apartments" and she thought they would be really rough there. She didn't know if she was right or not but she would not let her go there.

(FN201MAY2991)

This incident illustrates how parents can control their children's friendships. Anderson and Grant (1987) found that the perception of parental attitudes towards friends of West Indian students had salience regarding visits to their homes. Where parents encouraged visits from Canadian-born friends it was found there was a higher percentage of visits compared to homes where parents were indifferent or who discouraged such visits (Anderson, Grant, 1987:132-3).

Friendships formed in school are generally made among same-age peers in the classroom. They tend to be more homogeneous than friendships made in the neighbourhood where there are fewer restrictions on different age friendships (Allen, 1981:192). In school the children are allocated to grades according to age and because they spend most of their day in the classroom with their peers there is little opportunity for contact with other students.

Gender is another important factor in children's friendships. Both in the classroom and in the playground the children generally kept same sex groups. Even when sitting on the carpet in the classroom in front of the blackboard they formed

two huddles causing the teacher to move some of them so they mingled more. They were asked why boys and girls did not play together. One girl explained it this way:

Because the boys don't want to be with the girls and the girls don't want to be with the boys. 'Cause the boys don't like the girls and the girls don't like the boys.

(SI323FEB91)

Two boys working together on a story in class had the following conversation:

K: Let's look at this book to get some ideas.

C: We are writing a story dumb head!

K: (Writes)

C: You write so ugly, let me write it.

K: You are so mean to me.

C: Don't be funny K.

K: Why did I get landed with you.

C: Because I am a boy that's why.

(FN102FEB91)

The explanation given was viewed as self-evident, an undisputed fact that needed no further clarification. Gender division appeared to these children as 'natural' and formed a part of shared meaning in their social world.

The views expressed here support earlier research findings. Children of approximately ten years old did not include 'other sex' children as their friends (Oswald, Krappmann, Chowdhuri, von Salisch, 1987:209). They found in their study that divisions based on gender began in Grade One and remained distinct until approximately age twelve. In Blossom School the children all named same-sex children as their best friends. Supporting the findings of Oswald, et al (1987).

When asked to define what makes a good friend the children gave a variety of criteria.

She shares with me. She makes me feel better when I'm feeling sad.

Like they always care about me as soon as I get hurt, as soon as I fall down they just pick me up and say, "Are you OK?"

Because she always plays with me and she shares things.

Because when we go out to play something like we play soccer or hockey and in the gym or outside he knows a lot (about sports) and scores.

I go to his house to play games on Nintendo.

Because when I am sad he makes me feel good.

He plays with me and asks me what i want to do sometimes.

I play with her - jumpsies - sometimes she goes to my house or sometimes I go to her house and play.

She's nice to me, she too kind.

Many of the attributes of a friend given by the children reflect affective qualities. These include making the child "feel better" or "feel good" when they are sad and that they are kind and helpful. Others have more instrumental views of friendship. It can provide access to toys such as Nintendo or ensure placement on a winning team. Playing together and sharing were also mentioned as being important in friendships.

Race and ethnicity did not appear to have much importance in friendship choices as described by the children. Observations in classroom and playground confirmed this. One example that supports this is the pattern of choices of best friends in the school. The most frequently named girl was Canadian-born and white. Children stated that she made a good friend because she was kind, helpful and does not fight with anyone. The boy selected most often was a new immigrant, born in

Cambodia. The reasons for his selection included knowing a lot about sports and skill in playing games. This example illustrates the differences in approach to friendship between boys and girls found in other research (Thorne, 1986:167-8). Boys tend to give a central place to organized sports and competitiveness in their play, while girls demonstrate more co-operative play with a focus on turn-taking in smaller groups. While this is the general tendency, there are many exceptions.

Friendship brings to mind positive features such as reciprocity and trust. However, some children expressed a fear of being deserted by their friends.

Sharing and talking to each other and not leaving friends behind.

Q: What do you mean, not leaving friends behind?

Like when you are playing with someone and then another person comes and asks them if they want to play and they say, "Yes, alright". And then you are left by yourself.

