FRENCH-PROGRAMMING POLICY ISSUES IN A

SCHOOL JURISDICTION: A CASE STUDY

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by

Edwin George Ralph

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this case-study was to examine the historical

and socio-political circumstances facing a school jurisdiction during

the period of its response to a persistent policy problem: the pro-

vision of French language programs for its schools, over a seven year

period.

To conduct the research, seven major research questions related

to two general areas were employed. One of the major areas of the study

was the substantive or "content" component (an investigation of the var-

ious policies, policy issues, and policy alternatives), and the other

was the "process" area (an analysis of the actual policy-making activi-

ties themselves).

The primary research procedure employed was the examination of

relevant documentary evidence concerning policy development with re-

spect to French language programs in the School Division. The documen-

tary evidence was supplemented by data collected by means of several

semi-structured interviews with key personnel involved in the policy-

making process.

Policy making in Frontenac School Division was analyzed by means

of an eclectic application of seven policy-making models and

approaches. Each of the analytical approaches was useful in providing

simplification, clarification, and understanding of particular aspects of

policy making. However, the political bargaining and process approaches

were most accurate in describing and explaining the complexities of the

process.

With respect to the substantive or "policy" area of the study, the findings revealed that only one key issue existed in Frontenac School Division. This issue arose over the clash of values between the "pro-Français" group, who advocated separate and autonomous facilities for "Français" and non-francophone students, and the "pro-bilingual" adherents who preferred a sharing and combining of intensive French programs ("Français" and immersion), so that mutual interaction could occur between both linguistic groups. The other conflicts which arose in the Division proved to be different aspects of this key issue.

Analysis of the data also revealed that School Board policy regarding French programs in Frontenac had become broader and more inclusive during the past ten years; that the School Board had been very sensitive and responsive to the community's pluralistic interests; and that the increase in the scope of policy had shown a trend toward the granting of "pro-Français" demands.

Findings from the "process" area of the study showed that policy making in Frontenac School Division was a blend of rational and political processes; that local policy making followed a repeating cycle of initiation and response; and that policy making in the Frontenac School Division consisted of a series of overlapping aspects or stages, which were repeatedly evident during the time period of the study.

One conclusion from this evidence was that language-program policy is a product of the interplay of several factors, the key of which is how the individual and the group interact in relation to a specific situation. School boards, by their nature, are responsive to community demands; thus, policy tends to be pluralistic, accommodating a diversity of interests and providing a variety of programs. The process

by which this policy is formulated reflects political as well as rati_nal considerations. In this process, however, conflict, debate and bargaining are more pronounced than are characteristics of efficiency, stability, order, and objectivity.

Implications and recommendations drawn from this case for school jurisdictions with respect to modern language program-policy were suggested. For example, if cultural pluralism is deemed by school officials as being a worthy aim in Canada, then their policies should continue to provide for a diversity of language programs -- according to community interest. Moreover, if trustees and administrators recognize that interaction and dissonance are requisites for individual human development (cognitively, morally or socially), then they will promote this process, rather than being preoccupied with avoiding or eliminating dissonance. Also, school officials must realize that social-political realities in the community must be dealt with in the policy making process. Consequently, the rational approach to policy making must be complemented with an approach which recognizes political activity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NATURE OF THE STUDY

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Canada is unique among the world's nations because of its spe-

cial history as a federation whose origin stemmed from two European

nations, and because of the relatively delicate balance of its consti-

tutional arrangements. Canada has experienced contradictory elements

in the course of its development: on the one hand there is increasing

interest in unifying Canada into a single entity with distinctive parts;

but on the other, there is a pervasive feeling of distrust, resentment

and autonomy between some segments of the anglophone and francophone

populations. According to Federal-Provincial Relations Minister, Marc

Lalonde (Winnipeg Free Press, October 4, 1978):

> The outstanding unity issue is the fate of the language rights
> of minorities which are in a critical condition. There is a lack
> of interest by all the provinces.

He stated that the early interest in bilingualism and biculturalism,

generated in 1968, has levelled off since 1973 in Canada. Moreover, un-

less the provinces pursue service rights and language education for

both official languages, he predicts, the problem will increase and

Canada will suffer.

Historically, Canada has seemed to face this general unity prob-

lem on four broad fronts (Canada, O.E.C.D. Report, 1976: 122-123):

(1) inter-governmental relations, (2) the policy-making processes,

(3) bilingualism, and (4) school governance. An example of a field in

which these four aspects of the national unity question converge is
the experience of local school boards as they formulate policies re-
garding bilingual education opportunities for the students in their
jurisdictions.

Interest in teaching French as both a first and second lan-
guage has increased in Canada during the last decade (Bird, 1973:3;
Canada, O.E.C.D. Report, 1976:61; Edwards and Smyth, 1976:524; Stern
et al, 1976; Swain, 1976:4). Moreover, much research has been conduct-
ed with respect to bilingualism in education. Most of this research,
however, has dealt only indirectly with the policy-making process by
local school authorities, while the bulk of it has dealt with curric-
ular and pedagogical questions or with psychological and technical as-
pects of instruction. As a result, many school boards when endeavoring
to formulate new policies regarding French programs in their schools,
do so in relative isolation, not being able to benefit from the experi-
ence of colleagues who may have experienced the process of developing
policy in this field.

Several factors have accounted for this increased attention
given to French education by educators and parents during the past ten
years. Some of these critical factors are presented below (Canada,
C.M.E.C., 1978:3; Greenfield, 1976; Hébert, 1978; Holden, 1974:2-4;
Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1978; Stern, 1978:836-854; Stern et al,
1976; Swain, 1976:4; Genesee, Polich and Stanley, 1977:318; Halpern,
1976:1-2; Andrew, 1977:7):

    1. a growing world-wide interest in travel and second-language
    acquisition,

    2. language teaching experiments and education innovations of the
    fifties and sixties,

3. parental dissatisfaction with traditional language-training programs, and the subsequent success of parental initiative in requesting an immersion French program in the St. Lambert area of Montreal in 1966. (The initiative of this group influenced the formation of a group called the "Canadian Parents for French", who are becoming increasingly vocal (see Winnipeg Free Press, October 2, 1978),

4. the success of the Toronto French school and the various international schools in Europe,

5. research findings from the St. Lambert experiment, and from later Ontario studies, which indicated that immersion was the most effective approach available to help students acquire fluency in a second language,

6. the Canadian government's legal and financial support of multi-culturalism within a bilingual framework ,

7. the "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec , and

8. the expression of the aspirations of minority language groups across Canada .

School boards across Canada have responded to these influencing factors by establishing a variety of French and other modern language programs in their jurisdictions. While observing this expansion of language programming, Bernstein (1972:50-51) commented that most school board policy objectives involving such issues as bilingual education are multi-dimensional in nature, and have many social and political ramifications. The network of interrelationships involved is very complex, and an attempt to analyze this complex situation is a challenging task. Nevertheless, the goal of this study is to attempt to meet this challenge.

THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

The study is considered significant in the following ways:

1. Students of policy making may be interested in the complex process of decision-making at the local school board level. They may

wish to relate the findings regarding the process to other simil-
ar research, and thereby accumulate more data towards the goal of
generating theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1965; 1967) with respect to
policy making.

2. Educational planners who presently have French or other modern
language policies, or who are anticipating the formation of such
policies in their jurisdictions may find the study valuable in pro-
viding insight into issues arising in a particular community, to-
gether with the alternative policies available to resolve these
issues. By acquiring knowledge of another jurisdiction's experiences,
the policy makers -- particularly those in Western Canada -- may be
able to avoid unnecessary pitfalls or may benefit from studying
successful strategies employed by other boards, who have exper-
ienced the process of developing French policies in a unique en-
vironment.

3. Because of the scarcity of research on local policy making for
French programs in schools, it can be assumed that many parents,
teachers, and citizens at large may be interested in the entire
bilingualism question in Western Canada. This study may provide a
modest contribution to the fund of knowledge which appears to be
needed at this time. Since the bilingual question is part of a
larger national issue, it has ultimate implications for Canadian
unity and for the future of the nation.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In general terms, the purpose of this study was to examine the
historical and political circumstances relating to a school board during

the period of its response to a persistent policy problem: the pro-
vision of French language opportunities in its schools. More specif-
ically, the study sought to describe and analyze the policies, and
the process by which they were formulated, in one of the suburban
school divisions of a Western Canadian city over a seven year period,
from September 1971 to September 1978.

The study was guided by the following general questions:

1. What were the key issues that emerged during the seven year
time-span of this study which required policy decisions by the
school board?

2. What factors accounted for the development of these issues?

3. What alternative decisions were thought to be available by
the board and interest groups with respect to resolving each of
these issues?

4. What participants in the process seemed to exert influence on
the decisions? Why?

5. What common considerations, if any, were evident in the efforts
to resolve each issue?

6. What constraints, conflicts, resources, demands and supports
were in evidence in the process?

7. What were the consequences of each policy decision, both in
terms of tangible outcomes and of individual perceptions of these
outcomes?

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The Case Study Approach

This thesis takes the form of a case study. The case study ap-

proach to research in the social sciences is used to investigate sets

of empirical phenomena connected to pertinent aspects of a specified

social unit in a particular situation. The case, therefore, consists

of a specific phase in the life-history of the unit of attention.

The case study differs from the conventional method of social

science research in that the former approach (Eckstein, 1975:80-82)

is characterized by:

1. a range of research which tends to be more intensive than ex-
tensive,

2. methods which tend to be more open-ended and flexible than
rigorous, routinized and restricted,

3. a research plan which may start with a preliminary model, but
which allows for the use of improvisation and intuition,

4. reports which tend to emphasize narrative description, inter-
pretation and synthesis; not analytic frameworks, relationships
between variables, and research "findings," and

5. objectives which stress the particular and unique rather than
the generalizable.

Willer (1967:4) and Goode (1972:335-340) maintain that the case

study approach is beneficial because it refers to a conceptually clear

set of phenomena and that it is able to yield systematic statements

showing interconnections between and among the various sets of phenom-

ena related to the situation. However, what constitutes the sets of

phenomena to be examined is only partly determined by empirical means.

It is also partly determined by the conceptions and perceptions which

the analyst brings with him to the study. No matter how rational and

objective he wishes to be, the analyst can not bypass his _a priori_ as-

sumptions and concepts in an attempt to study "only the facts." His

assumption-set and his frame of reference should be identified and made

explicit (Zais, 1976:105,219). In the case of this study, the research

will be guided by a set of preliminary conceptual frameworks, but a certain degree of flexibility will also be permitted in the categorization of data and in the possible identification of unanticipated questions and outcomes.

Indeed, suspended belief and the attitude of distrust or skepticism are characteristics of the scientific culture (Eckstein: 1975: 127), and "success" in scientific research does not necessarily represent confirmation of a hypothesis. The case study approach, moreover, is less concerned with testing hypotheses as it is with presenting a relatively concrete picture of the set of phenomena and its uniquesness. From the perspective of the rational, experimental research-design, however, this lack of generalizability is a serious weakness in the case-study approach.

The purpose of this study was not to provide a set of valid generalizations to be applied to other cases, but rather to conduct an intensive investigation of a single case with respect to the policy making process. In this light, then, it seems appropriate to consult the discipline of political science to acquire certain conceptualizations with which to guide the investigation.

Analytical Framework

In conducting the case study, the writer has employed seven main research questions as the basic analytic framework. The questions served to provide the research with two general perspectives: one was the substantive or content area (an investigation of the policies themselves), and the other was the actual activity of the policy-making "process".

The content area. The substantive area of investigation has been guided by means of a preliminary list of possible policy issues and alternative decisions available for each of these issues, which may arise in a school jurisdiction regarding the formation of policy for French programming (see Table I, page 74). This tentative list was developed by the writer as a result of reading and experience in the field of French programming for schools. The writer anticipated, however, that the list actually generated in the Frontenac case may well differ from the preliminary suggested list.

The process area. The analysis of the process area of the study has been guided by a set of policy-making approaches or models, which were applied on an eclectic basis. As abstractions, or conceptualizations of policy making, these approaches serve as analytical tools and guide the conduct of the research by (Dye, 1975:17-18):

1. identifying the significant aspects of the policy-making environment and process,

2. ordering and simplifying the significant categories,

3. directing the inquiry into the interpretation of the chain of events occurring during the period of study,

4. suggesting explanations for the circumstances and behaviors occurring during the time-span of the study,

5. communicating an understanding of the complex process.

The seven approaches to policy analysis in the set were: the systems model, the rational approach, the formal-organization model, three political bargaining types, and Jennings' process model. These analytical tools are described in Chapter 2.

To attempt to select a single model as an optimum approach to

policy analysis is unwarranted, because most experts in the field

agree that each model exhibits specific strengths and limitations

(Harmon, 1978; Waserstein, 1974:27). Each framework portrays impor-

tant facets of the policy process which may be neglected or de-emphasized

by other models; consequently, many authors call for an eclectic ap-

proach (Lasswell, 1963:93; Mitchell and Mitchell, 1969:410; Peterson

and Williams, 1972:149-166).

Wirt and Kirst (1975:247) further maintain that the use of a con-

ceptual model does not preclude, but rather complements the benefits de-

rived from the others, by assisting the analyst to observe more of the

whole picture -- the emerging actors, the issues, the continuities and

stresses, the past and present events, and the future implications. By

not being restricted to a single linear model, the researcher is free to

incorporate the useful features of several approaches in his analysis.

Research Procedures

The primary procedure employed in this study was the examination

of relevant documentary evidence, concerning policy formation with re-

spect to French language programs within a school division in a Western

Canadian province. The documentary evidence was supplemented by data

collected by means of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured inter-

views were used since many researchers (Borg and McKay, 1963:213;

Burroughs, 1971:83-105; Selltiz et al, 1976:292-297) deem them the most

effective type, since they combine the features of objectivity (asking

certain key questions) and depth (permitting spontaneity, probing, and

elaboration).

Documents. The following documentary sources were used to collect

evidence regarding policy making for French programs in Frontenac
School Division:

1. pertinent School Board minutes, policy statements, files, and
other records accessible at the School Board Office,

2. accessible federal and provincial documents regarding bilingual-
ism in education in Canada and the province,

3. newspaper reports, articles and editorials from back issues of:
La Liberté (a French language weekly published in a community adja-
cent to Frontenac); The South-East Lance (the weekly community news-
paper in Frontenac); The Winnipeg Tribune* and The Winnipeg Free
Press (the two dailies published in the city proper),

4. files of newspaper articles classified under "French Education"
and "French Culture" in the Winnipeg Centennial Library.

In addition, the writer attended three meetings of the Frontenac
School Board as an observer and analyst in May and June 1978, during which
time the Division was undergoing emotional and political stress with re-
spect to critical issues concerning its French programs.

Interviews. To supplement the primary data source of documentary
evidence, interviews were conducted with the following individuals from
the Frontenac School Division: the Superintendent, the Assistant-
Superintendent, the Secretary Treasurer, the School Board Chairman, six
of the seven school board members, the Principal of the "Français" school,
the Principal of the immersion school, three teachers and seven parents.

In addition, interviews were conducted with three officials from the
Department of Education, who assisted in the co-ordination of the var-

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*Henceforth indicated only as Tribune.

ious French programs for the Province's schools.

The interviews were initiated with questions involving the development of policy issues relating to the field of study. The interview questions were structured, in so far that they invited individual perceptions as to the subject matter; but they were not so rigid as to prevent the exploration of side-issues or other topics which may have arisen spontaneously during the course of the interview. The interviews, because they were somewhat structured, related to the analytical framework initially suggested for the data analysis.

If confidentiality* of respondents' comments is assured, and if something more than factual, statistical responses is required, then the semi-structured interview technique seems to be the superior survey-method (Burroughs, 1971:83-105; Borg and McKay, 1963:213; Selltiz et al, 1976:292-297). The major strengths of this method are outlined below:

1. more sensitivity to mutual misunderstanding or ambiguity; immediate feedback is permitted,

2. less impersonality is involved,

3. provision for clarification of individual meanings ,

4. provision for clarifying, enlarging and probing of responses or questions,

5. most respondents find the oral-aural format less time-consuming than the reading-writing format,

6. more information is available immediately, and

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*Because of the sensitive political atmosphere still existing in the School Division concerning French programs, the entire study has been reported in such a way to maintain confidentiality of the Division and its members. Fictitious names for individuals, schools, and school divisions have consequently been employed throughout the text of this thesis.

7. less procedural details involved, such as: development and piloting a lengthy list of specific questions, excessive concern for ambiguous connotations, clerical work, and so forth.

To select the interviewees, the reputational technique was used (Gergen, 1968:194), in which "knowledgeable" individuals in the community were asked to suggest persons whom they felt were most influential. Consequently, the group of interviewees listed above seem to be the individuals playing the most influential roles in the policy making process in the division, despite the fact that the reputational approach may not always yield valid results (Payne, 1977:176). During the course of the interviews, interviewees were asked the same questions. In addition, the following individuals were contacted a second time for further questioning, clarification and elaboration of earlier comments: the Superintendent, the Principal of the "Français" school, the Principal of the immersion school, the spokesman of one of the parental groups, and three school board members.

LIMITATIONS

The limitations of this study arise from the research procedures used. One limitation is that some degree of subjectivity and error is present in the interpretation of documentary and interview data. Because this case study was basically historical in nature, several difficulties emerge, some of which are:

1. An individual's power to recall the past is limited. A report of an event is generally less accurate than the observation of the event.

2. Individuals tend to guard their reputation when an inquirer seeks to examine crucial issues.

3. The historian's retrospective interpretation of others' decisions

may ignore the fortuituous circumstances, or the hidden constraints and personal conflicts which shaped the decisions, in his attempt to "tidy the complexity of events into a few neatly labelled chapters" (Marris and Rein, 1972:1-3,224).

4. The compromise that the historian must make between presenting something significant before it is out of date and being assured of thorough knowledge, which may be of little direct use.

A second limitation of the study lies in the use of documentary evidence. Accessible printed material may not permit complete determination of all the political relationships between individuals and/or groups, or of the unstated reasons underlying certain events.

A third limitation of the study is that one can not assume that the events examined in a single case study are generalizable to other jurisdictions. It is anticipated, however, that this study may be useful to educational administrators in order, at least, to indicate some critical questions that should be addressed by school boards seeking to formulate language policies for their schools.

A case study, according to Fischer (1970:4-5) can not achieve certain objectives. It can not profess to show: (1) everything about everything, (2) something about everything, or (3) everything about something. It can however -- and that was the goal of this study -- endeavor to know something about something!

Despite these limitations, the writer has employed the following approaches to improve the accuracy of the evidence:

1. a comparison between and among the various documents and newspapers to verify their accounts,

2. a comparison between and among interviewees' statements to check

the veracity of their reports or to distinguish between their per-

ceptions, and

3. a comparison between documentary evidence and interviewees' state-

ments to verify accounts, or determine differences in values and

attitudes.

<center>ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS</center>

As a means of presenting an overview of the organization of the

entire thesis, the following summary is provided:

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis by stating the purpose of

the study and the methodology used. The research is based on a set of

seven major questions dealing with two broad areas: the substantive or

content area (the policies, the issues, and the alternative policy decisions

available) and the process area (the dynamics of policy making).

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature dealing mainly with the process

area of the study. Seven models or approaches to the analysis of policy

making are examined, and the writer argues for an eclectic application of

these models in analyzing the policy-making activities. One group of

these models, the "formal-rational" set, was appropriate for initially

organizing the study, and providing preliminary orientation to it. The

other set, the "political bargaining" group, was effective in analyzing

the actual activities in the process.

Chapter 3 describes the complex network of environmental factors which

tend to influence French language programming policy in school jurisdictions.

The chapter is concluded with a tentative list of possible policy issues

(and alternative policy solutions) which a school jurisdiction in Western

Canada might face regarding French programming. This list was used in

analyzing the substantive (the policy) area of the case in Frontenac School

Division.

Chapter 4 is a reporting of the data gathered in the study concerning the policies and policy-making process in Frontenac School Division. The data is presented in narrative form and in essentially chronological order. The narrative deals both with the policies (the "what?") and the process of policy making (the "how?", "why?" and "who?").

Chapter 5 is an analysis and interpretation of the data presented in Chapter 3 and 4. The findings are presented in relation to the original set of seven research questions. Two of the questions dealt with the "content" area, and five of them addressed the "process" component. Responses to the first set were analyzed in terms of the preliminary list of possible issues and alternatives presented in Chapter 3. The "process" analysis was conducted by means of the eclectic application of the policy-making approaches described in Chapter 2.

Chapter 6 is a presentation of the conclusions of the study based on the findings reported in the previous chapter. Implications of these conclusions for school jurisdictions are also discussed. The conclusions and the implications deal with both the policy area and the policy-making area. On the basis of these implications, the writer — in the last section of the chapter — offers four recommendations for the consideration of school officials with respect to the field of policy making for modern language programming in their jurisdictions.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

ON POLICY MAKING

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars agree that political power influences education
(Thomas, 1973:27; Friesen, 1975; Kimbrough, 1964; Harman, 1974); and
that various individuals, groups, forces, and conditions all interact to
shape the direction of policy for public education (Thompson, 1976).
Another assumption among many policy-analysts is that policy making, in
general, follows a similar process regardless of the substantive matter
of the policies involved.

If these assumptions are true, how then should the study of
policy making in education be conducted? Analysts, for instance, who
over-emphasize such notions as stability, order, efficiency and empirical
validity will tend to employ models of policy making which embody these
principles. If, on the other hand, the immediate political and societal
realities of a situation are stressed, and if it is recognized that individ-
uals generally reflect self-interest and partisan values, then policy-
making theories incorporating these features will be preferred. Thus,
the policy-making process may be analyzed by means of a variety of analyti-
cal frameworks.

In Chapter 2, the writer argues that the most defensible approach
to the analysis of the policy-making process is an eclectic or multi-
dimensional one, incorporating a variety of models.   He contends

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that the eclectic approach will enable the analyst to focus selectively on specific aspects of the complex process, and will permit flexibility to view the process from several perspectives. The application of an eclectic approach to the analysis of policy making will allow the researcher to utilize the strengths of some models to overcome the limitation of others. Each model will tend to be complemented by the others, in assisting to describe and explain the various facets of the complex policy process (Harmon, 1978; Lasswell, 1963:93; Peterson and Williams, 1972: 149-166; Wirt and Kirst 1975:247).

An extensive body of literature exists concerning the general field of policy making, but there is a scarcity with respect to the policy-making process for modern language programming in local school jurisdictions. In fact, the bulk of the literature dealing with the latter field emphasizes only pedagogical and sociological factors. Thus, as far as policy analysis of modern language programs is concerned, "La recherche ne nous fournit pas ou que très peu de réponses" (Churchill, 1976:470).

A recent article by Mackey (1978), however, offers a comprehensive check-list of variables by which a bilingual program could be evaluated. The weakness of the list is that it does not deal with any actual policies or the policy process itself. Another study by Spolsky (1974) presents a model which could be employed to analyze a bilingual program. Spolsky's model not only lists various elements, but it classifies the relevant factors (social, economic, political, and cognitive) in a manner which suggests possible interactions among the factors. His framework, however, seems to lack an analysis of the dynamics of the policy-formulation activity with respect to local school board development of French programs.

A survey of the literature on policy making, in general, reveals

numerous theories and models of the process. For example, Anderson (1975) discusses nine theories and approaches, Downey (1977:136) lists four models, Dye (1972:106) offers five conceptual approaches, Harmon (1978) outlines ten frameworks, LeTourneau (1977:9-29) enumerates five models, Thompson (1976:1-16) presents five suggestions, and Schoettle (1968:169-170) outlines four approaches to the process of policy development. An analysis of all of these lists reveals some models common to most authors and a few others which are unique to a particular scholar.

From this body of literature the writer has selected a set of models which were:

1. recognized by scholars in the field to represent the actual policy-making process in education, and

2. judged by the writer as accurately explaining and simplifying the policy-making process in a local school jurisdiction.

The set of models and approaches of policy making described in this chapter may be divided into two general categories: one involving a systematic-rational-formal perspective of policy making, and the other characterizing a political-bargaining-conflict view of the process. The seven approaches to be employed in the multidimensional set are presented below.

THE RATIONAL-FORMAL VIEW OF POLICY MAKING

The Systems Approach

If one assumes that policy making is the sole result of a systematic, orderly, and efficient process, then the systems approach would be an ideal model by which to conceptualize the process. The writer, however, argues that the systems approach to policy analysis is largely inadequate

-- although like most analytical tools it possesses some advantages.

Easton, considered to be the initiator of applying the systems approach to political analysis, interprets political life generally -- and policy making specifically -- as a complex set of processes through which certain inputs (such as demands, pressures or issues) are converted into outputs, called policies, decisions, or implementing actions by a group of individuals engaged in interaction guided by values and directed toward the achievement of some goal (Easton, 1965; 1966:144). His basic systems model of policy making, depicting a continual flow of inputs, consequences, and feed-back, is well known by political scientists -- even being adopted as the logo on the cover of Policy Sciences Journal. The systems approach in politics has provided a major framework for attempts to analyze the overall patterns of relationships existing in educational politics in recent years (Harman, 1974:26; Smith, 1972:224-249; Thompson, 1976:ix).

The systems approach, however, has been severely criticized (Allman and Anderson, 1974:63; Dror, 1971:3; Dye, 1972:106; Harman, 1974:27; Kaplan, 1960:30-31; Wirt, 1972:249-265; Wirt and Kirst, 1972: 228-241; Zeigler, 1972:169). It is questioned for the following reasons:

1. its over-emphasis of stability, regularity, and structuralism,

2. its inapplicability to the real political world of individual self-interest, personal perceptions and values, and idiosyncratic behaviors,

3. its ineffectiveness in being too abstract,

4. its limitation of functionalism and its inexplicability,

5. its undesirability in not addressing normative questions,

6. its ease in lending itself to interpretation by a "health vs. illness" dichotomy of organizational life, and

7. its emphasis on a single, goal-directed organism seeking equilibrium.

Many of these criticisms are no doubt warranted, but critics may be demanding more of the systems model than its claims can provide. Easton, himself, did not propose it as a formal theory (Wirt, 1972:265), bur rather as a useful tool: (1) to help map out the political field of study, (2) to assist the categorization and integration of data, (3) to furnish a comprehensive view of the entire political environment -- particularly the web-like connectivity of relationships within and between various subsystems in that field, and (4) to provide a method of analysis by which a researcher can formulate questions concerning his examination of the process.

Thus, as a tool, the systems approach, like any conceptual model in the social sciences, can be misused, abused, or un-used; or it can become a helpful instrument for an analyst to map out the environmental connections involved in a field of study, provided, however, that certain precautions are taken. For example, the researcher must: (1) be critically conscious of the limitations of the approach; (2) realize that "the actual situation is more complex than its portrayal" (Shepard, 1965: 1141); and (3) not attempt to force the research data to fit an a priori scheme (Glaser and Strauss, 1965, 1967; Habermas, 1968; Kuhn, 1970).

Several variations and extensions of the initial systems model have been developed. Dye (1966, 1970,1976), for instance, amplifies the notions of the political inputs to include demands (desires, appeals, or events which necessitate the policy-making system to take action) and supports (elements which supply energy and/or resources for the continued operation of the political system). He also expands the conceptions of the various linkages and relationships between the parties involved in the

political process.

Jones (1970) also enlarges the initial Eastonian model to in-
clude a list of functional activities which the policy-making body per-
forms during the process of policy making. The Easton model is further
adapted by Wirt and Kirst (1972:18) to yield a "dynamic-response model",
which emphasizes the effect of the total environmental input (from inside
and outside the political subsystem) on the process.

In a further adaptation of the systems model, Thompson (1976:
17-53) employs the framework to provide a comprehensive view of policy
making in education. The local school system is depicted at the center
of a network of relationships among various parties. This systems model,
however, does not deal adequately with the dynamics of the operations in
the policy-making process itself. The inner workings of the process can
be explained by other conceptual frameworks. This process will be dis-
cussed in the following section.

An adaptation of the systems approach. If one assumes that the
systems model of policy analysis does provide a limited view of the overall
situation being examined, how could it be designed to analyze policy for
French programming in school jurisdictions? The representation in Figure 1
demonstrates such a systems design.

The model helps identify the various parties of the process, and
how they generally relate to one another. Events and incidents occurring
at various levels of socio-political life in Canada tend to influence the
way policy is made at the local school division. The policy decisions,
when implemented, have an impact on the community. The feedback of the
policy consequences, in turn, tends to influence further inputs into the
political system; and the whole process follows   this cycle. The

FIGURE 1

THE POLICY MAKING SYSTEM OF LOCAL EDUCATION SET

WITHIN ITS BROAD ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

(ADAPTED FROM EASTON, 1957:383)

THE FLOW OF EFFECTS
 FROM ENVIRONMENT

FEDERAL
  INFLUENCES

QUEBEC
FACTORS

                        DECISIONS
                       AND POLICIES

                THE
           SCHOOL DIVISION
               AS A   POLICY IMPACT

           POLITICAL SYSTEM

PROVINCIAL
EVENTS

                              CONSEQUENCES
                                  AND
                             FEED BACK

                                (OFTEN
                         DIFFUSED
NEIGHBORING   AND INDIRECT)
COMMUNITIES

        LOCAL
      COMMUNITY
       ATTITUDES
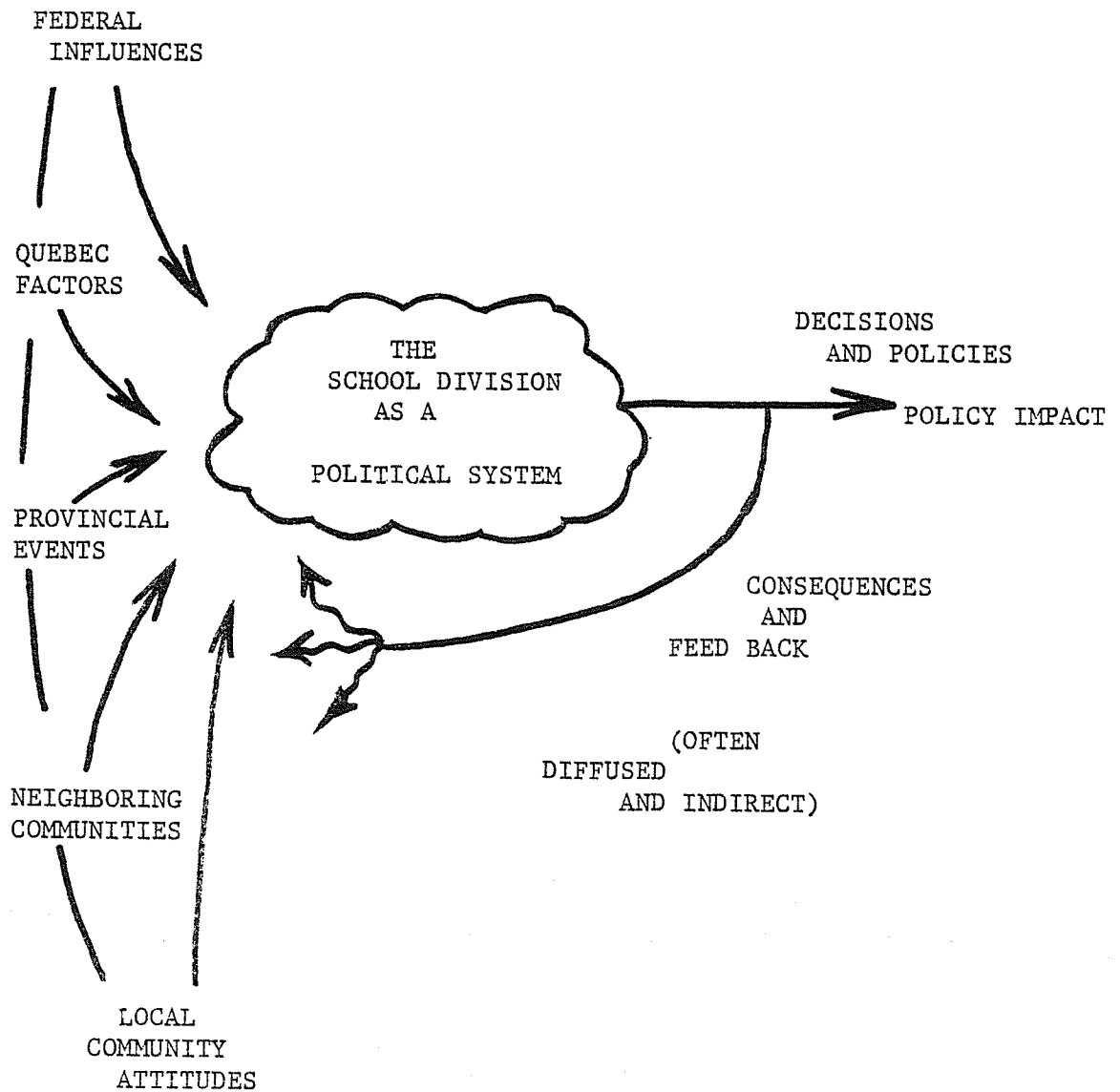
model does not explain the policy-making activity, but it does provide

an analytical categorization of elements and their connections (Harman,

1974:26-34; Wirt, 1972:249), which makes the systems approach valuable

as a source for generating research questions.

Simeon (1972:11-12) concisely summarizes the basic set of cat-

egories which the systems approach offers for analyzing policy making.

From his brief set of categories, the researcher can draw preliminary

questions to initiate the analysis. No doubt, other questions will arise

as a study progresses, but the systems approach can provide an initial

framework. Some of the preliminary questions derived from Simeon's work

are listed below:

1. Who are the individuals and groups interacting within the policy-
making system?

2. What goals, values and perceptions does each party possess re-
garding policy issues?

3. What control and influence is exerted, and by whom?

4. What social and institutional factors in the environment affect
the actions of the actors?

5. What demands and issues arise in the system? How do they assume
their particular character?

6. What political resources are used, and by whom?

7. What policy alternatives are available in the process?

8. What access do non-members of the policy-making body have to the
system or its members?

9. What strategies and tactics are used by the actors in the process?

10. What are the consequences of specified policies?

Thus, the systems approach can assist in mapping out the prelimi-

nary analytical framework for viewing a political system in operation. How-

ever to examine the actual process of policy making will require the con-

tribution of additional conceptual frameworks. These will be discussed in

the next section.

Policy Making as a Rational Process

Another analytical model which lends itself to viewing policy making as a formal and orderly process is the rational approach. The rational process of policy making has been described in terms of a group single-mindedly progressing through a systematic series of problem-solving steps to efficiently arrive at an acceptable solution, which results in a policy decision. However, most students of policy making realize that policy is not established on such an orderly and rational basis (Coleman, 1977; Dye, 1972; Joseph, 1975; Harmon, 1978). The constraints upon the policy-makers in the system limit their use of purely rational procedures -- thus , the real political world of conflict, disorder, imperfection, and compromise can not be ignored.

The existence of these constraints, however, does not mean that the rational approach to decision-making should be rejected. Many writers agree that the rational model is essential, provided that it is adapted to the political aspects of the situation (Cistone, 1977; Downey, 1977; Havelock, 1973; Ingram, 1978, Dror, 1971; Manley-Casimir, 1978). Indeed, Bauer (1968:19) contends that policy making can be perceived generally as an intellectual (rational) process, embedded in a social and political process -- all of which must be understood in terms of a context comprised of the past, present, and future. All of these authors cited above assert that because policy making includes both intellectual and political factors then it is reasonable to expect that useful models be devised to accommodate both elements.

Lindblom (1959,1965,1968), Dahl and Lindblom (1976), and Ostrom

(1972:205-209) argue that human fallibility prevents rational decision-making, in the ideal sense of being fully comprehensive. Thus, they suggest that decision-making in reality is fragmented and incremental. Lindblom (1968:108-109), however, argues that this "disjointed incrementalism" is in itself, rational, because it occurs empirically in the world of politics, and because individuals act according to what seems appropriate at the moment. In this sense, then, "rational" means the most practical thing to do in the situation (Bauer, 1968:19). Wright (1977:27-31) concurs with this view, by declaring that distinguishing between the "rational" and "political" is purely analytical, and that the political view is inherently rational, since politics is empirical.

Etzioni (1968) argues, however, that neither the rational nor the incremental approach is appropriate. He offers the "mixed scanning" model, in which a few -- not all -- of the policy alternatives are quickly examined and a "bit decision" is made incrementally, but within the confines set by earlier decisions. Pharis (1970:9) further illustrates the dilemma raised by an over-emphasis on rationality, when decision-makers encounter the following problems: (1) insufficient information, (2) inaccurate information, (3) ignoring information, (4) over-abundance of information, (5) lack of sources of information, (6) inability to define issues, (7) inability to outline alternatives, or (8) inability to project consequences.

Regardless of how one defines rationality, it appears unrealistic, therefore, to attempt to maximize rationally all of the values represented in local policy making. Peterson and Williams (1972:155-158) suggest that the concept of "instrumental rationality" describes realistic events in the process. In this view, if a selected policy alternative (the means)

is appropriate for the goals being sought in a situation, then the
authors contend, the policy decision is rational: rational, because it
is the most appropriate action at the time to meet the goals of the in-
stitution.

Therefore, one may conclude that "rational" policy formation, in
the sense of logically instrumental decision-making, is a characteristic
of political life. However, "rational" in the sense of considering all
possible alternatives and their consequences in a purely statistical and
orderly manner is an unrealistic view.

Policy Making as a "Formal" Process

A third approach to the rational view of policy
making is to consider the policy makers to be the head of a formal or-
ganization such as a school system (Peterson and Williams, 1972:159).
This approach, based on the notion of a hierarchical arrangement of organ-
izational members in a bureaucracy, reflects the assumptions of the
structural-functionalist school. According to this view, each member oc-
cupies a specific role position and has a particular function to perform
within the structure of the organization. Again, the emphasis is on or-
derliness, efficiency, singular goal-seeking behavior, and co-operation
between sub-systems of the group. These assumptions are supplemented,
however, with a further one: there is a set of constraints on the decision
makers, which limits the group's options and which biases the perceptions
of its members (Mouzelis 1967:123-133; Rich, 1974:72-95; Bidwell, 1965:
1010-1016; Feldman and Kanter, 1965:614-619).