(SI762FEB91)

Every time if I play with S and someone else comes along and asks her to play she will just take off on you or something.

(SI214FEB91)

This example shows that friendship can have an arbitrary nature and that children cannot rely completely on the company of their friends. If someone more interesting comes along friends can desert each other. Friendship can be a source of self-gratification. The students who mentioned this problem were Canadian-born. They also complained about friends who were born here. This concern was not mentioned by new immigrant students. The differences may be due to cultural

influences. The Canadian-born may be more individualistic and the new immigrants may have more collective and inclusive patterns.

Another problem related to friendship mentioned by a few children was loneliness.

I think the hardest thing is to find a friend because when you try to find a friend no one wants to be your friend. Like I am here all alone with nobody to play with.

(SI545FEB91)

This expression of loneliness related to time in the playground. In the playground the social structure is largely determined by the children. Loneliness was not evident in the classroom, where the social organization is generally determined by the teacher. There interaction with others is assured. Thomas Rizzo (1989) found in his study of friendships of school children that over one tenth reported feeling lonely. They felt left out and found it hard to get others and like them. Peer rejection is one of the strongest predictors of mental health problems in adulthood. Rizzo points out the need to pay attention to this issue in the development of curriculum and planning for elementary school children (Rizzo, 1989:129-30).

Recess

Recess provides children with the opportunity to play together with minimal supervision from adults. They can select and organize activities and they can choose the members of play groups. Interacting within groups provides the child with opportunities to experience collective participation with its roles and support from other members which is taking in individual friendship (Rubin, 1980:94). These

relationships among peers provide opportunities for developing interactional skills needed as they become full participants in society. In this way the play groups provide means for children to learn how to interact effectively.

The play group represents a social world where children learn the skills of negotiation, consensus, and giving and accepting orders through their interactions with each other. Because there is no clear line of command based on factors such as specific roles, age differences and so on, their rules between the peers have to be negotiated. Casual observation of playgrounds suggest that children are racing around randomly. However, more careful inspection reveals distinct groups that are quite organized.

The children formed groups based on activity and divided by gender while race and ethnicity did not appear to be an important factor. Both boys and girls have ordered approaches to deciding on games. When asked how they decide which game they will play their responses included, "One who has the ball, he chooses", "who ever has the rope gets to say what game we play". Those with the resources were viewed as having the right to decide. In the case of the boys the owner of the ball generally selected team leaders. These leaders then made their choices about who would be on each team. Glassner (1976) found in his study that the children were unsure of how leaders were picked but from observations it appeared to be on the basis of skill (Glassner, 1976:12). At Blossom School the boys had a hierarchical approach giving greater authority to the child with the resources, but also giving authority to those with skills as they are generally selected as leaders.

The girls' play groups centred around the activities of skipping rope, jumpsies (Chinese jump rope), tag and hop scotch. When selecting who would hold the rope or who would begin the game they did not adopt a hierarchial approach like the boys. They engaged in a ritual.

Well, we just have to put our hands in to see who is out. The person that's out gets to jump and the other two have to hold the end.

(SI215FEB91)

OK, you put your hands in the middle and then you do "Su-Some-See".

(SI757FEB91)

The ritual involved the girls getting in a circle facing inwards with their hands behind their backs. They chant "Su-some-see". Then they bring one hand into the circle with the fist clenched, the hand flat with the palm facing down, or the fist clenched with the first two fingers spread out to resemble scissors. Who ever is the 'odd' one by having a different hand position is the first to jump. This ritual is one found in many countries and has been practised by generations of children with many variations depending on the region. (Opie, Opie, 1969:25-6). When asked how they came to know this ritual they could not say but that they "just know it".

Cheating did not appear to be tolerated. For example, in a game of jumpsies one girl did not want to take her turn holding the rope when she was 'out'. She began arguing but the others would not tolerate this infraction or agreed upon rule. They gave her an ultimatum, "Hold the rope or get out of the game". She decided to hold the rope. It should have been held at knee level, but she stated they would start at ankle level. This is where a new game starts. Therefore, she could forget that she

was "out". This could be viewed as a new game. The other children looked at each other for a moment. Then they agreed this would be allowed. This shows the continuous negotiations that take place within the groups. Children are willing to make some concessions in order to continue their play.