Some of the constraints impinging on complex, formal organiza-
tions may include: organizational routines, operational procedures, in-
dividual or shared interests, role expectations, resource limitation,

central or legal control, peer or group power, community attitudes,
elements of uncertainty and risk, or the influence of interest groups
(Armitage, 1975:62-67, 78; Bibby, 1959; Jennings, 1977; Krupp, 1961:
143; March and Simon, 1958:2; Mitchell and Mitchell, 1969:404-410;
Selznick, 1948:25-35; Silverman, 1970:204-213; Steinberg, 1975:2;
Summerfield, 1971:98-103).

The formal-organization model of policy making is similar to
the rational model in that it assumes that the policy-making body is a
unitary actor, subject to a set of uniform constraints imposed on it
(Harman, 1974:33-34; Lindblom, 1968:4). However, it is dissimilar to
the rational model in that it actively seeks to identify the constraints
which biases decision makers in the policy process.

THE POLITICAL-BARGAINING VIEW OF POLICY MAKING

To recapitulate, the writer has argued for an eclectic approach
to the study of policy making. The various models of policy analysis
appear to fall within two general ranges: those that emphasize ration-
ality, efficiency and stability, and those that emphasize the presence of
political conflict and influence. A political-bargaining view of policy
making is presented in this section. This bargaining approach or typology
identifies and classifies the types of orientations which actors have toward
political activity.

The bargaining typology assumes that members of the policy
making system is an individual with unique values, perceptions, and inter-
ests (Allison, 1969:689-718; Greenfield, 1975:71-99; Silverman, 1970:
222-225). The approach differs from the rational model in that common goals
are not necessarily maximized. Nor does it suggest, as does the formal-

organization approach, that policy is a product of the selective biases of the staff in response to environmental contraints. Rather, the bargaining model conceptualizes the local school board as an arena within which various actors pursue varying goals with varying resources. The decisions reached are outcomes of the bargaining process, which occurs among the actors -- each of whom has stakes or interests in the conflict.

Peterson and Williams (1972:162-166) outline three distinctive types of political bargaining. Each type characterizes the concerns and interests of decision makers in a particular situation. These types may not perfectly describe any one individual, but they serve to point out general attributes of certain personality-types. Individual policy makers may tend to reflect one type more than another.

Democratic Bargaining

The term "democratic", in this typology, is used in a special sense. "Democratic" bargaining would be found where decision makers are subject to the sanction or control of the electorate. A democratic policy maker is defined in this analysis as a political leader who seeks to implement policy preferred by the majority of the population. He is generally characterized by self-interest, ambition, and a desire to be rewarded by re-election to office. He will tend to wait for the development of coalitions that will aggregate certain group demands until a majority position arises. Groups who wish to influence this type of politician will seek to convince him that their views represent the majority view (Dye, 1977:407-409; Sandow and Apker, 1975:33-39).

Pluralist Bargaining

This term also has a specialized definition, in that a "pluralist"

is a decision maker who responds sympathetically to the legitimate inter-
ests   of all groups participating in the political process. He typically
feels that decisions must not threaten the vital interests of any member
of the institutionalized bargaining order. He is realistic about the need
for co-operation among a wide range of interests in order to keep the com-
plex system functioning. Groups in a pluralistic bargaining situation
focus their attention on decision makers, by attempting to persuade them
both publicly and privately, of the necessity of adopting (or rejecting)
a particular policy (Allman and Anderson, 1974:156-172; Bidwell, 1965:
1010-1012; Koerner, 1968: 143-173; Mitchell and Mitchell, 1969:435;
Steinberg, 1975:2; Truman, 1951:501-513).

Several authors suggest that current educational policy making
reflects increased pluralistic bargaining, and that many superintendents
have adopted the stances of pluralistic bargainers (Campbell, 1973:88;
Cistone, 1972:3; Coleman, 1977; Gittell, 1973:139-140; Summerfield,
1971:98-103).

In contrast to the democratic bargaining   type   the pluralist
bargaining approach may encourage decision makers to become favorably
biased towards a certain group, even if the group is not numerically lar-
ger. For instance, if an interest group has both public and private access
to policy makers, the latter may consider the interest group to have more
legitimate concerns than those who do not vocalize their demands (Bachrach
and Baratz, 1962:947-962; Schattschneider, 1960:35).

The pluralist bargaining   type   as described in this section,
does not engage the traditional argument of "elitism vs. pluralism". Rather
it   conceives the various pluralistic bargaining units that contact the
school board to be headed by the spokesmen or "power-elite" of the various

groups. In this sense, the pluralist politics in educational decision-making is characterized by the contacts or linkages between and among the various elites of both the unofficial interest groups and the bureaucracies of official interest groups (Housego, 1972:13-16). Thus, the power is exerted by a few leaders in each of the interest groups (Strickland et al,1972:23-26). The consequent vying for control of policy decisions by these competing groups can be described in terms of a "multiple elitist system" (Gittell, 1967:2). In this system, the majority of citizens scarcely, if ever, vocally contest the decisions made by the local authorities. Iannaccone (1967:99) further maintains that educational systems are generally closed elitist structures, characterized by "consensus building rather than conflict resolution, and the dull etiquette of gossip rather than the sparkle of debate."

In some local situations, however, the policy-making process may, in fact, involve mass turnouts by concerned citizens, particularly if controversial issues arise concerning ethnic, religious or moral questions (Almy, 1967:914-923; Black, 1974:1245-1261; Coleman,1957:9-10; Crain, 1969; Dye, 1977:222; Rosenthal, 1969; Thompson, 1974:72-90). In these cases, genuine pluralism may be evidenced. Many experts feel, however, that most policy decisions made by school boards are made with little or no outside influence, and that control of public education rests almost exclusively in the hands of the professional administrators (Dye, 1977:407-408; Ziegler and Jennings, 1974:27; Pitman, 1972:9, Wiles and Williams, 1972; Bargen, 1972:75; Hemphill, 1978:4).

Other research seems to indicate that school boards are composed of members who generally are not truly representative of the community as a whole (Bidwell, 1965:1010-1012; Iannaccone and Lutz, 1970:28; Gross,

1958;   Rich, 1974:12-95;   Sandow et al, 1975:vii-xiv;   Ziegler, 1972:
170).   Policy decisions, therefore, tend to reflect the interests of partic-
ular   interest groups -- those who have influenced the policy makers.

Today, moreover, policy making by school boards is being increas-
ingly influenced by a pluralism of groups, whose vocal elites use pressure
tactics on the decision-making body.   Neither the mass, diffuse involve-
ment by citizens, nor a single ruling-elite of community power seems to
characterize the current scene in school-board policy making.   Occasion-
ally, these two elements appear, but normally they seem to be displaced
by pluralistic competition between and among several bargaining groups.
The latter situation seems to characterize the generally accepted plural-
istic-democratic view of social-political life in Canada (Armitage, 1975:
78).

Ideological Bargaining

A third type of political bargaining described by Peterson and
Williams (1972:162-166) which often arises during policy making is that
conducted by political ideologues.   A political ideologue tends to make
decisions that are in agreement with his own well organized system of val-
ues.   He will generally sacrifice the interests of his social group or his
political ambitions for his ideological principles.   The idealogue will
tend not to compromise, since he sees issues as conflicts over ideals
rather than as competition among groups.   He often becomes angry with the
pressure placed upon him by others, and will normally feel obliged to op-
pose these pressures on matters of principle.   He will act relatively
consistently over time and over a wide range of issues.

In contrasting the idealogue with the democrat or pluralist, it is
evident that the pluralist will tend to pursue conflicting goals as he

moves from one position to another, seeking to distribute benefits to all relevant groups. The democratic politician, however, will only be as consistent as his electorate -- relatively unstable from issue to issue. The ideologue is characterized by neither of these stances. With ideological bargaining, moreover, a critical group strategy is to place ideologically allied actors in key positions, and to attempt to prevent opposing idealogues from gaining strategic positions. Decisional outcomes in ideological bargaining will be determined by the ideologically dominant perspective among those in authoritative positions.

In concluding the discussion on the dynamics of the process of political bargaining, one must not assume that a particular school board would be composed of members exhibiting a single decision-making type. Equally unwarranted is the assumption that each member would always reflect a single approach. A more realistic view, however, might be to expect that each member would tend to exhibit one typology more than others; while at the same time realizing that he may change -- depending both on the specific situation, and on his own set of perceptions and values prevailing at the time.

POLICY MAKING: RATIONAL OR POLITICAL?

To this point, the discussion in the review of the literature has analytically distinguished between two general approaches: the rational-formal models of policy making, and the political bargaining approaches. However, life in organizations typically ignores such distinctions: it simply goes on from day to day. Conflicts arise, people make decisions, new issues arise, and individuals continue to act and react according to their perceptions and values. In general, though, the bargaining models,

as outlined in the foregoing section are more adequate in explaining the dynamics of the actual policy-making process than are the rational approaches.

The major differences between viewing policy making as a purely rational process as compared to perceiving it as a political one are outlined below:

1. The political bargaining models do not assume a constant objectivity on the part of political actors, as do the rational-formal models. Organizations are not seen by the bargaining approach as living organisms characterized by a single, goal-seeking behavior; but rather viewed as being composed of individuals who are motivated by subjective meaning and personal values.

2. Political bargaining does not overemphasize stability, efficiency, and regulation. Rather, dissonance, debate, and compromise are accepted as authentic signs of life and development in groups. Rational models reflect an opposing position.

3. The bargaining approaches recognize that the majority of policy makers may ultimately agree on a decision proposal, but that compromises might be reached that are actually inferior for the resolution of an issue. Purely rational plans hold that the optimum solution is always reached.

4. In bargaining, an agreed upon policy decision may be eventually rendered ineffective because the political ambitions, or the desire for compromise, or the ideological position among one or more policy makers may inhibit the realization of the proposal. Purely rational theories tend to ignore these elements.

5. Bargaining approaches, although acknowledging the benefits of orderly, systematic analysis of issues and alternatives, may temporarily by-pass such prescriptions because of political expediency or other constraints.

One may conclude from this list of differences that policy making in local school jurisdictions does not rely solely on rationality and objectivity throughout the process, nor does it necessarily reject them. A realistic view does not dichotomize the process into extreme "either-or" categories; but, rather, such a view perceives the process in terms of a combination of several approaches.

Toward a Synthesis of Models

A seventh model which can be utilized to analyze the policy-making process seems to be fairly comprehensive, incorporating many of the strengths of the models presented in the foregoing sections. It is Jennings' process model (Jennings, 1977). It has the overall structure of a rational, systematic problem-solving approach by decision makers in a school district, and it also allows for the existence of political activity and individual action in the process.

The cyclical framework of this process model consists of six overlapping stages. The key term for understanding this model is "overlapping", since most rational models are often criticized for their emphasis on a strict order of specified steps (Harmon, 1978). Realizing this weakness, Jennings constructed his process model to allow for the apparent "irrational thinking" and skipping of steps often charged to school board members as they formulate policies.

Each stage of the model raises specific questions that must be dealt with by decision makers. The critical factor at each stage is "who" influences or attempts to control the decisions at that point. The six steps are outlined below (Jennings, 1977:37-40):

1. <u>Initiation of the process</u>. Often dissatisfaction over a current situation occurs. Decisions are made as to who should be listened to, and when.

2. <u>Reformulation of Opinions</u>. Opinions crystallize around certain issues and controversies. There is a consolidation of views, groups form, and leaders emerge. Consideration is given to constraints, such as: limitation of the law, resources and feasibility, and acceptance of alternative actions. Decisions are made as to what ideas should be selected or dropped.

3. <u>Emergence of Alternatives</u>. As dialogue and interaction occur, a range of potential resolutions of the issues are presented. The various proposals reflect the viewpoints of their creators. Decisions are made as to how many alternatives should be considered, and which ones represent important elements in the situation. (Often this factor depends on who proposes the alternative.)

4. <u>Discussion and Debate</u>. Although this activity characterizes the entire process, Jennings argues that it intensifies at the point after the set of alternatives has been established. At this time, the alternative actions are shaped into potential policy proposals. Argument and conflict occur as individuals and/or groups dispute and contend for specific positions. This stage is further characterized by bargaining, negotiation and consultation. Often a combination of alternatives is proposed. In any case, consent-building begins.

5. <u>Legitimization</u>. The policy makers legislate a policy from among the competing proposals. If a majority is not reached the process reverts to activities described under steps three and/or four, above.

6. <u>Implementation</u>. The legitimized policy allows administrative policies and procedures (a second more detailed level of policy, based on the more general goal-related policy) to be devised so that the policy is operationalized.

Jennings' conceptualization of the policy process combines the strengths of:

1. the systems approach (by permitting a systematic overview of the entire web of interrelationships between the system and its total environment),

2. a rational approach (by suggesting that policy planning is not purely a haphazard affair, but that actions and behaviors of individuals and groups are influenced by a complex set of factors), and

3. the bargaining models (by permitting the existence of conflict, due to individual and group values and perceptions -- and holding that individuals, alone or with others sharing common values, will act and react according to these values).

Some have argued that Jennings' use of stages engenders a restriction of linearity and order. However, this criticism is somewhat refuted, at least, in that: (1) he has compensated with "overlapping" stages, and (2) empirically, the majority of decisions in school jurisdictions seem to follow these stages. In any case, it does provide a possible framework that can be considered by the analyst in examining the policy-making process.

An Eclectic Approach

Each of the seven analytical models of policy making presented in the preceeding section can contribute to the analysis of the process in local school districts. The argument in this chapter is that each model, alone, is insufficient to explain the process, and that each has potential capability for application to the analysis of policy making in a particular situation. The seven frameworks, together with their strengths and limitations, are reviewed below:

1. Systems approach. The systems approach provides an overall picture of how the policy-making system relates to its environment. It also offers a comprehensive framework from which initial research questions may be generated for preliminary analysis, but it is inadequate in analyzing the process of policy making.

2. <u>Rational approach</u>. The rational approach demonstrates that human behavior is not random but follows a certain path, as a result of the complex interaction of factors within and outside the individual.   An overemphasis on order, systematic prescription, and empirical verification, however, is unrealistic and unsound, because such a view tends to ignore political aspects of decision making; or it may assume that political decision making is not rational.

3. <u>Formal-organization model</u>. This model depicts decision making occurring in a sub-system of a complex bureaucracy in a community. The   structural-functionalist goals of formalism, efficiency, stability   and modal behavior are emphasized. Although it recognizes the influence of various constraints upon decision makers, the model tends to ignore the individual and political realities of conflict, competition   and idiosyncratic behavior.

4. <u>Democratic bargaining</u>.   This bargaining type describes decision-making   in groups whose members are motivated by ambition, desire for re-election, and fear of the electorate. This definition of "democratic" bargaining reflects decision-making for selfish ends, rather than for genuinely desiring to meet the needs of the populace. This model provides only one type of personality which may exist in a situation.

5. <u>Pluralistic bargaining</u>. The pluralistic bargaining type portrays politicians who are guided by principles of co-operation among a wide range of interests in the institutionalized bargaining order, in that decisions must not threaten the main interests of any member of the bargaining order. The pluralistic bargainer attempts

to satisfy all the needs expressed by all groups. Negotiation and mediation are used. This approach, like the former, describes only one type of decision-making personality that may be evident in a group.

6. <u>Ideological bargaining.</u> Political decision making, which reflects this model-type is characterized by individuals with explicit ideals by which they operate. Ideologues tend to be loyal to these principles regardless of the conflict they encounter. Again, this model is limited to describing a single type of personality.

7. <u>The process model.</u> The process model is basically a rational approach composed of six overlapping stages. However, it also provides for the existence of political and individual influences within the process of policy making in the area of education.

These seven approaches provide useful schemes by which to analyze policy making. The first three models are useful in orientating a study, in terms of relating the political subsystem to other subsystems and to the environment in general, as well as assisting the generation of research questions to guide the research. The last four schemes provide useful frameworks to apply to the analysis of the policy-making process, itself, and the various political actions and relationships connected to it.

This selection of approaches is not exhaustive, but serves as a guide for analysis. To comprehend and interpret the motives of political actors as they formulate policy, is difficult, if not impossible. For instance, does a school board member act because of political ambition, or desire to compromise, or of conviction to principles? Whether a re-

searcher can obtain accurate answers to these questions depends not only on the analytical tools he employs, but the skill with which he uses them.

These seven analytical frameworks are offered to the analyst, who -- it is assumed -- will make an eclectic selection among them as the situation warrants. Each model is not sufficiently powerful to explain the process completely; but all of them have potential for the systematic formulation of categories for analysis.

SUMMARY

Chapter 2 consists of a review of the literature relevant to the process of policy making. Many of the models and approaches of policy analysis discussed in the literature emphasized one of two general areas: policy making characterized by formal and rational problem-solving or policy making viewed as a complex process of political conflict and bargaining. The writer proposed that both views are necessary to adequately analyze policy making in education.

Seven models of policy making were examined, and the writer argued that an eclectic approach to the analysis of policy formation was more warranted than sole reliance on any single model. The use of an eclectic approach allows the analyst to incorporate the benefits of each of the models in the examination of the policy-making process, without being limited by the assumptions and strategies of a specific approach.

Chapter 3

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS INFLUENCING FRENCH-PROGRAMMING

POLICIES IN WESTERN CANADIAN SCHOOL JURISDICTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose in Chapter 3 is to present an overview of the socio-
political factors which have influenced policy making at the local school
board level with respect to French programming, particularly in Western
Canada. Several factors will be examined which exist at various levels
-- those at the federal level, those arising in the province of Quebec,
those at the provincial level in Western Canada, and those existing at
the local community level.

Each of these environmental factors will be examined in terms of
the way it has tended to influence the formation of policy for the pro-
vision of French language opportunities in local school divisions. The
discussion culminates with the development of a tentative list of prac-
tical policy issues and possible alternative policy decisions for these
issues, which a typical local school board may well have to deal with as
it encounters the various environmental influences seeking to effect
policy making regarding French programs in the schools of its jurisdic-
tion.

Although these factors are discussed and analyzed separately,
many of them occurred simultaneously. Therefore, they may have had in-
direct effects, unobservable to the researcher, on the Frontenac School
Division, depending on when, how, and why the events occured, as well as

how the events were perceived by the individuals involved at the time.

THE MAJOR FACTORS

Factors at the Federal Level

Conflicting interpretations of Confederation.   A critical factor in the federal realm regarding French in Canadian schools concerns differences in interpreting Canadian history. The way individuals perceive Canada's founding and early years as a federalist nation may influence their policy choices regarding French and other language programs in the schools of the country.

One of the basic differences in opinion which seems to be at the root of much of the controversy over French language programs in Canadian schools is the opposing values and resultant animosity between individuals and groups who clash basically over the interpretation of Confederation. One Frontenac school trustee, for example, in defending his historical interpretation of Canada's beginning blames the early English victors:

> You guys were too nice on the Plains of Abraham. You should have annihilated us for good, there; because now we are coming back, and we are fighting for our rights.

The opposing interpretation is reflected by statements from non-francophones, such as:

> We don't like French being rammed down our throats. Let the Frenchmen realize they are a minority group -- and stop acting like they are a majority.

This attitude was further illustrated by another Frontenac trustee's statement, reported to have been made during an in-camera School Board meeting: "In no way are the god damn French going to have their own schools in this Division!"

The polarization of opinion is basically related to historical

considerations. One group believes that Canada is a federation of ten provinces, not a "cultural duality," as the other group contends. Many francophones affirm that Confederation was founded by an agreement between two distinct communities -- a point they feel is particularly noted in Article 133 of the B.N.A. Act, and a point that is often referred to in provincial legislation favoring the francophone cause. For example, Section 258(1) of the Manitoba Public Schools Act was revised in 1970 to read:

> ...English and French being the two languages to which reference is made in the British North America Act, 1867, are the languages of instruction in public schools.

Others, such as historian Creighton and politician Richardson maintain that the bilingual policy of the federal government "...only extends the problem of language difference; it does not solve it" (Richardson, October 30, 1978). This group also believes that the "dual-culture compact" is a recent theory invented by francophone revolutionaries, in an attempt to destroy the original view of Canada, as established by the Fathers of Confederation. Furthermore, the group suggests that francophone activists, incited by radicals in Quebec, have twisted historical facts into an interpretation favoring their own ethnocentric position. Creighton asserts that (1969:8-9):

> New historical interpretations which make their appearance in revolutionary times are usually the result, not of search for truth, but of the need for historical justification. They are invented -- or partly invented -- to supply historical authority for a program of radical changes.

Thus, historical interpretation is a federally related factor influencing the policy-goals set in institutions, particularly in education, at the local community level. Moreover, historical interpretation will in part determine the types and purposes of French programs set up in the
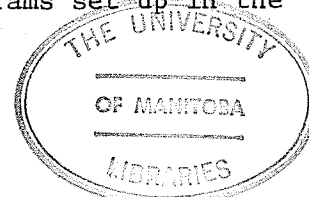
schools of a district.

Canada at a stage of national development. In addition to the
general question of how Canadian Confederation is interpreted, another
factor -- on an even broader scale -- which may tend to influence lan-
guage policies for education is one dealing with the development of Canada
as a nation.

On the basis of Havighurst's research of anthropological and cul-
tural characteristics in the development of three countries, it could be
argued that Canada's current national-unity problems are characteristic
of a normal stage in the development of a nation. Havighurst (1974) sug-
gests that the series of successive stages in a country's development
are: (1) defeat by a stronger power, (2) the defeated withdrawing,
(3) the stronger assimilating the weaker, and (4) the emergence of protest
and problems of adjustment, which are considered inadequate and undesir-
able by both parties. His evidence indicates that this fourth stage leads
to a movement for a plurality of cultures, with the members seeking to
live together in amity and mutual understanding. Mutual co-operation
eventually occurs, but separate cultures are maintained.

This process, however, requires. years of social evolution, inter-
action, dissonance, and adaptation among its members in order to bring
the cultural pluralism into fruition. It does not occur automatically,
according to Havighurst, but only through the developmental process. Fur-
thermore, the rate of development can not be pre-specified, since indiv-
iduals making up the groups develop at various rates.

Using Havighurst's perspective, one could assume that Canada, as
a nation at the present time, is progressing through this fourth level of

development -- on the road towards the final stage of cultural plural-

ism, as outlined by Havighurst. If this assumption is valid, then the

factors leading to the creation of policy issues concerning French in

the schools may be viewed in terms of being essential and normal in the

evolution of Canadian history, rather than in terms of negative forces

to be avoided and eradicated or feared.

The promotion of bilingualism. Several events occur-

ring on the federal government scene have had considerable effect on the

French language policies of school jurisdictions in the Western Canadian

Provinces. The support of the federal government in terms of the Offic-

ial Languages Act (proclaimed in September 1969), the federal-provincial

financial grants, and the continued promotion of bilingual education by

the government have succeeded in maintaining the status of French programs

in schools.

In addition to legitimizing both official languages*, the federal

government, through the Department of the Secretary of State, has imple-

mented bilingualism-development programs in the field of education. These

joint federal-provincial agreements provide partial financial reimburse-

ment from the federal government to each province for bilingual language

programs offered within a province's schools.

Other federal incidents, however, reveal that opposition exists to

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* In 1971, the Canadian government -- recognizing the cultural her-
itage contributed by other ethnic groups -- proclaimed a national multi-
culturalism policy "within a bilingual framework" (Canada, Department of
Secretary of State, n.d.). Such a policy commended "itself to the Govern-
ment as the most suitable means of sharing the cultural freedom of
Canadians" (Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, n.d.).

the established government policies. Some politicians hold values not in accord with the promotion of bilingualism in Canada. One of these most vocal opponents is James Richardson who resigned from the federal Liberal party because of differences in language policies and proposed constitutional reform. He demonstrated that some Canadians are definitely opposed to enshrining "in the Constitution the linguistic and cultural rights of the two official languages" (South East Lance, October 20, 1976). Moreover, the creation of a new political force, Canadians for One Canada (Winnipeg Free Press, March 10, 1979:22), demonstrates that many Western Canadians, particularly, do not support government bilingual policies. This difference in values is also manifested at the local community level where school board policies are made.

The Influence of Quebec

In addition to the factors at the federal level which affect educational policy-making, other influences exist at a second stage in the Canadian socio-political structure being considered in this study, namely, the factors originating in the province of Quebec.

As well as the interpretation of Canadian Confederation favoring the "duality of cultures," another factor to be considered is the influence of the "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec during the sixties, which gave impetus to francophone groups outside of Quebec to assert their cultural and linguistic rights. During this time, a general rejection of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church occurred among francophones in Quebec. Instead, as a result of increasing industrialization, secularization, and interest in socio-political concerns, francophones in Quebec -- and also outside of Quebec:

...have rejected the traditional nationalism of withdrawal and rejection, and substituted a nationalism of participation -- a sense of dynamic self-consciousness and awareness which has filled French Canada with an unprecedented optimism and confidence in its capacity "to do its own thing" and to achieve greatness (Meisel, 1971:145).

Morton (1978:6) declares that since 1760 the francophone community in Canada, largely centered in Quebec, has "by a single-minded commitment, accompanied by incredible ingenuity...defied the inevitable": it has avoided being absorbed into the English-speaking environment in North America.

The ideas, sentiments and values expressed by some of the writers and politicians in Quebec concerning the status of francophone culture in Canada have been espoused by many francophones outside of Quebec. Thus, francophones outside of Quebec -- who share the goal of "la survivance" -- are "using their significant leverage in Ottawa and a slightly guilty concern about national unity on the part of the English-speaking majority" to obtain linguistic and cultural rights (Morton, 1978:8-9). To this group of francophones the term "bilingualism" is often a source of misunderstanding and conflict; since, in their view, bilingualism is really a threat to the French, and a cause of their assimilation. They feel that bilingualism is far from a pacifying offer made to francophones -- for they do not have to be persuaded of the advantages of language attainment (Morton, 1978:9).

The province of Quebec seems to be actively encouraging the aggressive attitude of francophones in Western Canada. The Quebec government has agreed to supply financial and moral support for French educational and cultural projects in the province of Manitoba (Tribune, April 15, 1977; April 16, 1977). Many Franco-Manitobans believe, moreover, that the Parti Québecois, and the current publicity of Quebec independence, are benefitting

the francophone cause on the Prairies. For instance, a past-president of

the provincial association of francophone teachers (E.F.M.), believes

that events in Quebec have "brought about the development of an awareness

across Canada ... that there is a problem" (Tribune, November 16, 1977).

Many francophones share this belief, and are pleased that Canadians are

being "forced to come to grips with the fact of Canada's two founding cul-

tures" (Tribune, November 16, 1977).

Other Franco-Manitobans, however, do not share this view. They

see the P.Q. policies as either having no effect upon Western Canada or

hindering the francophone cause. These attitudes were expressed by two

francophone leaders (Tribune, November 16, 1977):

> I have seen no change whatsoever in the attitudes and situation
> of French Canadians in Manitoba ... we're fading away anyway, and
> there doesn't seem to be anything we can do about it.

Another comment was: "We'd be dead ducks here if Quebec separated."

Therefore, opinion among francophones is divided as to how pow-

erful the influence of events in Quebec have been in shaping language

policies in education in the rest of Canada. Nevertheless, the combina-

tion of the support provided for French education by the federal govern-

ment, together with the philosophical and moral support provided by fran-

cophones in Quebec, has added to, rather than detracted from, the ef-

fect of francophone influence on the cultural scene in Canada.

The influence of Quebec in Manitoba. One of the most specific

examples of the influence of Quebec on French language policies for educa-

tion in Western Canada was the hiring of Luc Panet by the Manitoba Depart-

ment of Education. Panet, from a Quebec university, was temporarily em-

ployed by the Department to evaluate the status of French education in the

province's schools, and to recommend specific actions for improvement.

In addition to organizing the overall operation of the <u>Bureau le L'Education Francaise</u> in the Department of Education for the province's French programs, Panet initiated the notion of establishing an autonomous public school system serving the French school divisions in the province (<u>Winnipeg Free Press</u>, March 6, 1976). This idea of a network of "Francais" schools is still actively supported by several francophone organizations. One of these groups, representing 8,000 parents in the province, desires: (1) an autonomous school agency separate from the current system, (2) the curricular content controlled by an elected central committee of francophones, and (3) parent committees in each division (<u>Winnipeg Free Press</u>, March 30, 1977; May 25, 1977; <u>La Liberté</u>, October 26, 1978; June 22, 1978).

The so-called extremist views of the francophones desiring their own network of schools have been expressed by the executive of the provincial organization of francophone parents. They state that:

> Les anglophones s'imaginent que nous voulons leur enlever des droits. Mais nous pensons qu'un commissaire d'école unilingue anglais n'a pas de compétence pour juger de nos besoins propres (<u>La Liberté</u>, October 26, 1978).

They further maintain that parents are politically powerful:

> Le choix est à nous, les parents. Nous sommes le pouvoir; le pouvoir politique, c'est notre volonté collective ... les francophones ... être les maîtres de leur système d'éducation (<u>La Liberté</u>, October 26, 1978).

These militant statements are considered extreme and revolutionary by other individuals and groups -- both francophone and non-francophone (<u>Winnipeg Free Press</u>, March 6, 1976).

A former Minister of Education, in reacting to the francophone proposal for "a network of French schools", declared that "it is far from

being government policy, and I doubt it will ever become policy"

(Tribune, December 16, 1976). The then Premier also rejected the pro-

posal, stating that it is incompatible with the government's responsibil-

ity for education; since, first of all, the province could not afford

such a two-system plan, and even if it could, he stated, that plan

should not be restricted to only one part of the population (Tribune,

May 26, 1977).

Thus, the debate over the development of a separate francophone

system of school divisions again illustrates the differences in values be-

tween and within ethnic and cultural groups. The division of opinion is

not between the anglophones and the francophones, but it appears to be a

conflict between a smaller segment of francophones -- dedicated to the

survival of their linguistic and cultural qualities, and disposed to the

attainment of equality with the English cultural status in Canada -- and

the rest of the citizenry.

Thus, the province of Quebec -- through its leadership, its moral

and other types of support, and its political influence -- has been a

significant factor in aiding the expansion of the francophone cause out-

side of Quebec, particularly in the field of education.

The Influence of Developments in Other Provinces

Various factors originating at a third level of the socio-political

scene in Canada, namely, at the provincial level, have also tended to affect

the direction that policy regarding French in schools has taken recently.

Research from Ontario and Quebec. One background factor at the

provincial level which has influenced the formation of policies for modern

language programs in school jurisdictions is that involving research evi-

dence from various language programs across Canada. The bulk of this
research has been conducted in Ontario and Quebec, and has largely dealt
with French-as-a-second-language programs.

Recent studies (Ontario, Ministry of Education, 1974, 1977) have
recognized three basic types of second-language programs, with   three
concomitant levels of achievement (Méloche; 1977): the core program,
(providing fundamental knowledge), the extended program (providing an in-
termediate proficiency), and the immersion program (yielding complete
bilingualism). Extensive research in the last few years has shown re-
peatedly that if fluency in French is desired by anglophones, then some
form of immersion is most effective (Halpern, 1977:12; Hébert et al,
1976:12-22; Lambert, 1977; Lupul, 1976:92-93; Manitoba Research
Council, 1977; Muller et al, 1977:492-493; Shapson and Kaufman, 1976:
20-21; Swain and Nwanunobi, 1977:472-473).

The popularity of immersion programs among non-francophones in
Canada has increased markedly. However, there has been an equal desire
among many francophones to free themselves of the assimilating influence
of the anglophone language and culture. Thus, there has also been an in-
crease in the establishment of "Français" schools in Western Canada
(Manitoba, Department of Education, 1976, 1977: Saskatchewan, Department
of Education, 1976; Winnipeg Free Press, October 2, 1978:3,11).

On the other hand, many parents -- both anglophone and franco-
phone -- do not want their children to become fluent in French. To them,
English is the language to be mastered in Western Canada. Consequently,
for these parents, the traditional "core" program -- or no program at all
-- is desirable. In this light, one professor of French education in a
Canadian university maintained that:

Not everyone wants to be bilingual. For a lot of people, the
~ure method -- or the extended program -- is the most important ap-
proach. With these, they at least get a start (Maurice, 1978).

One may conclude that although the literature is replete with
evidence supporting the educational, psychological and linguistic bene-
fits of intensive French programs, the social and political realities in
Canada are the critical factors dictating how policies are formulated by
school boards.

Ultimately, then, policy makers will use research evidence ac-
cording to their own perceptions and interpretations (Iiams, 1977: 227-
228; Macnamara, 1974:14; Mcvie, 1976:13-14; Stern, 1978:680-687).
As a result, public policy with respect to school language programs will
be conceived in terms encompassing more than the rational considerations
of approaches, psycho-linguistic theories, or methodologies. Such policy
will also be shaped by social and political issues, with important eth-
ical implications as well (Jacobson, 1974; Rado, 1974:112).

If research indicates that immersion programs provide overwhelming
benefits for students, why -- in the face of this evidence -- does there
exist an interest in some quarters, and a reluctance in others, for school
boards in Western Canada to offer bilingual education opportunities for
their students? What are some of the factors at the provincial level
which seem to influence this often emotional question? Some of the factors
relating to this phenomenon, particularly in Manitoba, are examined below.

The Influence of Developments in Manitoba

Legislation. In Canada, the opportunities for French language
education offered by local school boards are directly related to provin-
cial policy and regulation. The Department of Education in each province

is responsible for minority language* education in its schools, but each province has different policies and procedures with respect to this field. Manitoba, for example, is one of four provinces which have adopted mandatory legislation requiring educational services to be provided in the minority language (Canada, C.M.E.C., 1978). Thus, English and French have equal status, as the official languages of instruction in the schools. The influence of the leadership of certain francophone groups, and the relatively large concentrated population, ranking fourth among the pro- vinces (Canada, C.M.E.C. Report, 1978:4; Winnipeg Free Press, April 26, 1978), have been major factors in the formation of this policy for Manitoba.

History of French language education. Manitoba's history of French language education is unique, and it has influenced the local policy-making processes which are carried on today. A brief outline of the critical events that have occurred in Manitoba's recent history** of French education is present- ed below (Hébert 1978:354-356; LeTourneau, 1977; Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1978:8):

  1. In 1967, Bill 59 provided for instruction in French for school subjects other than French, for up to fifty percent of the time.

  2. In 1967, at the time of the consolidation of school districts, five divisions were formed in order to group the concentrations of the francophone population in a more centralized area (Manitoba, January 23, 1973). These five divisions, fairly close to Winnipeg, represent- ed about eighty percent of the student population in Manitoba receiv- ing French education.

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*The "minority language" in Canada is French, except in Quebec where it is English.

**For a comprehensive examination of the history of French educ- ation-policy in Manitoba, see Leo LeTourneau, "The Development of a Language Policy in Manitoba: The Genesis of Bill 113" (unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1977).

3. In 1968, <u>La Société Franco-Manitobaine</u> (S.F.M.) was established to replace <u>l'Association d'Education des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba,</u> as an organization representing the interests of Franco-Manitobans. It played an important role in the development and promotion of Bill 113, and did much to inform the parents of their rights with regard to French language education.

4. In 1969, the change of provincial government and the interest shown by the new premier (E. Schreyer) toward Franco-Manitoban history, assisted the drafting and introduction of Bill 113. The government had "une vision du rôle que devraient jouer les francophones dans le contexte de l'unité canadienne" (Hébert, 1978:354).

5. In 1970, Bill 113 (Section 258 of the Public Schools Act of Manitoba) granted equal recognition to both French and English as official languages of instruction in schools.

6. During the early seventies, administrators inside the Department of Education, such as M.L. Orlikow, were sympathetic to the cause of French education and offered administrative support to francophone aspirations (Hébert, 1978:354-356).

7. In 1971, a "French Section" was created in the Department of Education, which was responsible for the establishment of programs in the French language. Then in 1972 Luc Panet from Quebec was hired by the Department to evaluate French instruction in the province (The "Panet Report" of 1973 decried the situation). He was named Co-ordinator of French instruction in 1974, and he developed the organizational structure of <u>le Bureau de l'Education Française</u> (B.E.F.), which was formally established in 1976, replacing the original "French Section". The B.E.F., an important agency in the Department of Education, has been particularly committed to the development of a strong "Français" program in the province (Manitoba, 1976:37-38), and is also responsible for the administration of the core and immersion programs. Some observers feel that the B.E.F. should expend more effort developing immersion or bilingual programs, and less on expanding and improving "Français" programs since the immersion population seems to be increasing, while the francophone population appears to be declining.

8. During this time (from 1968-1976), the leadership of several Franco-Manitoban organizations was responsible for eliciting general support from the community. Some of the educational leaders at the time were also active members of various francophone groups (Manitoba, January 23, 1973; July 9, 1974). (In addition to the S.F.M., other Franco-Manitoban groups existed, some of which were: <u>les Educateurs Franco-Manitobains (E.F.M.), L'Association des Commissaires de Langue Française du Manitoba (A.C.L.F.M.), le Comité Technique de L'Education Française (C.T.E.F.), Le Comité Consultatif de Langue Française, and L'Institut Pédagogique du Collège de St. Boniface.)</u>

The C.T.E.F., a committee of francophone school superintendents (or their representatives) of school divisions where French is used as the language of instruction, has been an effective mechanism to help

translate the concerns of French-education programming into realistic
solutions using administrative terms.

9. Federal financial assistance* "a été un élément important sinon
indispensable dans le développement rapide de l'éducation francaise
au Manitoba" especially since 1974 (Hebert, 1978:356).

10. In 1976, the government of Manitoba established the position of
Assistant Deputy Minister for French education as head of the B.E.F.
assuming responsibility for all French programming in the public
schools, as well as the co-ordination of essential services, such as
teacher training and professional development (Manitoba, Department
of Education, n.d.).

The above events describe some of the key historical factors which
influence   the path that local school board policies for French lan-
guage opportunities take in Manitoba today.