Because most of the activities in the playground require physical exertion and a degree of skill those children who are inept to these areas frequently have difficulties. Some children, however, are willing to help out those who are less skilled.

I have to run so hard [playing tag] and my heart seems it will be popping out of my body! And C. she says she is tired and I tell her to just catch me and I will catch the others. She can't catch nobody.

(S118FEB91)

In a study of young adults childhood memories, Waksler (1991) mentioned one respondent who remembered how inadequate she felt in her elementary school during gym class. She was "clumsy and uncoordinated" and children picked her last to be on their teams (Waksler, 1991:228-9). At Blossom School one child from the classroom had great difficulty joining play groups. He would hang around on the periphery of games until someone either let him join the soccer game or more often told him to go away. Yet when I talked to him about what he likes to do during recess he answered:

I play soccer. I can run, I can have three goals and they have zero.

(S117146FEB91)

Perhaps he presented this false image to shield himself from having to admit to someone that he was being rejected.

Efforts are made to encourage all children to feel they are part of the school community. Various strategies are employed to achieve this end. One effort has been the introduction of the Gold Book. When children have done some good work the classroom teacher sends them down to the school office where their names are placed in the Gold Book. They can select a sticker as a reward for their efforts, and their names are announced at Opening Ceremonies the next day. This not only helps children to think of themselves as valued members of the school community, but also provides an opportunity to visit the office for positive reasons. Too often a visit to the principal's office is associated with discipline.

Another practice that helps foster a feeling of community is sending students around to other classrooms to read a story they have written, recite a poem or riddle and so on. This is a means to recognize and reward good work and good behaviour while at the same time helping the children to gain a sense of the school community that extends beyond their own classroom. These factors, although small in themselves, when added together have a strong influence in the development of an inclusive community where everyone feels they constitute an integral part.

CHAPTER ELEVEN SUMMARY

The issues examined in this thesis show the demographic changes that have taken place in Canada. These changes have altered the image of the country as being predominantly monocultural, to one that is becoming increasingly multicultural. The pattern of these changes become evident when examining the development of immigration policies. Initially there were no restrictions on who entered Canada, but quite early in the history of the country policy steps were taken to ensure the dominance of Anglo institutions. Categories of preference were drawn up where British, Americans and Northern Europeans represented the most favoured groups. These restrictive immigration policies favouring white and mostly English speaking immigrants remained until World War Two. After the war, policy became less restrictive allowing greater ethnic diversity. However, racial barriers were not lifted until the early 1960s. There are several reasons for the changes that occurred after the war. If Canada wanted to appear humanitarian the large number of refugees and displaced persons resulting from the war could not be ignored. Later an increasing emphasis was placed on the need for well educated and highly skilled immigrants whose qualifications meshed with the economic needs of Canada. More recently the supply of possible immigrants from the preferred areas has diminished so immigrants are coming increasingly from developing nations.

Canada has shifted from a relatively homogeneous nation founded on the two cultures of English and French to one that has great cultural diversity. Recognition of this emerged out of the hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. This took the form of the concept of multiculturalism where recognition was given to ethnic groups to each have the right to preserve and develop their particular cultures. This pluralistic policy is considered a means through which a broader spectrum of the population can become involved in society. Multiculturalism is viewed as one way to manage the often conflicting needs in a society that is diverse. Criticism has been raised against the lack of clarity and direction found within multicultural policy. The emphasis on culture results in a vague conception that is unable to respond to the needs of many new immigrants who experience racial discrimination.

The greater cultural and linguistic diversity of the population of Ontario in some regions has had an impact on the education system. Difficulties arise in developing a curriculum that is adequate for all regions. For example, how appropriate is a curriculum that incorporates multiculturalism as it relates to new immigrants in northern regions of Ontario where few immigrants settle? To develop a curriculum that reflects this community it would be necessary to include aboriginal peoples and French speaking Canadians. In the larger metropolitan areas there is greater ethnic and linguistic diversity and new immigrant students have special needs. To be effective the curriculum has to be sufficiently flexible to accommodate the variety of needs found in different regions.