Controversy over research.   Another   background   factor   in
the province which seems to have exerted some influence on policy making
at the local school division level was concerned with research conducted
in Manitoba, regarding French in the schools.   -

In 1976, research by the Department of Education, in co-operation
with twelve school divisions in the province, revealed findings similar
to those discovered earlier in Ontario and Quebec, with respect to aca-
demic achievement among students enrolled in French programs. The re-
search report concluded that anglophone students wishing to become bi-

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*A special "French grants" formula developed by the Manitoba
Department of Education has been recognized by other provinces as a unique
and worthwhile financial plan for providing assistance to school boards.
The formula provides for both development and maintenance costs of in-
tensive French programs on a per student basis. Assistance in lesser
amounts is provided for students in core programs.
    The Manitoba formula thus rewards school divisions for increased
enrolments in intensive programs.

lingual should be enrolled in programs with a high proportion of

"Français". According to the findings, such students will do as well

in English and other subjects as students enrolled in programs with a

lower French content; and they will do substantially better in their

French program, as well.

This evidence was used by francophone groups in Manitoba to sup-

port their demand for all-French schools. The provincial Department of

Education, however, maintained its stand concerning "Français" schools,

as declared by the then Minister of Education, who advised that the local

community is responsible to decide on the future of French programs in

its area:

> ...local leadership is the key to their [the "Français" programs']
> progress. The report will help school divisions and parents choose
> wisely to enable their children to become bilingual (Manitoba,
> Department of Education, May 28, 1976).

Another research study in 1976 conducted by the research center

of Champlain College, the only all-French college in the province, con-

cluded that those programs containing a high percentage of French provide:

> ...the best chance of assuring a high level of bilingualism among
> franco-manitoban pupils. The students will not only do better in
> French, but also their performance in English will be on a level equal
> to that attained by students receiving a lower percentage of French
> instruction in the classroom (Collège Universitaire, April 1976:21;
> Tribune, November 24, 1976).

After the publication of this report, several criticisms of it ap-

peared. For instance, two prominent francophone educators in the province

opposed the report's findings, contending that the data had been deliber-

ately twisted (Tribune, December 16, 1976):

> There may be good political, sociological, ideological reasons for
> supporting French schools against bilingual schools; but research
> should not be tainted through attempts to support conclusions arrived
> at for extraneous reasons, such as "fear of assimilation."

These critics asserted that the report led to the propagation of the theory that all-French programs are "good" for francophones, while the other programs are "bad". They further indicated that no important difference exists between achievement of students in bilingual programs or "Français" programs, and that schools in Western Canada should have a choice between these types. The report was criticized by some educators and parents for being used to press for the establishment of exclusive French schools, and for being based on biased conclusions and inconclusive evidence (Winnipeg Free Press, January 12, 1977; Tribune, January 12, 1977). One parental group accused the researchers of being more concerned with the "French fact" than with true Canadian bilingualism; and they decried the attitudes of "separatism, ill-feeling, bigotry, racism, and sense of superiority" generated by such conclusions (Tribune, January 26, 1977).

The researchers endeavored to rebut these criticisms. They defended the research report declaring that the critics, themselves, erred in not studying the complete research report, or in ignoring or misunderstanding parts of it (Winnipeg Free Press, January 21, 1977; Tribune, January 21, 1977). Moreover, the president of the francophone teachers' organization in the province rebuked the critics:

> Il est donc évident que les critiques de ces trois messieurs sont loin d'être bien fondées (La Liberté, February 24, 1977).

The entire chain of events concerning the research report served to illustrate again the opposing beliefs concerning cultural and social values with respect to the English-French relationship in Canada. The differences in individual and group values and perceptions, together with the resultant conflicts and animosity between and among these parties, demonstrate that individuals and groups will interpret so-called "empirical

and rational facts" according to their preconceived ideas and under-
lying assumption-sets concerning culture and language rights.

Events in Neighboring School Divisions

In addition to the factors at the federal level, in Quebec, and
at the provincial level which have affected school board policy regarding
French in the schools, other factors emerged in surrounding school dis-
tricts which appeared to influence -- although not in a directly measur-
able way -- the direction of this policy in the Frontenac School Division.

A series of events occurring in three jurisdictions within close
proximity to Frontenac dealt with issues similar to those which were later
to arise in Frontenac, with respect to both the English-French relation-
ship, and the provision of French programs in the Schools. The events in
these adjacent school districts are briefly described below.

District one. One school division immediately adjacent to Fron-
tenac experienced a four-year controversy over offering either a "50-50"
bilingual program or an all-French program (Winnipeg Free Press, May 10,
1978; Tribune, May 11, 1978). The conflict arose between two identi-
fiable groups. One group was composed largely of francophones who desired
to see an end to the assimilation and dilution of French language and
culture in the centralized school in the division that, at the time, offer-
ed a "50-50" program (Tribune, February 12, 1977; February 16, 1977).
The francophone staff of the school, some of the School Division adminis-
trators, and many francophone parents preferred, instead, an all-French
school, with then enrolled anglophone children who desired intensive pro-
grams to be bussed to a neighboring division. This "pro-Francais" group
felt that both programs needed their own environment to succeed (South

East Lance, May 17, 1978; Winnipeg Free Press, March 12, 1977; Tribune,
February 12, 1976).

The other group, composed largely of parents -- both anglophone
and francophone, opposed the all-French program, stating it was biased to-
ward ethnocentric francophone views, and questioning whether an earlier
survey that the "all-French" proponents claimed to have conducted was
actually indicative of the feelings of the community (Winnipeg Free Press,
May 11, 1978; Tribune, February 12, 1977). The group favoring the "50-
50" program claimed that the immersion students (most of whom were anglo-
phones) benefitted from the bilingual program because of being involved
in an authentic milieu with native French speakers. They desired to co-
exist with the francophones in the school, and resented "the heavies"
from the Société Franco-Manitobaine, the Bureau de l'Education Française
and other school divisions "telling us what to do" (Winnipeg Free Press,
January 12, 1977). The supporters of the all-French program, however,
felt that co-existence ultimately leads to the assimilation of French
culture. They did not deny the rights of anglophones to immersion French,
but they wanted separate programs to eliminate the dilution of their
French culture and language -- a phenomenon that seemed to occur when
English students were placed with francophone students.

The struggle ensued for several months, and after a series of con-
frontations, boycotts, protests, marches, and allegations (Tribune, March
3, 1977; March 25, 1977; March 26, 1977; April 16, 1977; Winnipeg Free
Press, March 25, 1977; April 16, 1977; Manitoba, Department of Education,
April 13, 1977) the school was finally converted to an all-French instit-
ution. Immersion students were to be bussed to a neighboring school divi-
sion, to an immersion school.

District two. In a second school division adjacent to Frontenac, a similar controversy arose among residents concerning the building of an all-French school. The anglophone parents in the area (to the south of Frontenac) grew irate, believing that the construction of the school would lead to segregation and hostility (Tribune, January 28, 1976). The francophone parents desiring the school, declared however, that Bill 113 granted them the right to petition the school board to request French education for their children, and that the board, by law, must so provide.

However, the anglophone parents' committee opposed the building of the "Français" school in the area. To back their demands, the parent group presented the Board with a petition of signatures of home-owners in the area, who requested a transfer of their properties from their present School Division to a neighboring one. Consequently, the Board commenced a search for a new site for the school in the area. Meanwhile, the francophones grew impatient, declaring that it was "outrageous to take so long ... we have the right because of Bill 113, but there is no way to enforce it" (Winnipeg Free Press, January 18, 1977).

Finally, a site was purchased from a group of priests, and construction was begun, but not without being further contested by parents (Tribune, March 1, 1977). However, the school was built, and at the opening ceremonies, the head of the Bureau de L'Education Française -- a francophone who holds a position as Assistant Deputy Minister in the Department of Education -- seemed to reveal the attitude and philosophy held by the B.E.F., with respect to promoting the "Français" school idea:

[This school] devient donc synonyme de la nouvelle lutte que les Franco-Manitobains ont présentement contre l'assimilation (La Liberté, January 12, 1978).

Apparently, the controversy is dying down in the Division, because

of plans for a new all-English school for 1979. It seems that the anglo-
phone parents are being reassured that the board will not spend more on
one program than on another -- "board policy is to be equal" (Winnipeg
Free Press, December 3, 1977).

District three. A third example of the controversy over French
in the schools occurred in another school division which is also adjacent
to Frontenac. Until 1976 the high school in the Division offered a
"Français" and a regular English program. At that time several anglo-
phone parents felt the "Français" program was interfering with the quality
of their children's education. As a result, twenty-three anglophone stu-
dents were transferred to an English high school in a neighboring community.
The English program's enrolment in District three continued to dwindle,
until, in 1978, the School Board cancelled the English program (Tribune,
March 17, 1978). However, the English program is still offered in the
elementary school in the area -- but it is in a separate wing with its
own principal.

Because of the close proximity of the above mentioned school divi-
sions to Frontenac, and because of the influence of many of the same or-
ganizations and individuals in all three of the areas, it seems probable
that the Frontenac situation was affected both directly and indirectly by
the events and conditions which arose within the surrounding areas. The
successes or failures of groups in one area doubtless affected the morale
and activity of groups in neighboring districts. Once a precedent was set
by one school board, then impetus was provided for similar outcomes else-
where. For instance, the fact, in 1976, that a school in Champlain --
the heart of francophone culture in Redville -- was closed because of con-
flict over which French program, "A" ("Français") or "B" (bilingual),

was to be offered, and subsequently re-opened as an "A" school (with
"B" students being transferred to an immersion school) seemed to set a
standard to which other school-division groups could aspire. Groups
favoring the "A" program in other school districts seemed prompted by
the "success" in Champlain and appeared to work that much harder to gain
similar results in their situation.

The above examples illustrate the basic premise that individuals
act according to their underlying sets of assumptions and beliefs re-
garding issues about education, culture, and life in general. Individ-
uals' decisions and perceptions are influenced by their past experiences
and their system of values; and in turn, their experiences and values are
also shaped by their perceptions and decisions. With respect to French
in the schools, parental groups seem to exert considerable influence upon
policy decisions. Moreover, the influence of francophone parental groups
on school boards in Manitoba is bolstered by federal-provincial support,
by precedent established in neighboring districts, and by the power pos-
sessed by a vocal group of francophones in the province who continually
press for French rights.

Community Attitudes in Frontenac

To this point, the discussion has presented several factors exist-
ing at the various levels of socio-political life in Canada which influence
the formation of policy by school boards, with respect to offering French
programs in their communities. This examination would not be complete,
however, without analyzing the factors at the most basic level of the
socio-political hierarchy, namely, the individual and group attitudes and
actions in the local community itself. The major categories of community
attitudes towards French in the schools are examined in this section.

In this discussion, one assumption is that the issues arising in school divisions with regard to the provision of French programs for students stem from differences between and among individuals' and groups' values concerning broader historical, cultural and political questions.

For instance, some school jurisdictions in Western Canada are currently considering the establishment of intensive French programs, while others have rejected them (Winnipeg Free Press, September 29, 1978; February 16, 1978). These decisions appear to mirror parental demand for such programs in the district. Many parents not desiring intensive programs for their children may reflect the feeling voiced by James Richardson[1], speaking to the Task Force on Canadian Unity, who perceives bilingualism as dividing rather than uniting Canada; or by William Hawryluk[2], the creator of a new political party which seeks one working language (English), with each province or region having its own second language. In any case, the attitudes prevalent in Western Canada are presented below.

The "pro-Français" francophones. Basically, the francophones in Western Canada tend to hold one of three value-positions regarding the status of French culture: "pro-Français", bilingual, or anti-French.

The first of these groups favor autonomous cultural and educational opportunities that must be separate from the anglophone culture. The aim of this group is to free the francophone culture from the assimilating

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[1] Richardson presented a statement of his views at the Task Force's public hearing in Winnipeg, January 13, 1978.

[2] Hawryluk is the founder of a new political party, the Western Democratic Party(Winnipeg Free Press, April 29, 1978).

effects of the predominant English milieu. The francophones espousing

this attitude in Manitoba typically promote the idea of an autonomous

"network" of French schools originally conceived by Luc Panet from Quebec.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, one organization which

supports this notion in Manitoba is the provincial association of franco-

phone parents. This group is requesting an autonomous structure of

school divisions equal in authority to the present system of public school

divisions in the province (La Liberté, June 22, 1978; October 26, 1978;

Winnipeg Free Press, March 30, 1977).

This attitude was also evident on the Frontenac School Board. One

francophone trustee asserts, for example, that "Francais" education is

the only way to assure full bilingualism for francophones in the English

milieu of Western Canada. Anything less than pure "Français" schools

will lead to assimilation of the "Français" culture into the English en-

vironment. He further declares:

> It is so simple. The provincial law grants us authority to have
> our own schools, and that is what we want. We want to preserve our
> own culture. Mixing it with the anglophone element will cause it to
> deteriorate. Let the anglophones have good immersion programs, but
> let us have good "Francais" programs. We want different things.

Those francophones who dislike the assimilation of their culture

into the English mainstream generally play an activist role. This fact

was demonstrated by the President of the provincial organization of young

francophones, who declared that his group has joined francophone pres -

sure-groups in Manitoba and in other provinces, criticizing provincial

and federal governments for their treatment of French Canadians outside of

Quebec (Winnipeg Free Press, July 20, 1977). He further attacked the

federal government for wasting time and energy on programs of multicultur-

ism : "We refuse to embark on such programs ... the governments must act clearly assuring the survival of French in our province."

The "pro-Français" francophones tend to see the bilingual movement as a tool used by anglophones as a "trojan horse" to promote English language and culture (Royal Bank Newsletter, January, 1978). By granting both languages an official status, they maintain, the minority language becomes increasingly more "minority" in position. It ultimately becomes a second-rate language, "asymmetrical to English" (Canada, O.E.C.D. Report, 1976:61); and a situation is thus created where the francophone group fights to maintain its cultural identity because of being alienated or ostracized. Trying to force bilingualism on the nation is often perceived by the weaker partner in the conflict as a means of increasing the inequality between the majority and minority languages. The francophone group may therefore attempt to strengthen its position before moving towards integration, so that it will have a more reasonable chance to maintain its identity.

A growing trend among the "pro-Français" francophone group is to replace the earlier emphasis on cultural and educational elements with a more political and militant stand, pressing for new laws to favor francophone status. This militant stand is evident in the recent Manitoba Teachers' Society Task Force Report on French Language Education (1978), which recommended a more visible profile for Franco-Manitoban teachers.

Many Franco-Manitobans are voluntarily declining to participate in the social institutions of the dominant English culture unless recognition is given to their language and culture. Recent examples relate to French language in the courts and institutional services provided in French (See Winnipeg Free Press, March 2, 1976; May 11, 1978, September 25, 1978).

A further example of the increase in francophone cultural aware-
ness is provided by the experience of a local francophone businessman who
has created continual controversy because of his opposition toward the
lack of services offered in French by provincial and municipal governments
(Tribune, November 23, 1976). He is currently challenging the provincial
Official Languages Act, criticizing the sole use of English in the courts
and legislature. Other francophone businessmen have also severaly criti-
cized the lack of French services in communities with francophone popula-
tions (South East Lance, March 8, 1978; July 26, 1978).

Residents of Frontenac who hold these "pro-Français" attitudes de-
sire all-French schools where their children can learn in an uncontaminated
"Français" environment. Not all francophones, however, share these views.
Two other general attitudes prevail among the population. These are de-
scribed in the following sections.

The "bilingual" francophones. Many francophones in Manitoba favor
bilingual education, where a sharing and co-operative attitude exists in a
school or a district. To this group of francophones, French is a worthwhile
language in Western Canada, but English is the most important. They favor
co-existence between francophone and non-francophone students -- facili -
ties should be shared so that non-francophones will learn from francophones.

Francophones holding this bilingual view desire to maintain their
culture and language but are not as adamant about it as the "pro-Français"
supporters. They appear content to see bilingual programs in schools,
such as "50-50" plan, where half the course work is conducted in French,
and half in English. Many of this group of "bilingual" francophones, as
well as many "pro-French" anglophones, value certain rewards of being bi-
lingual, such as: increased employment opportunities, increased personal

and psychological satisfaction and individual development, increased appreciation and tolerance of other cultures, and generally "extending one's mental horizions" and enriching life (Jensen, 1962:360).

Many of the "bilingual" francophones also desire bilingualism for integrative reasons. Integrative supporters believe that French should be learned for the intrinsic value of wishing to communicate with, and to gain knowledge of, other human beings in other cultures. To them, culture is an adjustable framework responsive to social conditions, out of which certain aspects of behavior develop. This view recognizes dynamic and multi-dimensional life patterns, prompted by human interaction and a continual reconstruction of patterns with no static boundaries (Ovando, 1977:233). Thus, individuals in each culture have a moral responsibility to interact with other persons of other cultures for the sake of unity and human brotherhood. Integrative supporters of bilingualism contend that governmental policies, official statements, institutional structures or slogans are all insufficient in ensuring national unity. Individual citizens are responsible to adopt these principles (Thomas et al, 1978:2-4). Cultural pluralism, not cultural homogeneity (the "melting pot" view (Berry, 1965:244-263)), is perceived as the positive force to bring about "unity in diversity" (Brown, 1963:167; Gibson, 1976: 7-18; Stent et al, 1973).

This "bilingual" view was also evident on the Frontenac School Board. One francophone board member, for instance, maintained that separating the "Français" and immersion programs would lead to segregation and dissension: "There should rather be an equal sharing and cooperation between the two programs. Bilingualism is the goal -- not separation."

The "anti-French" francophones. A third attitude existing among

some francophones in the Frontenac area is one characterized by disfavor

toward any French in the schools. Parents in this group do not want their

children to have to be subjected to French education ("Français" programs),

to immersion programs, or even to "core" French. Two francophone fathers,

for instance, who were interviewed, expressed the view that they did not

want their children to attend "Français" or immersion programs, because

of concerns that their children: (1) do not require bilingualism in

Western Canada, (2) may not develop to their maximum potential in English-

language skills if they were forced to share their attention between two

languages, (3) may have inferior teachers who will not provide adequate

instruction.

One of these fathers concluded:

> When I want my kid to learn French, we will go to France for a
> year or two, and do it up right! Until then, I want him to maximize
> his potential in English, and not end up like me -- somewhat hampered
> in my English skills because of the influence of my francophone up-
> bringing.

Thus, it appears that there are three general categories of fran-

cophone opinion regarding French culture in Western Canada: (1) activ-

ists who demand separate and autonomous services, on a par with those of

English-Canada, (2) bilingual supporters who want co-operation and co-

existence between French-and English-speaking Canadians, and (3) those

who do not prefer to have intensive French programs for their children,

but rather who stress the mastery of English language skills. The third

group tends to believe that the home is more important than the school in

cultivating positive cultural and linguistic attitudes among children

(Winnipeg Free Press, January 19, 1977; La Liberté, October 26, 1978).

They therefore do not demand French education as much as do the other groups.

The "pro-immersion" non-francophones. The number of non-francophone parents desiring opportunities for their children to participate in intensive French programs has increased dramatically in Manitoba during the last few years. Several of the factors that have influenced this growing interest have been discussed in earlier sections of this chapter. Many parents have realized that if fluency in French is desired, then some form of intensive program* is required (Genesee, Tucker, and Lambert, 1977:22-23; Gulatsan, 1976:312; Halpern et al, 1976:18; Manitoba, Department of Education, 1974: 30,57).

The "pro-immersion" non-francophones basically share values similar to those held by the "bilingual" francophones, namely, an acceptance of the Official Languages Act and a desire to learn the minority language for both instrumental (the extrinsic advantages) and integrative (ideological and moral commitment) reasons.

Generally, this group welcomes the opportunity for their children to learn in a genuine "Français" atmosphere, in which the francophone language and culture prevail. This mutual sharing of experiences is more beneficial to the non-francophones; however, over time the francophone milieu seems to be gradually assimilated by the anglophone influence because of

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* The immersion or extended programs are implied here. (See page 50 .) There are several types of immersion approaches available: early (K-3), intermediate (grades 4-6), and late (grade 6 and above). Each program has distinct strengths and limitations, and to promote one as being the most effective is untenable. The following references provide a comprehensive treatment of the variety of programs available for French-as-a-second language in schools: Bruck and Swain, 1976:490; Edwards and Smyth, 1976:528-529; Genesee, 1976: 215,225; Genesee, Polich, and Stanley, 1977:330-331; Halpern et al 1976:18; Holmes, 1977:6; Stern, 1976:29; Stern et al, 1976:15; Swain, 1978:584.

the dominant effect of the prevailing English culture in Canada. Hence,
a clash of values arises between those francophones desiring a cessation
of anglophone dominance and those anglophones (and francophones) favor-
ing a sharing and intermingling of the cultures.

The "core program" non-francophones. A different group of non-
francophones holds the view that French is simply one of many subjects
offered on a school time-table. To these individuals, French should not
be relegated to a higher position than any other discipline. This atti-
tude reflects the traditional way that French, together with other "options"
such as art, music, or Latin, were presented in the conventional school
curriculum in Canada prior to the sixties. Many parents in Western Canada
promote this traditionalist view because of: (1) their own past ex-
perience, (2) their failure to see the need for French, (3) their oppo-
sition to the federal government and its policies, or (4) their inability
or reluctance to entertain new or different ideas with respect to other
cultural groups.

The "anti-French" non-francophones. A third group of non-franco-
phones in Western Canada generally, and in Frontenac specifically, dis-
play a hostile attitude to anything to do with French language or culture.
Some of these individuals are of British extraction; while others are
of other ethnic minority groups who contend that their cultures are equal-
ly important to Canada's life and development as is the French culture.

Many of these individuals typically view documents such as the
Official Languages Act, Manitoba's Bill 113, and the proposals of the
Manitoba Teachers' Society (1978) Task Force on French Language Education*

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*These proposals seek to raise the status of French education and
the organization of francophone teachers in the province.

as bold and direct attempts by certain francophones to weaken the demo-
cratically established rights of the majority, or as some Manitobans
verbalized: "French is of no value -- it's being rammed down our throats"
(Swain, 1977:13). These "anti-French "non-francophones often feel threat-
ened by the increasing emergence of francophone groups who assert their
distinctive cultural identities (Ryan, 1972: Royal Bank Newsletter, 1978).

Prevailing Community Attitudes: A Recapitulation

Basic differences in opinion and opposing value systems among in-
dividuals -- both francophone and non-francophone, account for the social
and political controversies related to the policy decisions made in school
jurisdictions with respect to French programs.

These values are not congruent with the stereotyped francophone
vs. anglophone polarization but rather, the differences seem to arise
among and between individuals regardless of their ethnic origin. There
seems to exist six dominant categories of opinion in Western Canada with
respect   to French programs for schools:

1. francophones desiring separate and autonomous cultural and educa-
tional facilities, to reduce assimilation of French culture;

2. francophones preferring mixed, bilingual or bicultural programs
and a sharing of experience;

3. francophones favoring anglophone culture and education for their
children;

4. non-francophones desiring intensive French experiences for their
children;

5. non-francophones desiring the option of "core" French programs
for students; and

6. non-francophones favoring the abandonment of all French programs
in schools.

The attitudinal reactions to French education policies, described
above, are analytical categories. An individual may not reflect any

single type but may reflect a combination of them, or none in particular. However, most Canadians tend to adopt one of these positions with respect to issue of French programs in the schools.

The Individual in the Group

In examining the background factors influencing policy making, whether these factors exist at the federal, regional, provincial, or local level, one must recognize that the individual and his referent group are key elements in understanding and analyzing any political activity. The individuals' personal values, beliefs, attitudes, opinions, assumptions, prejudices, dispositions, and motivations all combine in a complex interaction ultimately to direct the actions and behaviors of groups and sub-groups in a situation. These underlying values and perceptions basically determine how and why a person will seek to influence or be influenced by others. On the other hand, however, an event or situation may rather serve to alter an individual's and group's beliefs. Nevertheless, a person tends to act and react in a socio-political situation according to the manner in which he has been socialized and politicized up to that particular point in time. The six value-orientations discussed above are examples of the product emerging from the interaction between an individual and the influencing factors in his environment. The product of this interaction will determine an individual's as well as a group's behavior in a situation.

In Chapter 3, the writer has sought to discuss several socio-political factors existing at the federal, provincial, and local levels, which seem to exert considerable influence on the policy-making process in local school jurisdictions. Many of these factors have prompted issues and controversies to arise in local communities, regarding the provision

of French programs in schools. Some of these significant issues are re-

viewed in the next section.

<div align="center">POSSIBLE POLICY ISSUES AND</div>

<div align="center">ALTERNATIVE DECISIONS</div>

The influence of various factors at several levels of social-

political activity in Canada seems to determine the way policy is for-

mulated concerning the provision of French programs in Schools. The exami-

nation of these factors in the foregoing sections of this chapter has

revealed the emergence of possible policy issues which may develop into

persistent problems for school officials, concerning this matter of

French programming. These issues may not only address broad questions

regarding Canadian unity and the future of Confederation, but they may

also be concerned with more specific issues regarding the operation of

language programs in schools. Some of these broader questions addressed

might be:

    Should Canada be viewed as a "duality" of cultures?
    Should it be officially bilingual?
    Should it seek multiculturalism?

Some of the more specific questions, however, that need to be dealt with

at the school board level, as well, include the following:

    What should the aims of school French programs be?
    What students should be allowed to take the programs?
    How should these programs be implemented and administered?

As the discussion in this chapter has demonstrated, these ques-

tions -- and others -- will be encountered by school boards as they seek

to deal with the variety of factors which impinge on the policy-making

process in their jurisdiction. The issues, questions, and controversies

which arise in an area are a result of the interacting, complex set of

factors at work at a particular time in a specific setting. This
chapter has attempted to provide a description of such an involved in-
teraction of events in a Western Canadian province.

As a means of summarizing and concluding this portion of the
study, the writer has developed a preliminary list of possible policy
issues facing a local board of education as it seeks to formulate poli-
cies with respect to bilingual education in its jurisdiction. This list
is set out in Table I. For each policy issue in the table, a tentative
set of alternatives is presented, from which the board may select one,
in order to make a policy decision.

Some of the most crucial policy issues which face a school board
endeavoring to provide French language opportunities in the schools in
its jurisdiction may deal with fundamental questions of cultural orienta-
tion , and with the purposes and the philosophy of the programs offered.
A board supposedly makes a policy decision which reflects the values and
objectives of the community being served. These objectives, however, may
actually represent the values of a minority of individuals or groups in
the community, who exert more influence on the policy makers than does the
majority of residents. Or, it is possible that a variety of other fac-
tors may act in the situation to produce yet a different selection of a
policy alternative by the school board.

For instance, regarding the cultural orientation and purpose of a
French program, the policy alternative selected will tend to reflect
whether or not the majority of trustees hold a monolingual and mono-
cultural view, or a philosophy requiring programs to be separate and
autonomous. Moreover, this policy decision will in turn dictate what the
aims and instructional approach(es) of the program(s) should be, and

TABLE I

ISSUES AND ALTERNATIVES OF FRENCH LANGUAGE POLICIES FOR

SCHOOL DIVISIONS: A TENTATIVE LIST

Issues	Alternatives
1. Cultural Orientation	a. Monocultural and Monolingual
	b. Bi-cultural and Bilingual
	c. Dual cultures: separate and autonomous
	d. Multicultural and Multilingual
	e. Combination of alternatives
2. Purpose and Aim of Programs	a. full bilingualism for students
	b. partial bilingualism
	c. elementary knowledge
	d. Combination of alternatives
3. Basic Program Approach(es)	a. "Français" education (Francophone)
	b. Immersion (non-francophone)
	c. Core program
	d. Combination of alternatives

TABLE I (continued)

Issues	Alternatives
4. Location of Facilities	a. One centralized location for all intensive French
	b. Separate facilities for "Français" and Immersion
	c. Several locations throughout the division
	d. Combination of alternatives
5. Grade level of Program(s)	a. "Français" (K-9)
	b. Immersion (early: K,1,2,3) (intermediate: 4,5,6) (late:6-9)
	c. High school: "Français" (9-12) Immersion (9-12)
	d. Core program (K-12)
	e. Combination of alternatives
6. Selection of Students	a. Francophone only
	b. Some previous French experience
	c. No previous experience
	d. Each case individually judged
	e. Combination of alternatives
7. Language used in school	a. "Français" only
	b. French and English

TABLE I (continued)

Issues	Alternatives
	c. English
	d. Variation according to situation
8. Teacher Qualifications	a. Particular qualifications required
	b. No particular qualifications required
9. Curricular and Instructional Concerns	a. materials (locally produced: Western Canadian content; imported from Quebec, or France; translations of English materials)
	b. class enrolments (pre-specified; unspecified)

where the programs should be located in relation to the other programs.
For example, trustees favoring full bilingualism for francophone students
would tend to select a policy alternative promoting "Français" schools;
while board members preferring full bilingualism for anglophone students
would favor policies providing immersion programs for non-francophones
in a "Français" environment. In a similar fashion, the beliefs and val-
ues of trustees would also motivate them, when dealing with other issues,
to support the policy alternative which would most closely match their
own value orientations.

With respect to policy regarding the selection of students for
programs, the "pro-Français" trustees would prefer that only francophone
students be enrolled in the "Français" schools and that non-francophones
be kept in separate programs. Individuals favoring a sharing of cultural
and linguistic experiences, however, would tend to select policy alter-
natives in which all students interested in intensive French, whether
francophone or not, would be granted opportunity to be in the same school.

Another possible policy issue refers to the language to be used
in the school. If non-francophones were permitted to send their children
to a "Français" school, then the language of home-school communication
for them would have to be in English. Moreover, much of the casual con-
versation among students in such a school would tend also to be in
English. On the other hand, if board policy was to keep "Français"
schools separate from intensive programs for non-francophones, then French
only or a mixture, respectively, would be made the sole languages of
communication for both programs.

Policy issues concerning teacher qualifications or curricular
materials would similarly tend to reflect the basic assumption sets and
value systems previously described. For instance, policy makers valuing

the non-assimilation of French culture by the English milieu would tend

to support policies favoring the hiring of francophone teachers whose

training, experience, attitudes, and upbringing match their own. Like-

wise, in the case of instructional materials and textbooks, the pro-

"Français" supporters would favor using materials that would promote

the francophone cause in Western Canada, rather than resources imported

from France or Quebec, or those translated directly from American sources.

This tentative list of issues (and alternatives for their resolu-

tion) reflect some of the critical concerns which a school board may

encounter with respect to French or other modern languages in the

schools. Each of the issues arises when individuals or groups involved

in the policy-making process consider a question serious enough to war-

rant political discussion through the recognized channels in the system.

To attempt to attribute the emergence of these issues to a partic-

ular socio-political factor at any of the specific levels discussed in

the first part of the chapter would be untenable. Rather, an analysis

of the local policy issues and their growth will reveal a complex inter-

play of several factors operating at a particular time. Nevertheless,

each issue arises when members of the community's political system take

a particular position and promote a certain course of action. Often,

these positions are opposed by other individuals or groups; thus, polit-

ical conflict results -- particularly with respect to cultural and lan-

guage issues.

A conflict grows as background factors existing at the federal,

provincial, and local levels combine to yield a complex interaction with

individual and group perceptions, actions and controversies. The process

of policy making comes into operation: issues arise, alternatives to

resolve the issues are proferred by the various participants, and a process of competition and negotiation takes place in the selection of an alternative decision.

Table I represents an illustrative rather than an exhaustive list of possible issues and choices which may be encountered by school boards in Western Canada, as they seek to grapple with the persistent problem of developing policy for French language opportunities for students in their schools.

This list of issues and choices has been used as a preliminary guide from which to derive research questions and initiate the categorization of collected data, concerning the "content" or substantive aspect of the study in Frontenac School Division. In addition, a second analytical scheme was presented in Chapter 2 to guide the analysis of the "process" portion of the study. Both will be later combined in the final analysis and discussion of the research evidence. Neither of these frameworks is meant to pre-specify the final product; but rather, the writer anticipates that all of the data emerging from the case study may not fall into the preliminary categories, nor should they be expected to do so. The uniqueness of the case environment should discourage attempts to force the data into pre-specified models.

SUMMARY

The purpose of Chapter 3 was to examine the critical environmental factors which appear to influence the formation of policy by school boards concerning the provision of French-language programs for their schools. These influencing factors, existing in different realms of the overall socio-political structure of Canadian life, were categorized in

successively specific levels. These levels, ranging from a broader view to more specific ones were: the federal level, the province of Quebec, the provincial level, the regions of a province, and finally, the local school jurisdiction itself. The factors at each of these levels tend to influence the emergence of specific policy issues that must be dealt with by the policy-making body which, in Canada, is the local board of school trustees. Each issue results from a complicated interaction of political pressures and demands, and individual perceptions, values and personalities. The alternatives available to the board in resolving these issues also result from this complex blend of events, personalities, and sentiments existing at the federal, provincial, and local levels.

The discussion in Chapter 3 was concluded with the presentation of a tentative list of the key issues and alternative solutions which seem to emerge as a school board seeks to plan for French programs for its schools. This preliminary list of issues and alternatives was employed as a guide for the analysis of the actual policies and policy-making process observed in the Frontenac School Division during the time of this case study. Chapter 4 will deal with an examination of these actual policies and processes in that jurisdiction.

Chapter 4

FRENCH LANGUAGE PROGRAMMING IN FRONTENAC SCHOOL DIVISION:

THE PROCESS AND THE ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

The writer's purpose in Chapter 4 is to examine some of the
actual policies concerning French language programs in the Frontenac
School Division, and to investigate the critical features of the policy-
making process in the jurisdiction. Only those incidents, events and
issues which are salient to an understanding of the policy process during
the seven year time span of the study will be considered.

To enhance this understanding, this chapter has been divided into
three major sections, the first of which will provide a brief description
of the Frontenac community -- the district, the School Division, and the
people involved in policy decisions. The second section of the chapter
will provide a general overview of the basic characteristics of the policy-
making process with respect to French programs in the schools of Frontenac
School Division. The third part of the chapter will present several in-
cidents which occurred in the Division with respect to French programming.
These events will serve to illustrate the general characteristics of the
policy process initially presented as they developed in the jurisdiction.
They also serve to place in a sharper focus the actual issues arising in
the School Division.

THE COMMUNITY OF FRONTENAC

The Community

The urban district of Frontenac comprises one of several amal-
gamated jurisdictions into which Redville, a large Western Canadian city,
is divided. The population of Frontenac reflects a wide range of socio-
economic levels. The older, northern part of the district, which is
closest to city-center, consists largely of a decreasing population com-
posed of residents who are older and who inhabit older dwellings, compared
to the population in the southern part of the district. The latter is
composed of a majority of family-heads under thirty-five years of age,
who reside in an expanding number of suburban, individual-family housing
developments. Frontenac also has an increasing number of apartment
dwellings. In overall terms, the bulk of the Frontenac area contains a
predominance of young families (Weir, 1978) from all socio-economic lev-
els, whose children are of public school age.

The northeastern portion of Frontenac is adjacent to an urban dis-
trict, Champlain, which is known as the cultural center of the franco-
phone population of the city -- and the province. Frontenac, itself, is
the district with the second largest francophone population in Redville.

The total population of Redville in 1976 was 560,875, with the
population of Frontenac being 32,965 (Canada, Statistics Canada, 1978;
1973). There were 4,835 persons in Frontenac in 1976 who were reported
to be of French ethnic origin, while 3,420 of its residents were reported
to have French as their mother tongue (Canada, Statistics Canada, 1978;
1972). Thus, nearly one-eighth of the Frontenac population have French as
a first language.

The School Division

The Frontenac School Division provides education for approximate-
ly 7,500 students residing in the district and these are accommodated
in seventeen schools. At present, Core French* (in which French is
taught as a normal school subject on a regular time-table) is offered
in every school, but one, in the Division. In addition, a "Français"
school, Ecole Lafontaine, (in which francophone students are enrolled
and in which all communication within and outside the school -- except
for English language arts courses -- is conducted in French) provides
French education. Some students in this school are non-francophone, but
are experienced enough in the language to adapt to the "Français" milieu.

Also, as of September, 1978, an immersion center has been provided
at one of the schools in the School Division which had vacant classrooms.
Thus, those students from kindergarten to grade three whose parents de-
sire them to have intensive French instruction -- but who are generally
non-francophone -- now attend the immersion center. Prior to September,
1978, however, these immersion students were housed at Ecole Lafontaine.
The transfer of these students proved to be one of the critical incidents
arising in the Division during the time of this investigation. Moreover,
it appears that the community controversy between those groups desiring
the separation of the two programs, and those who do not, is still in ex-
istence (Winnipeg Free Press, November 30, 1978).

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* At the time of this study, Core French, as defined by the Gillin
Report (Ontario, Ministry of Education, 1974; Stern, 1977), did not, in
actuality, exist in Western Canadian Schools. The Gillin Report classi-
fies Core French programs as providing 1200 hours of instruction for
students, in order for them to attain a "basic level" of the language.
Most core programs in Western Canada provide much less than this recom-
mended amount.

The Board of trustees.   The Frontenac School Board consists of seven members (as of September, 1978).   They are briefly described below:

Chairman David Labarrière, of French ethnic origin but who does not speak French;

Marie Jolie, a francophone and former teacher;

Stan Fischer, a bilingual teacher of French in another school division, but who is not of French ethnic origin;

Marv Stanford, an anglophone businessman;

Jacques LaSalle, a francophone businessman, and a former president of the provincial francophone organization;

Jacob Friesen, an anglophone trustee having more than twenty years experience on the Frontenac School Board;   and

Art Moore, an anglophone businessman.

All of these trustees have had several years' experience as members of the Board, except La Salle and Fischer, both of whom were newly elected in the fall of 1977.

The administrative personnel.   At the time of the study, the central office staff included the following personnel:

Superintendent George Dixon, an anglophone, who has held the position for the past six years, and who was formerly Assistant-Superintendent;

Assistant-Superintendent Robert Bates, who has held his position for six years, and who is anglophone;   and

Secretary-Treasurer Norm Gowan, holding this post for eight years, and who also is anglophone.

POLICY MAKING IN FRONTENAC: AN OVERVIEW

General School Board Policy

As in all publicly supported school jurisdictions in the provinces of Canada, the function of the board of trustees of a division is provincially legislated to conduct the operation of the schools in its district.