There is difficulty in predicting future needs related to immigrant students. This is especially true of refugees. This category of immigrants is coming to represent a greater portion of the immigrant population. They are more likely to cluster into specific areas where others of their group have settled and who can provide support during the initial period of acclimatization. Refugees are less likely to speak English or French. Schools in these areas are challenged to provide programmes that meet the needs of these new immigrant students. It has become necessary to address these issues as immigration from Asia, Africa, and Central and South America will probably increase in the future.

Blossom School represents a school that has been challenged to provide a suitable programme for its many new immigrant students, while at the same time meeting the needs of those born in Canada. Since the early 1980s the neighbourhood in which the school is situated has been a favoured destination for many new immigrants, especially those from South East Asia. Adjustments had to be made in order to accommodate the rapid change in the student population. The most significant was the development of the English as a Second Language programme. This programme could have been a source of division within the school between the immigrant and non-immigrant students. Because of the large number of new immigrant students the Canadian-born could have become marginalized. However, this has not happened. This is evident in the playground where there is a great deal of mingling between immigrant and non-immigrant children and between children of various ethnic and racial groups. A possible reason for this high level of

integration can be found in the approach to the language programme. The language classes are closely linked to the work in the regular classroom. This requires close cooperative planning between the language and classroom teachers which has facilitated the emergence of a sense of community within the school. The effect of the language programme then has extended beyond language acquisition and has become a strong influence on the general direction of the school.

It can be difficult to find an approach that will create an environment that encourages positive interaction between various cultures. However, it is important to do this because with greater diversity there are more opportunities for racial and ethnic conflict. Educators must develop approaches that will foster open and tolerant environments. Teachers expressed the view that the positive environment at Blossom School was something that emerged over time from the context within the school. This is an important observation with wider implications. Often plans to encourage greater cultural awareness are made by committees of experts who are unfamiliar with the actual conditions within specific schools. Their recommendations for certain courses of action are then imposed on the schools, with no consideration for the particular contexts. However, at Blossom School a more authentic approach has emerged. It is one that is rooted in the context itself.

Because of the diversity of the student population teachers found they could not take for granted the existence of shared knowledge. In the case of immigrant students, there were cultural differences. In the case of non-immigrant students there were class differences. There was an emphasis on treating the children affectively and

as unique individuals rather than relating to them as members of particular groups. This enhances a child's sense of self while also drawing him/her into the school community as a valued member. The close and positive relationships between teachers and students may be due in part to the need to attend more carefully to each other because shared knowledge cannot be assumed. Potential difficulties in communication have actually had the consequences of strengthening the bonds between individuals within the school.

Treating the children affectively has the advantage of raising individual self-esteem through developing in each child a sense they are valued as they are. Research indicates this is important as low self-esteem can lead to lowered school performance. However, this does raise the question of whether, in the long term, this is an adequate or appropriate approach in educating children. Attending to special individual needs may not be appropriate preparation for future education or for life in society. This approach may result in students always needing concessions and special treatment and may not equip them with skills to become integrated into society as adults. Questions arise as to whether they are prepared for the harsh realities of racism, classism and discrimination.

At the level of schooling there is the question of whether the educational standard obtained is on par with other schools. Through pacing the curriculum to the rate the students' work could be detrimental in the future when they move to other schools that may demand more from their students. These concerns, however, appear unfounded. Teachers at Blossom School reported that past students who had moved

to suburban areas, where there were few immigrant students, had made good adjustments. In addition, reading scores in the school were reported to be one of the highest in the system. This anecdotal evidence suggests that a less demanding curriculum has not been detrimental to student achievement. Perhaps the supportive environment within the school and the emphasis on meeting the affective needs of the children facilitates learning.