More specifically, the Frontenac School Board's particular policy direc-

tion (Frontenac Policy Manual* 4.1-4.18) involved:

1. the interpretation of the educational needs and aspirations of the community through the formulation of policies,

2. the management of the school system in accordance with these policies, and

3. the maintenance of two-way communication with the various publics served by the schools in order to interpret public attitudes.

Moreover, the policy manual is explicit in encouraging all relevantly in-

volved individuals and groups to assist the board in making educational

policy: whether staff (F.P.M. 4.15), employee, or "any citizen of the

Division" (F.P.M. 4.16). In addition:

The Board shall rely on the school staff, students, and the community for providing evidence of the effect of the policies which it has adopted (F.P.M. 4.18).

Also, the Superintendent has been given the responsibility:

...of interpreting the reactions of school personnel and the public to such policies and reporting back to the Board (F.P.M. 5.8).

These specific policies have been cited to indicate that the legit-

imate responsibility of the School Board is to reflect the community's

aspirations in educational matters. Indeed, some of the trustees involved

in the policy-making process have referred to these particular policy

statements to justify their actions, when criticized for being too easily

influenced by community pressure-groups. Others, however, defended their

actions -- not by written Board policy -- but by personal and ideological

rationale.

The policy manual (and the majority of Frontenac board members)

differentiate between two levels of policy. General or basic policy is a

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*Frontenac Policy Manual, henceforth abbreviated F.P.M.

normative guide for future action and for making appropriate decisions on a discretionary basis toward some goal. General policy is thus a goal-related, broadly applicable, regulative mechanism and is recorded in writing (F.P.M. 4.14). A second level of policy is <u>administrative</u> policy and is conceived of as a more detailed and specific direction, formed at an operational level in order to control particular actions involving the implementation and application of the basic policy (F.P.M. 3.1, 4.17, 5.8).

French Language Programming Policy

Historically, the political activity of vocal francophones in the province has been concerned more with broad educational issues, than with civic and municipal politics, <u>per</u> <u>se</u>. Turnbull (1967:iv) reports that these francophones, in groups:

> ...defined that autonomy of the French ... this autonomy was identified with a region rather than a city, with ethnicity, religion, and education rather than the municipal council, and with provincial rather than local politics.

Thus, the field of education seems to have been the battleground in which the conflict between two general francophone groups in the Province surfaced. Frontenac was no exception. Some of the key incidents related to this conflict involved in the policy-making process will be reviewed in the third section of this chapter.

Essentially, the process of policy making by the Frontenac School Board regarding French language programs in its schools reflected a bargaining process between interest groups, where decisions were made concerning the philosophy and purposes of programs, and the location of such programs in the Division.

The bargaining process reflected a conflict of values and philoso-

phies between two major interest groups in the Division concerning the status of French language and culture in Frontenac, and indeed in Western Canada. One group consisting of vocal francophones demanded an end to the assimilation of the French culture by the predominant anglophone culture. This group was adamant in promoting the francophone culture so it would be restored to what they believed should be equal status with the dominant English culture. This group further believed that pure cultural experiences in French, unadulterated by the presence of nonfrancophone influence must be granted to francophone students by the "Français" schools (Winnipeg Free Press, December 9, 1968; Tribune, January 20, 1975). Only then, in their view, would the French culture be freed from the dilution effect of the dominant English influence.

On the other hand, many francophones in Frontenac favored a bilingual and bicultural approach, in which an equal sharing occurs between francophone and non-francophone cultures. The first group disagreed with this view, however, declaring that if equality is desired with the dominant anglophone milieu, then French services will have to be separate and autonomous, in order to preserve any semblance of equality. The second group rejected this stance, declaring that such isolationism would lead to increased hostility, resentment, and segregation on the part of both groups.

Spokesmen for each of these views are currently on the Frontenac School Board. Each seems certain that the other is "narrow-minded, igno - rant and bigotted," and each has support from fellow trustees, and from parents in the community. However, the basic questions remain: Which of these groups has the most influence? Which group tends to dominate board policy with respect to French policy for schools?

In general at the time of this study, the francophone group demanding separate cultural and linguistic rights has been the most influential not only in Frontenac, but in other areas of the province. The group seems to have been successful in benefitting from support from many quarters: parental support, government support -- both federal and provincial, and backing from similar groups across Canada.

The policy-making process was typically initiated when a community interest group, such as one of the parties described above, became discontent with an existing policy or situation. Unrest grew, an issue arose, and community opinion began to crystallize around two or more views. The trustees and administration then began to consider various alternative decisions with which to resolve the conflict. At that point, the political bargaining activity became very conspicuous: argument, debate, and negotiation were prominent. Finally, however, an alternative was selected and implemented. If the policy caused no negative reaction, it generally continued as a "formal" policy. If community unrest re-occurred, the process began again. Hence, policy making in Frontenac seemed to reflect a repeating cycle of two stages: unrest by the community, followed by a response by the School Board.

THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS IN OPERATION:
SOME KEY INCIDENTS

The fundamental issue arising in Frontenac with respect to the provision of French-language programs in schools concerned the basic struggle between the "pro-Francais" group, desiring "French-only" facilities, and the group favoring a sharing and blending of a variety of French and English programs. Other issues which emerged concerning French-language

programming policies tended to reflect this underlying conflict, and
actually represented different aspects of this single issue.

Several incidents which occurred in the Frontenac district illus-
trate the existence of this underlying issue. Some of these key inci-
dents are described in the following section.

The First "Français" Schools

Prior to 1967, the only all-French schools in Frontenac were two
parochial schools, St. Georges and Ste. Hélène, operated by the Roman
Catholic Church. Due to the effect of several factors, the parishioners
of the two schools requested that their schools become a part of the
Frontenac public school division. These factors have been discussed in
previous sections of this study; however, in brief, they were: (1) the
increased federal involvement in and support of bilingualism in education,
(2) the passage of Bill 59 in the provincial legislature (which recogniz-
ed French as a language of instruction for up to fifty percent of the
time), (3) the influence of outspoken francophome leaders from inside
and outside of Quebec, demanding equality of French rights, (4) the erosion
of the rural parochial base of the francophone population in the Western
provinces (due to the influence of mass media, secularization, urbaniza-
tion, and the relinquishing of the traditional leadership-role of the
Roman Catholic Church), and (5) the increasing influence exerted by pro-
vincial, francophone groups.

The request to join the public school system was granted, and the
two schools came under the jurisdiction of the Frontenac School Division.
At the outset, parental concerns -- particularly francophone parents'
wishes -- were taken seriously by school officials. The decision by the
Board in granting the parishioners' request seemed to characterize the

action which was to occur repeatedly over the next few years.

Soon after the two schools joined the Division, requests were made by a few anglophone parents who wished their children to acquire a "Francais" education in the schools. The Board granted these requests, with the stipulation that the parents act on the advice of the principal of the school with respect to such guidelines as: (1) anglophone children accepted into kindergarten or grade one, (2) all language in school was French, (3) decision by parents to abide by these criteria, and so forth. The few anglophone children accepted into the "Français" schools at that time caused no problem within the schools or the community. However, this unwritten policy of "accepting anglophone students on the advice of the principal", combined with later events, were to have serious implications for the Frontenac School Division.

During this time, the late 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government's proclamation of the Official Languages Act, and the passage of Bill 113 by the provincial legislature (giving French equal status with English, as a language of instruction in schools) provided legitimate sanction and considerable moral support for the francophone cause in the province. These supportive events, together with the growing animation of the newly formed provincial francophone society (la Société Franco-Manitobaine) (LeTourneau, 1977:80-98; Winnipeg Free Press, December 9, 1968), generated increased interest and attention in French programs for schools. In Frontenac School Division the francophone parents of the two former parochial schools, and several anglophone families, availed themselves of the services offered under Bill 113. Another result of the passage of Bill 113 was the opening of the public schools to French: it " ... took all the heat away from the ongoing battle in the province over

separate schools" (Tribune, November 24, 1976), at least regarding Roman

Catholic francophones. Moreover, English parents could join with French

parents, demanding instruction in French. Provincial legislation required

that school boards meet these demands (Department of Education, 1970:598).

In Frontenac at this time, one of the former parochial schools --

itself the remains of an old military barracks -- was scheduled to be

closed. The francophone students were to be transferred to a neighboring

English school where they would share several of the classrooms, which

would be divided by half walls: the English school classes on one side,

and the "Français" school classes on the other. Marie Jolie, one of the

francophone parents involved -- who was later to become a key member of

the Frontenac School Board -- was spokesperson for the parental delega-

tion who contended that the conditions under which the dual-school arrange-

ment would operate was unacceptable. The Board responded to these par-

ental concerns and began searching for alternatives to accommodate the

"Français" program.

During this time, the population of the Frontenac district was in-

creasing. Because of the rise in enrolments in the schools, an English

school was scheduled to be built. Consequently, by 1970-71, the Frontenac

School Division was developing plans to construct two new schools: a

"Français" facility and a regular English-language school. However, the

School Division found it impossible to purchase adequate sites at reason-

able prices (Winnipeg Free Press, February 18, 1975). When a single site

was found, the Board contemplated building the "Français" and the English

schools on opposite corners of the lot; but preliminary construction

estimates revealed that the gymnasiums would be too small if kept within

the permitted costs recommended by provincial government's Public School

Finance Board. The architect, as an alternative, drew up preliminary plans for a proposed two-school complex joined in the center by a large gymnasium. Thus, each school would have adequate gym facilities, and cost could be reduced by constructing a single school with two components. The plan was presented to both anglophone and francophone parents, who accepted the proposal in the fall of 1971 (South East Lance, February 26, 1975).

In 1972, in preparation for the new school, the Board hired a principal, Mr. Robert Loiselle, as the principal-elect of the new "Français" wing (F.P.M. 94/72). Prior to this, however, Mr. Loiselle had been supervising principal, on an itinerant basis, of both Ste. Hélène and St. Georges schools. He retained this itinerant position, while making preparation to integrate the staff and students into a single, functioning unit for the new school.

Thus, by 1972, provision for French programs in Frontenac's schools offered a variety of opportunities for students. Parents, school officials, and the community at large seemed content with the state of affairs concerning French programs at that time. This satisfaction, however, was not to be permanent.

A Conflict Emerges

The basic conflict between the "pro-Français" and "anti-Français" groups publicly appeared in Frontenac when some of the parents in the community disagreed with the initial School Board proposal of constructing a single, centrally located accommodation for intensive French studies (Frontenac School Board Minutes*, February 10, 1972). Stan Fischer, a

*Frontenac School Board Minutes, henceforth abbreviated F.S.B.M.

bilingual parent not of French ethnic origin -- who was also later to become a member of the Frontenac School Board -- headed a parental delegation who desired to retain and expand Ste. Hélène school, rather than to combine it with the new centralized school. He declared that intensive French programs should be offered in several schools throughout the Division, so that students could still attend school in their own vicinity. He favored a variety of French programs being offered in several schools -- not a single, centralized one (South East Lance, October 19, 1977).

The Board, after surveying community reaction, discovered that Fischer's comments reflected only a small proportion of the Frontenac citizens' feelings, and found that the overwhelming majority of parents preferred the new two-school complex (F.S.B.M. 42/72)* Fischer, however, would continue to press for his ideal during the following months. Nevertheless, the School Board continued with plans for the proposed two-school complex, despite some parental dissent.

What accounted for the difference in influence between the parental groups? Why did the group desiring a single, new school achieve its goal? One reason was that the francophone group desiring the single school outnumbered the group desiring decentralized services. Another reason was that the "pro-Français" group was backed by substantial support provincially, through the legislation of Bill 113, and by the federal promotion of bilingualism in education. A third reason was that the increased attention and interest in intensive French programming across

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*A School Board survey of involved parents showed that seventy-two percent of the parents definitely wanted their children to attend the new "Français" complex, while nine percent did not.

Canada seemed to influence the current thinking at the time. Moreover,
it was administratively less difficult to accommodate a single school,
with sufficient staff, materials, and equipment in order to create an
"ambiance française," than it was to do the same in several schools.

During the school's first year of operation, the Principal, Mr.
Loiselle, noted that more students than expected were enrolled (Winnipeg
Free Press, February 18, 1975), because of the increased interest shown
by non-francophone parents to send their children to a French school
having a genuine "Français" environment (Winnipeg Free Press, July 20,
1978). Although these students were accommodated in Ecole Lafontaine,
and although observers reported that the students enjoyed the schools, the
majority of these students were not francophone, and therefore had to be
unofficially grouped together into special "immersion" classes. These
students were accepted into the school on the advice of the Principal, if
they had some background in French, or if they could be grouped together
suitably to form a complete class unit for instructional purposes.

Thus, at the time of the school's opening, almost everyone seemed
satisfied with the program: (1) francophones were pleased with their
new school, and were somewhat flattered that non-francophones were inter-
ested in joining them for intensive French instruction, (2) non-franco-
phone parents desiring intensive French experiences for their children were
delighted with the access to the facilities, and (3) the School Board
and administration were gratified that the experiment of a "bilingual
school" was working and that the program was growing in popularity.

However, in the next few months these pleasant sentiments were to
change, and the change would be partly due to the popularity of the immer-
sion program.

As the non-francophone enrolment increased in the "Français" wing of the school, a feeling of discomfort began to emerge on the part of some francophone residents. Also, some of the teachers at Ecole Lafontaine began to feel frustrated at having to alter the "Français" program to accommodate the increasing number of non-francophone students who lacked the "native" linguistic and cultural background. Even though the non-francophone students were grouped into "immersion" classes, their presence seemed to dilute the all-French environment of the "Français" school. The immersion classes benefitted from the intermingling of the two programs, but the "Français" program did not seem as successful when combined with other programs (Frontenac, April 1978).

Soon many of the francophone parents and teachers began to resent the fact that the unique "Français" program began to deteriorate. This feeling was expressed by Jacques La Salle, a francophone who became a trustee on the Frontenac School Board in 1977:

> It's fine to have games, sports, theatre, and drama on the mixed basis; but not on a daily basis in school, because the French will be assimilated by the majority English environment ....If one or two English students are put with thirty francophones, that's alright -- but if there's more than five or six, it seems English will dominate ... because English is the dominant language in the West.

The enrolment of Ecole Lafontaine continued to increase until serious overcrowding became apparent. The overcrowding problem, together with the concern by some francophone parents over the assimilation of French language by the growing anglophone element in the school, were to develop into a serious controversy involving much of the Frontenac community. One parent, for instance, claimed:

> After all, Ecole Lafontaine is a "Français" school. It was given to us. But now the anglophone element is making our school lose its strength. When too many anglophone kids are there, all out-of-class language is English.

However -- as illustrated by the experience of other school divisions adjacent to Frontenac (See Chapter 3) -- not all francophones were of the same opinion as those demanding an end to assimilation of "Français in the schools. One francophone mother from Frontenac insisted, for instance, that: "It is not true. There is no segregation at the "Français" school. We are all Canadians." This view was reflected by Marie Jolie, herself a francophone trustee on the Frontenac School Board. She stated:

> I want a bilingual product. If too much emphasis is on quantity of "Français", rather than quality of it, then that is not right. It seems a separtist group is at work here, attempting to keep the French culture autonomous. But why should a small radical group rule the majority?

Jolie, for taking this stand, has been criticized by some "pro-Francais" francophones for being "a renegade and traitor to the francophone cause."

Thus, the polarization of francophone opinion, which characterized other school districts in the province, was equally visible in Frontenac. Some francophones wanted only all-French schools; other francophones wanted dual English-French facilities. Ultimately, however, the Board seemed to be influenced by the former. The Superintendent, as well, promoted the separation of "Français" programs from other types of French programs. This was shown by a superintendent's report (Frontenac, April 1978) which acknowledged the "Français" programs were "more successful when they are not combined with other programs."

All the while the immersion program was growing, the "pro-Français" group was also increasing in strength. The latter claimed that bilingual schools could not produce a truly bilingual person because such schools ignore the cultural element to a large extent (Tribune, January 20, 1975).

In fact, according to Mr. Loiselle, this feeling of cultural pride among
francophones seemed to be experiencing a definite revival in Frontenac,
and in the province generally. He noted, for instance, that:

> ... only a few years ago, about five out of forty francophone stud-
> ents in kindergarten actually spoke French entirely. But now we often
> see the vast majority of an incoming kindergarten class of francophone
> children speaking it more.

Two groups appeared to be consolidating themselves in preparation
for battle. The immediate prize was to be the future status of intensive
French programs in Frontenac schools. The question was whether or not
opportunities were to be provided for the sharing of bilingual experiences;
or was "Français" to become separate from "French", in the school system?

The Conflict Grows

Opposition on the Board. The trustees of the Frontenac School Divi-
sion held various views on the central issue. Jacques LaSalle, for in-
stance, believed that the "Français" and immersion programs must be sep-
arate. Marie Jolie, however, contended that this view was radical and
extremist. Rather, she felt that bilingual schooling was the best approach.
The then chairman of the Board, Denis Labarriere, who did not speak French
but whose wife did, felt that they wanted their own children to be biling-
ual, but that the "Français" program was not the only route to follow.
Stan Fischer, the teacher of French, whose graduate studies have emphasized
the sociology of language, also believed that co-operation, interaction,
and mixing of students is more warranted than separating the programs.
Art Moore felt that trustees are elected to listen to the parents "within
reason, of course." He believed that the parents must be satisfied. "But
who," he asked, "represents the parents? Well, there are basically two
groups on the Board." Moore's view was that:

> We want to have equality. We want no specials or no favorites.
> We must proceed carefully so that special status is not granted to
> any group.

Basically he did not favor the "Français" group accumulating too much

power at the expense of the other groups. Friesen, who apparently op-

posed the francophone-program expansion in earlier years, seemed to have

tempered his original views and now was generally supportive of the

"pro-Francais" desires. One observer reported that when Friesen's home

and property were threatened to be damaged by "pro-Français" supporters,

he apparently changed his position to one of support of the "Français"

cause in School Board matters. Stanford, like Moore, did not desire any

group to gain special status or concessions, and he typically had not sup-

ported the francophone demands during the early years of the time-span

of this study.

The Special Commitee's report. When the Principal of Ecole La-

fontaine and the Superintendent sensed the emerging conflict in the district

concerning French programs, they recommended that the Board establish a

special committee to study the state of present and future intensive French

programs in the Division. The committee consisted of parents of "Fran-

çais" and immersion students, trustees, the Superintendent and the Prin-

cipal. When the special committee recommended, in its final report, that

the "Français" program be completely separate from other programs, possib-

ly taking over the total two-school complex at Lafontiane, an angry re-

action from Frontenac residents ensued (South East Lance, April 20, 1977;

Tribune, April 15, 1977). Many parents and some trustees severely crit-

icized the Board for being pushed by a vocal minority of "pro-Français"

supporters who were alleged to be taking advantage of the overcrowding

problem at Lafontaine, by using a legitimate excuse to rid the school of

the anglophone-immersion students. This allegation, however, is not necessarily valid, since some "Français" students at Lafontaine were actually non-francophone, while some immersion students, there, came from francophone families. Also, the special committee's report recommended that the immersion and "Français" programs could be housed in one complex, although in separate parts.

Moreover, the Superintendent, recognizing the political influence of the francophone group, favored the separation of the "Français" and immersion programs. He so advised in a personal report to the Board. Dixon commented, in his confidential report (Frontenac, 1978):

> I have not recommended a single specific solution because various viewpoints still deserve a hearing and ultimately the decision is political rather than educational with trustees' value systems probably having a strong influence on the decision.