Teachers expressed great satisfaction with their work at Blossom School. They felt that Blossom School had fewer discipline problems compared to other 'inner-city' schools where they had taught. The affectionate nature of the children was also mentioned as rewarding. Many mentioned that the children were disadvantaged due to language difficulties and poverty. However, they felt they could make an important difference in the children's lives. In more advantaged areas families have many resources and the role of the teacher is not nearly as significant. Teachers also derived great satisfaction from observing the progress of the new immigrant students in their acquisition of English. The imagination and team work required when developing the English as a Second Language programme for these children was seen as a source of satisfaction among the teachers. This created an opportunity for enhancing collegiality among the teachers as they worked together to develop an integrated programme. Some teachers also mentioned that the administration at the school was especially supportive of teachers' initiatives and that great efforts were made to create a positive environment.

Many of the positive factors associated with the high levels of job satisfaction mentioned by teachers at Blossom School were also found in a study of primary school teachers conducted by Jennifer Nias in Britain (Nias, 1989). Among the major 'satisfiers' for teachers in both their first and second decades of teaching were affection from children, collegiality and comradeship among the teachers, opportunities for teamwork, and autonomy.

Teachers at Blossom School are self-selected. They choose to teach there. Many of the teachers said they decided to apply after supply teaching at Blossom School. They found that they enjoyed the setting. The low levels of discipline problems, the enthusiasm of the students, and the congenial atmosphere in the school all contributed to their decisions. Some teachers also mentioned the interest they had in working with children from various cultures. Many derived great satisfaction from the idea they were working in what they describe as 'the future' in Canada. However, these attitudes may not be present in other multicultural settings. For example, in larger cities such as Toronto the school environments may be less positive because of the effects of more extensive poverty and problems of racism within local communities. Those working in these types of school settings may find it difficult, but may be forced to teach there. Therefore, teacher satisfaction may be lower in these schools.

As ethnic and racial diversity will probably increase within Canada in the future there is a need to examine ways in which the education system can effectively meet this challenge. Value is placed on incorporating the tenets of multiculturalism

into the curriculum and in adopting anti-racist policies in the schools. However, for these policies to become implemented into the classrooms teachers have to accept them as important and have to have the knowledge of how to do this effectively. There are courses in B.Ed. programmes on multiculturalism and on the education of children from various cultures. However, these are optional for intending teachers. Even if these became a requirement in the programme it is doubtful they would provide much practical help for those working in culturally diverse classrooms. In schools such as Blossom School there are many teachers with considerable experience in educating new immigrant students. It might be helpful to adopt some policy that would encourage these teachers to share their expertise with beginning teachers and with those teaching in multicultural settings for the first time.

There is a need to develop greater diversity within the teaching profession. Presently, the majority of teachers are of anglo-saxon background and there is little representation of other ethnic or racial groups. Diversity within many classrooms is not reflected in the teaching staff. Increasing the numbers of ethnic and racial groups within the teaching profession so that it becomes more representative of the population as a whole would be a positive step toward greater cultural understanding. Having a number of teachers from minority groups may encourage more immigrant parents to become involved in the schooling of their children. They may feel more confident in a setting where minority groups are represented on the teaching staff. These teachers could also help other teachers gain more insights into issues relating to race and ethnicity.

Teachers in Blossom School mentioned that it was the children who made the school such a special place. However, there does not seem to be one causal factor that accounts for the positive school environment. Rather there are a number of interrelated factors. These include teacher self-selection, autonomy, few rules, and a positive style of discipline that encourages students to consider what effect their actions have had on others. The idea of school as a supportive and caring community that attends to the affective needs of the students as well as the academic requirements is valued. The absence of a rigid approach allows the school community to emerge from the actual conditions found within the school.

A future research programme could involve the tracking of students from Blossom School as they attend middle school and then high school. A comparative approach could be taken. Possible differences between students from Blossom School, with its affective style in teaching, and students from other schools that have more instrumental approaches to education could be explored. Comparisons could then be made on variables such as levels achieved in academic work and the psychological development of the students, especially in the area of race and ethnic relations.

APPENDICES

GLOSSARY

- Assimilation:*** Refers to the absorption of immigrant minorities into the mainstream society. Minority groups relinquish their distinctiveness by adopting the culture of their new country. There are two types. One is cultural where language changes and new cultural practices are adopted. The other is institutional where there is more involvement in the mainstream society.
- Culture:*** Totality of ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge of a group who share certain historical experiences. Culture is dynamic and often contains elements of conflict and opposition.
- Cultural Pluralism:*** Sometimes interchanged with multiculturalism. Racial and ethnic groups co-exist within society but maintain their distinctiveness.
- Ethnic:*** Adjective used to describe groups which share a common language, race, and religion. In this sense everyone belongs to an ethnic group.
- Ethnic Group:*** Social classification where members of a particular group define themselves as distinctive on the basis of specific customs, shared language, religion, nationality, and homeland.
- Ethnic Origin:*** Refers to ethnic or cultural groups to which Canadians belong or identify with. Used by Statistics Canada to provide information about ancestral roots of the population. Should not be confused with citizenship, nationality, or birthplace.
- Ethnocentric:*** Using own way of life as the standard by which to compare everyone else. Belief by individuals that their culture is superior to other cultures.
- Heritage Languages:*** Languages other than English or French (these are official languages since 1969) or aboriginal languages.

- Immigrant Population:*** Portion of the population born outside of Canada.
- Minority Group:*** Those who are defined as distinct from the majority because of ethnicity or race on the basis of physiological, social, or cultural characteristics.
- Mother Tongue:*** Language first learned in childhood and still understood.
- Multicultural Education:*** Broad term which may refer to a philosophy integrated within the education system, or a set of structured learning activities and curricula designed to create and enhance understanding of and respect for cultural diversity.
- Multiculturalism:*** Doctrine for managing ethnic and racial diversity that is consistent with pluralism. Recognition is given to diversity which is viewed as beneficial to society. Acknowledgement is given to the contributions of minority groups to social and cultural aspects of society.
- Official Language Ability:*** Ability to speak one of Canada's official languages, English and French. Main categories used by Statistics Canada are, English, French, Both English and French, No Official Language Ability.
- Period of Immigration:*** Groupings of years of immigration. This information is derived from year of immigration reported in the census by those who were not born in Canada.
- Urban Population:*** Area that has a population concentration of 1,000 or more, and a population density of 400 or more per square kilometre.
- Visible Minorities:*** Often used interchangeably with racial minorities. Visible minorities includes those who are non-white and have physical characteristics different from the general population.

APPENDIX B

CHAPTER FOUR: IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER I-2

An Act respecting immigration to Canada

SHORT TITLE

Short title 1. This Act may be cited as the *Immigration Act*. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 1.

INTERPRETATION

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>"Convention refugee"
"réfugié..."</p> | <p>"Convention refugee" means a person who, by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion,</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(a) is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(b) not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of his former habitual residence and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to return to that country; "</p> |
| <p>"family"
"famille"</p> | <p>"family" means the father and mother and any children who, by reason of age or disability, are, in the opinion of an immigration officer, mainly dependent on the father or mother for support and, for the purpose of any provision of this Act and the regulations, includes such other classes of persons as are prescribed for the purpose of that provision;</p> |
| <p>"member of the family class"
"parent"</p> | <p>"member of the family class" means a person described in the regulations as a person whose application for landing may be sponsored by a Canadian citizen or by a permanent resident;</p> |
| <p>Interpretation of "Convention"</p> | <p>(2) The term "Convention" in the expression "Convention refugee" refers to the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees signed at Geneva on July 28, 1951 and includes the Protocol thereto signed at New York on January 31, 1967. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 2; 1977-78, c. 22, s. 16; 1984, c. 21, s. 79.</p> |

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

PART I

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Objectives

Immigration
objectives

3. It is hereby declared that Canadian immigration policy and the rules and regulations made under this Act shall be made and administered in such a manner as to promote the domestic and international interests of Canada recognizing the need

(a) to support the attainment of such demographic goals as may be established by the Government of Canada in respect of the size, rate of growth, structure and geographic distribution of the Canadian population;

(b) to enrich and strengthen the cultural and social fabric of Canada, taking into account the federal and bilingual character of Canada;

(c) to facilitate the reunion in Canada of Canadian citizens and permanent residents with their close relatives from abroad;

(d) to encourage and facilitate the adaptation of persons who have been granted admission as permanent residents to Canadian society by promoting cooperation between the Government of Canada and other levels of government and non-governmental agencies in Canada with respect thereto;

(e) to facilitate the entry of visitors into Canada for the purpose of fostering trade and commerce, tourism, cultural and scientific activities and international understanding;

(f) to ensure that any person who seeks admission to Canada on either a permanent or temporary basis is subject to standards of admission that do not discriminate on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion or sex;

(g) to fulfil Canada's international legal obligations with respect to refugees and to uphold its humanitarian tradition with respect to the displaced and the persecuted;

(h) to foster the development of a strong and viable economy and the prosperity of all regions in Canada;

(i) to maintain and protect the health, safety and good order of Canadian society; and

(j) to promote international order and justice by denying the use of Canadian territory to persons who are likely to engage in criminal activity. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 3.

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

Principles

Where right to
come into
Canada

4. (1) A Canadian citizen and a permanent resident have a right to come into Canada except where, in the case of a permanent resident, it is established that that person is a person described in subsection 27(1).

Where right to
remain in
Canada

(2) Subject to any other Act of Parliament, a Canadian citizen, a permanent resident and a Convention refugee while lawfully in Canada have a right to remain in Canada except where

(a) in the case of a permanent resident, it is established that that person is a person described in subsection 27(1); and

(b) in the case of a Convention refugee, it is established that that person is a person described in paragraph 19(1)(c), (d), (e), (f) or (g) or 27(1)(c) or (d) or 27(2)(c) or a person who has been convicted of an offence under any Act of Parliament for which a term of imprisonment of

(i) more than six months has been imposed, or

(ii) five years or more may be imposed.

Rights of
Indians

(3) A person who is registered as an Indian pursuant to the *Indian Act* has, whether or not that person is a Canadian citizen, the same rights and obligations under this Act as a Canadian citizen. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 4.

Where privilege
to come into or
remain in
Canada

5. (1) No person, other than a person described in section 4, has a right to come into or remain in Canada.

Where
immigrant shall
be granted
landing

(2) An immigrant shall be granted landing if he is not a member of an inadmissible class and otherwise meets the requirements of this Act and the regulations.

Where visitors
may be granted
entry or
allowed to
remain

(3) A visitor may be granted entry and allowed to remain in Canada during the period for which he was granted entry or for which he is otherwise authorized to remain in Canada if he meets the requirements of this Act and the regulations. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 5.

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

Selection of Immigrants

General
principle of
admissibility of
immigrants

6. (1) Subject to this Act and the regulations, any immigrant including a Convention refugee, a member of the family class and an independent immigrant may be granted landing if the immigrant is able to establish to the satisfaction of an immigration officer that he meets the selection standards established by the regulations for the purpose of determining whether or not an immigrant will be able to become successfully established in Canada.

Displaced and
persecuted

(2) Any Convention refugee and any person who is a member of a class designated by the

Governor in Council as a class, the admission of members of which would be in accordance with Canada's humanitarian tradition with respect to the displaced and the persecuted, may be granted admission subject to such regulations as may be established with respect thereto and notwithstanding any other regulations made under this Act. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 6.

Levels of Immigration

Levels

7. The Minister, after consultation with the provinces concerning regional demographic needs and labour market considerations and after consultation with such other persons, organizations and institutions as he deems appropriate, shall cause to be laid before Parliament, not later than the sixtieth day before the commencement of each calendar year or, if Parliament is not then sitting, not later than the fifteenth day next thereafter that either House of Parliament is sitting, a report specifying

(a) the number of immigrants that the Government of Canada deems it appropriate to admit during any specified period of time; and

(b) the manner in which demographic considerations have been taken into account in determining that number. 1976-77, c. 52, s. 7.

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

Immigration Selection Criteria - The Points System.

		Maximum Units
1	Education	12
2	Specific Vocational Preparation	15
3	Experience	8
4	Occupation	10
5	Arranged Employment	10
6	Age	10
7	Knowledge of English/French	15
8	Personal Suitability	10
9	Levels of Control	10
10	Bonus for Assisted Relatives	10 to 15
		Pass mark = 70

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

Annual Landings, Canada, 1985 to 1990.

1985	84,302
1986	99,219
1987	152,098
1988	161,929
1989	189,199
1990	215,000

Fertility Rates, Canada

1960	3.895
1970	2.331
1980	1.746
1988	1.692

Refugee Claims in Canada, 1980-1988.

Year	Number of Claims
1980	1,600
1981	3,450
1982	3,300
1983	6,100
1984	7,100
1985	8,400
1986	18,282
1987	24,466
1988	34,353

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

City of Intended Destination by Selected Country of Last Permanent Residence.
Hamilton, 1989.

Country	Number	Percent
India	671	18.6
HongKong	378	10.5
Poland	132	3.7
Vietnam	119	3.3
El Salvador	52	1.4
Others	1,322	36.7

Source: Immigration Statistics, 1989. Table 1M21. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1989.

Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants and Refugees Between the Ages of 4 and 17 Years, Who Arrived in Canada During January to July, 1988, by Official Language Ability.

Language Ability	Number	Percent
No ability	11,079	65.0
English	5,281	31.0
French	440	3.0
English/French	181	1.0
Not stated	10	0

Source: Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989.

APPENDIX C

CHAPTER FIVE: MULTICULTURALISM

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH THE DEPARTMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM AND CITIZENSHIP, BILL C-18

On May 18, 1989 the Government tabled Bill C-18, an *Act to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship*. By the end of 1990, the legislation was being considered by the Senate. Interim arrangements announced by the Prime Minister in September 1988 remain in effect until this becomes law.

The formal creation of this Department will strengthen the link between Multiculturalism and Citizenship, symbolize the inclusiveness of our definition of being Canadian, and concretely recognize that cultural diversity is a central feature of Canadian citizenship. It will reflect the government's efforts to build bridges between communities, and to respect diversity, while affirming our common identity. It will give form to the acceptance of the fact that being Canadian encompasses all of our people, regardless of cultural origins.

The Department is to include the Multiculturalism, Citizenship Registration and Promotion, Literacy, Voluntary Action and Human Rights programs. Responsibility for administering these programs will be shared by the headquarters office, and by regional and district offices of the Department of the Secretary of State across the country.

The Multiculturalism Program directions established in 1988 for the Act's implementation are now well in place. These are providing the scope and flexibility that had been needed to bring Canadians closer together, by promoting cross-cultural understanding, open institutions, and an inclusive identity that all Canadians can share.

These programs are Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding, Heritage Cultures and Languages, and Community Support and Participation. Other corporate activities also contribute to the implementation of Canada's Multiculturalism Policy.

Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Citizenship. Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Annual Report, 1989-90. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1991.

APPENDIX D

CHAPTER SIX: MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY, 1977-1989 PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO

YEAR	POLICY
1977	Policy on Heritage Languages
1977	Ministry of Education - <u>Multiculturalism in Action.</u>
1980	Ministry of Education - <u>Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials.</u>
1984	Ministry of Education - <u>Circular 14</u> - all texts must be written, edited and published in Canada by Canadians.
1986	Ministry of Labour - <u>Towards a Policy: Race and Ethnic Relations in the Education System.</u>
1986	Conference on Race and Ethnocultural Equity.
1986	<u>Policy Statement on Race Relations.</u>
1987	<u>The Development of a policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity.</u> Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations.
1988	Ministry of Education - <u>A Synopsis of Public Responses to the Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations.</u> (Working Paper).
1989	Resource Guide for Race and Ethnocultural Equity: K to Grade 12-OAC's.

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