This statement seems to express the essence of the entire issue regarding French in the Frontenac schools. Dixon further declared that:

> This is one problem which time itself will not solve, and any possible solution will probably disappoint and anger a number of people.

His prediction was accurate, as 250 residents attended the following Board meeting protesting the special committee's recommendation that Lafontaine school be converted to an all-French complex and forcing the transferral of the students from the English wing (Tribune, April 15, 1977). As a result of this parental opposition, the Board quickly ratified a new policy and procedural statement prepared by the Superintendent's department (F.P.M. 10.1, 10.2; F.S.B.M. 127/77-136/77; South East Lance, May 4, 1977). The new policy assured residents that at no time in the forseeable future would the Lafontaine complex be used as an all-French school, and that an officially recognized immersion program for K-3 would

be implemented in September, 1977. Up to this time, immersion classes, largely for anglophones, had been in existence at Ecole Lafontaine because of the growing anglophone interest in the "Français" program; but these classes had not been "official" with respect to existing Board policy.

The formation of these new policies by the Board, however, revealed that the trustees generally sought to pacify the most vocal groups and to satisfy their demands. This time, surprisingly, it had not been the pro-"Francais" group; however, later developments in the conflict in Frontenac, would tend to favor the attainment of the pro-"Francais" demands -- but not without a considerable struggle.

Two opposing incumbents elected. Another important event which added still another influential element to the complex combination of factors affecting French programming policies in the Division was the election of two new trustees to the Board in the fall of 1977. Jacques LaSalle, known for his outright stand against the assimilation of francophone culture and for the preservation of French language rights, supported the separation of "Français" and immersion programs. His known connections with the Société Franco-Manitobaine and the Bureau de l'Education Française in the Department of Education, and his vocal and prominent image in the community prompted many francophone parents to support him. One parent described LaSalle in this way: "He's a fighter, that one."

Stan Fischer, the other new trustee, was known for his non-separation attitude, and his belief that both intensive French programs should be combined for the mutual benefit of both anglophone and francophone students. To him, the non-francophones would be motivated to emulate the lan-

guage skills of the francophones, and the latter would be motivated to

do that much better than their anglophone peers.

One of the spokesmen of a parents' committee commented that:

> At least Fischer is genuine and consistent. He truly believes what
> he says. We have no trouble with that, but it's some other trustees
> who take a stand because of personality clashes that bothers us.

Following the policy statements made by the Board in April,1977,

the Superintendent's department continued to monitor the space problem

at Ecole Lafontaine, in an attempt to resolve the growing problem concern-

ing the expansion of the immersion component of the crowded "Français"

wing. At this time the administration consulted the parents of the

students involved , the staffs, and the trustees, concerning the problem.

In April,1978, Superintendent Dixon presented a formal report to

trustees concerning the entire issue (Frontenac, 1978). In the report,

he recommended that the immersion program, K-3 be temporarily transferred

to Victoire school (one and a half miles to the north of Lafontaine) since

it had several available classrooms; and that the Board begin immediately

the plans to construct a separate building to house the immersion program

on another site.

Dixon's rationale for this recommendation reflected several consid-

erations (Frontenac, April,1978):

> 1. projected enrolments for the fall of 1978 necessitated that some
> pupils   be   moved, and that moving by program rather than by age
> or location of student-residence was a less disruptive plan;

> 2. projected enrolments showed that the immersion programs were to
> grow at a rate of two classes per year;

> 3. the Board had previously given assurance to parents that the
> English side of Lafontaine would not be disturbed, and that the
> "Français" program in the French side would not be moved (since, in
> fact, the school had been built as a "Français" school);

> 4. the immersion students were already being bussed to Lafontaine,
> and could just as easily be bussed to Victoire; and

5. the amount of special French grants from the province would increase significantly by maintaining the "Français" program in Ecole Lafontaine, and by developing the immersion program, year-by-year, in another building.

The Superintendent's proposal was then put to a vote.

The polarization of opinion on the Board. The motion to accept the Superintendent's proposals was defeated when a tie vote resulted. The trustees' votes were: three, for the motion; three against, and one abstaining. At this point the three opposing trustees, Fischer, Stanford and Moore, claimed that the proposal was discriminatory and unacceptable to the anglophones involved in the immersion program. They believed that the "pro-Français" group was gaining an unfair advantage in the matter, and did not want the "Français" supporters to obtain concessions similar to those gained in some of the neighboring school divisions.

Sentiments were also expressed by opponents of the Superintendent's proposal that the administration had been influenced by the persuasion and power of the "Français militants" and was afraid to stand against them. Marie Jolie, who abstained from voting on the proposal, claimed there was simply a lack of information on which to make a decision. She declared that she refused to be hurried into making an unsure choice. She also felt that the administration and Board Chairman (whom she faulted for having held private meetings with the parents' committees of the "Français" and immersion programs) lost the trust of the Board members by conducting these sessions without including the rest of the Board, or at least notifying them.

Following the defeat of the Superintendent's proposal, one of the supporters of the proposal suggested that those trustees opposing it should form an ad hoc committee to develop alternatives more constructive than

those recommended. Jolie later stated, however, that this _ad hoc_ commit-

tee should have included at least one of the members who had voted for

the Superintendent's original motion -- in order to give a balanced view

of both sides of the issue during the committee's deliberations.

In any case, the _ad hoc_ committee returned to the next meeting with

a general alternative (_Winnipeg Free Press_, May 18, 1978; _South East Lance_,

May 17, 1978): moving grades eight and nine to a less-crowded school

rather than disrupting the Lafontaine kindergarten children; as well as

using portable classrooms at the Lafontaine site to alleviate the increas-

ing enrolments. Upon hearing the alternative, the Board Chairman charged

the _ad hoc_ committee members for not proposing a specific enough plan and

said that they appeared afraid to make a firm decision (_South East Lance_,

May 17, 1978). This charge was refuted by one of the committee members,

who referred to the previous Board minutes which indicated that no speci-

fied date had been set for proposing the new alternatives. He also assert-

ed that the members were not strongly against the Superintendent's propos-

als, but that they felt there were other alternatives to be considered:

> The Board should not be stampeded into making a decision -- I don't
> have the wisdom of Solomon. Therefore, I need time to think about it
> ... when I am in receipt of all the facts and the long-term effects
> are looked at ... I know I will make the decision (_South East Lance_,
> May 17, 1978).

When a parent spokesman at the meeting asked why -- in the face of

parental support of the Superintendent's proposals -- the Board was taking

so long in making a decision, a trustee (a member of the _ad hoc_ committee)

said that the immersion program would continue, "somewhere in the district"

(_Winnipeg Free Press_, May 18, 1978).

At the next Board meeting, the _ad hoc_ committee proposed a second

alternative (F.S.B.M. 228/78): that both kindergarten groups ("Français"

and immersion) be moved to another school, and that three portable classrooms be used at Ecole Lafontaine to accommodate extra pupils in higher grades. This proposal differed substantially from their first, which had recommended that no kindergarten pupils be moved. The ad hoc committee's rationale seemed unclear, except to ensure that the "Français" group, by having the two programs separated, should not gain an advantage over the immersion group.

The second alternative proposal was attacked at a special meeting of the Board on May 24 by two parent delegations. The Ecole Lafontaine ("Français") Parents' Committee fully supported the superintendent's initial recommendations, but were not prepared to support the alternative plan just presented (F.S.B.M. May 24, 1978). The Immersion Parents' Committee, however, supported the portable classroom idea, on the condition that the Board would include some long-term plans for the future of the intensive program.

A motion accepting the second proposed alternative was then defeated by the Board with a four-three vote: one of the trustees, Marv Stanford had changed from his original stance. As a result, a third alternative proposal was to be offered at the May 30 meeting, in order to settle the question of the over-crowding situation in the "Français" wing of Lafontaine School.

The Tension Mounts

The small Board room at the next meeting was lined with parents seated on chairs crowded along three of the four walls, surrounding the trustees at the Board table. The Chairman indicated that he was "prepared to sit 'til we get a positive decision on the situation," while Stanford suggested that the Board apologize to the Superintendent for the embarras-

sing situation in which the Division had recently been placed. He felt

the whole situation had degenerated into "a totally ridiculous" issue,

and that open discussion was needed. However, he added that:

> We are being influenced by people looking over our shoulders. I
> move that the problem be laid over to give the Board an opportunity
> to meet and discuss -- to talk to each other, not at each other.
> There is a split -- but not an irrevocable split.

This brought groans and mumblings from the assembled parents who noisily

left the board room at that point.

After a five-hour meeting the following day (Winnipeg Free Press,

June 8, 1978), the majority of the Board still did not want the "pro-

Français" group to make a political gain. They did not want the non-

francophone students to have to move out and allow the "francophone

activists" to secure an all-French school. Thus, by a three-two vote,

the trustees decided that all "Français" and immersion kindergarten class-

es be moved to Victoire School, and that three portables be moved onto

the Lafontaine site (F.S.B.M. 262/78).

After the session, one of the board members stated that he had not

seen such a fiery meeting over the issue in twenty years of experience.

Basically, the fundamental issue was not a space problem as much as it was

a clash of the beliefs and values of individuals over cultural rights.

Some observers felt, however, that the real issue concerned personal

grudges and antagonistic feelings between two board members, in particular.

Marie Jolie, for instance, often took an opposite viewpoint of that of

Jacques LaSalle on almost every issue, solely because she was alleged to

be seeking revenge against him for apparently intimidating her at a partic-

ular meeting a few years before.

Nonetheless, Stan Fischer, who opposed the move of the immersion

program as being a tactic to make the school wing an exclusively French

area, declared (Winnipeg Free Press, June 8, 1978):

> The French Community is not just demanding bilingualism, but bi-
> culturalism. Why should we preserve the French culture? Yet we
> do nothing to preserve the English culture in our school.

Further, he condemned the federal and provincial governments, not

the French community, for the problem. He criticized the province for

not offering assistance to solve the Frontenac problem (Winnipeg Free

Press, June 8, 1978):

> Here we are just a small school board, dealing with a basic bilin-
> gual conflict, with nothing to refer to ....Separating the two pro-
> grams is reminiscent of South Africa — not all of us were prepared
> to vote for social cleavage.

Opponents of the motion to move both kindergarten programs rejected

the idea because it would affect two programs, rather than just one. After

all, they claimed, Ecole Lafontaine was originally the "Français" school

in the Division. If anyone had to move, it should not be the francophones,

but the immersion students.

Meanwhile the two parents' committees ("Français" and immersion)

called a news conference to express their feelings on the matter (Winnipeg

Free Press, June 8, 1978; South East Lance, June 14, 1978; Tribune, June

14, 1978). The immersion parents' spokesman said that although his group

was initially critical of the Superintendents' original recommendation,

they later felt the plan represented a viable solution. He maintained that

the issue was "a legitimate space problem", and he hoped that a "French-

English power struggle wasn't at play." He further stated that the ideal

solution, from the immersion parents' perspective, was to remain in the

same building as the "Français" students because of the beneficial learning

experience for the immersion group. But he believed that if overcrowding

was the problem then it was more sensible to keep each program intact,

rather than dividing both. He said that the immersion students had moved

several times, but that the parents wanted the Board to adopt a definite

long-range plan which would find them "a permanent home" (South East

Lance, June 14, 1978).

The spokesman refuted Stanford's notion that the use of portable

classrooms would at least keep the programs on the same site, because the

continuing enrolment-rise would eventually force some students to move.

The parent spokesman concluded that there were some board members who,

"come hell or high-water are not going to surrender this School to the

French" (South East Lance, June 14, 1978; Tribune, June 8, 1978). Thus,

the battle positions were drawn. The combat had begun in earnest.

The Conflict Reaches a Climax

At the June 8, 1978 Board meeting, five delegations were present

to oppose the Board's decision of May 31 to transfer all kindergarten

students to Victoire School.

A teacher, representing all Ecole Lafontaine teachers, supported

the Superintendent's original proposal, and castigated the Board for lack

of a clear, long-term decision (Winnipeg Free Press, June 9, 1978).

Spokesman for the Kindergarten-Admissions Committee and the Immersion

Parents' Committee supported this statement.

The most dramatic presentation of the evening was the brief by

the "Français" Parents' Committee. The spokesperson declared that approx-

imately ninety-five percent of the parents were in full agreement with

the Superintendent's proposal. Moreover, she declared that teachers,

administrators, and trustees — "except one in particular" — were in

agreement. She stated that this trustee had spread rumors that a core

group of francophones — working with the <u>Société Franco-Manitobaine</u>* —

was working to disrupt the harmony in the Division. She continued:

> This is not true. That trustee is deliberately attempting to cause frustration. That member has an ulterior motive, and is knowingly spreading a falsehood. If the member can prove outside interference, fine; but if not, then that member should resign!

That final comment was followed by long, loud applause from the

large number of parents who had gathered for the meeting — which, before

its commencement, had to be relocated at a nearby school auditorium to

accommodate the crowd.

The Board again made no final decision on the issue at this meet-

ing but the matter was again referred to a later date, the June 22 meet-

ing. This meeting, again held in a school auditorium, was attended by

several dozen parents. Two delegations were present.

The delegation spokesman for the Kindergarten Admissions Committee

reiterated the group's position: support of the Superintendent's solu-

tion, and not to split the kindergartens of both programs. He asked the

Board to rescind the previous motion of May 31. Cheering and applause

from the audience followed this request.

The spokeswoman for the "Français" Parents' Committee reiterated

her group's position, as presented at the meeting on June 8. She then pre-

sented a petition signed by 401 parents supporting Dixon's original pro-

posal. She concluded her presentation by requesting the Board to agree with

it, because if not, "...we are committed to continue to fight the issue."

More shouting and applause arose from the audience. At the conclusion of

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*Later, investigation showed that the S.F.M. was not officially in-volved in this issue. However, it is true that several francophones in-volved were, in fact, members or former members of this organization.

her presentation, discussion ensued among the trustees at the Board

table as the audience looked on.

During this discussion, the Superintendent revealed that the

Department of Education's Public School Finance Board (P.S.F.B.) would

probably not provide portable classrooms if vacant classrooms were avail-

able within the school system. At this point in the meeting Fischer moved

that a delegation from the School Board meet with representatives of

the P.S.F.B. to discuss the overcrowding situation. His motion was de-

feated. At this point, Friesen quickly moved that, as an interim meas-

ure, the French immersion program for grades K-3 be located at Victoire

School for 1978-79. That is, he reintroduced the Superintendent's orig-

inal motion, knowing that a majority of the trustees present favored it.

However, the members present also realized that two trustees were

absent from this meeting -- Moore was out of town on Board business and

Stanford's whereabouts were unknown. Moore had previously opposed the

Superintendent's proposal and the existence of an all-French school. His

absence, however, assured the loss of one vote opposing this proposal.

Stanford's position was not as clear, since he had at first opposed the

Superintendent's proposal, but later changed his position. In any case,

of the five trustees present Jolie and Fischer were the lone opponents of

the proposal to move only the immersion group. Their counter-recommenda-

tion for further talks with the Public School Finance Board had just been

defeated, and the original proposal had subsequently been reintroduced.

They realized this motion would be passed if they could not hinder the

progress of the meeting.

At this juncture, Fischer, apparently stalling for time, objected

to the consideration of Friesen's suddenly introduced motion, declaring

that procedures allowing "us to jump around the agenda were improper.
We have to address the question at hand." However, the Chairman over-
ruled him, stating, "Your motion was defeated. We have a quorum, and
we are going on to the next item."

Realizing that Friesen's new motion would then be passed, Fischer
and Jolie quickly rose from the table and left the auditorium before the
vote could be taken. As they walked out, the crowd reacted with shouts,
applause and laughter. One of the on-lookers shouted, "Boo, Jolie,"
whereupon Friesen, still at the Board table, demanded the audience to
"Be quiet." One parent retorted: "Hey, but we pay the taxes around here!"

"Yes, you do," responded Friesen, "but you'll act like ladies
and gentlemen, please."

Thus, in the midst of the confusion, the Chairman adjourned the
meeting (Winnipeg Free Press, June 29, 1978), because of the lack of
quorum resulting from the hasty departure of the two trustees. Jolie
later reported that she and Fischer, knowing of the absence of Moore,
decided beforehand that the only tactic which would be successful if the
original proposal was reintroduced would be to walk out.

After the meeting Fischer declared that the immersion parents
were merely being offered an incentive or trade-off: they were promised
a new school, if they would give way to the "Français" parents' wishes.
He asserted, however, that the Board could not justify this plan to
taxpayers for a new immersion facility in the face of the availability
of classroom-space in the Division. He claimed: "This is just an attempt
to turf the immersion kids out of the school" (Winnipeg Free Press, June
29, 1978).

He later declared that he left the meeting because of the "in-

credible actions of a little clique", alleging that the Board took advantage of the absence of their fellow members to overrule the wishes of the real majority. Jolie, however, offered no comment on her actions to media reports. She later declared, however:

> I'll never comment to the media — because I've found, too often, that they only twist and misrepresent what is said.

Representatives of the parents affirmed, after the tumultuous meeting, that their future attempts to sway the Board would likely be less rational (Winnipeg Free Press, June 29, 1978); and the parents of the immersion students threatened to keep their children out of school the following September, if the Board did not give them assurance of a definite long-term plan (South East Lance, June 28, 1978; Tribune, June 30, 1978).

The South East Lance (June 28, 1978) criticized the Board with the headline, "Action Needed". The article stated:

> The situation has been dangling too long. It is time trustees put aside their differences, real or unreal, and thought of the students, teachers and the division administration ...the parents have made a decision, it's now the trustees' turn.

The "Final" Decision

A Board meeting was held June 29, 1979. Stan Fischer was unavailable, having left town for six weeks. Thus, a key opponent of the immersion-transfer was absent.

Surprisingly, Stanford and Jolie put forward the motion:

> That for the 1978-79 school year only, the French Immersion students (K-3) will be accommodated at Voctoire School.

Unexpectedly, the two trustees, who for several months had blocked almost every effort to move the immersion program from Ecole Lafontaine, without warning reversed their position, and presented a motion almost

identical to the one they had opposed. The vote was unanimous. The Superintendent's initial proposal was accepted.

Stanford justified this motion by declaring that he was actually against the action, but that there was no other alternative at this late date. He clarified that the Public School Finance Board had turned down the Board's request for portable classrooms (Winnipeg Free Press, June 20, 1978; South East Lance, July 5, 1978; Tribune, June 20, 1978). He felt the Board had no other choice.

The parents were elated with the decision, but were disturbed that the whole action took so long.

Although, for the purposes of this study, a policy decision had been made, the conflict has only been temporarily resolved. Indeed, current reports indicate that the whole issue is beginning to surface again, with respect to a permanent accommodation for the immersion program (Winnipeg Free Press, November 30, 1978; La Liberte, July 6, 1978).

Some observers feel that the Victoire facilities will be permanent; others believe that the new school to be finished in September, 1979 will house the immersion center; while some claim that the immersion program will be transferred back to Ecole Lafontaine (which perhaps could accommodate it, since many of the anglophone students would be attending the newly built school).

In this light, the spokesman of the Immersion Parents' Committee recently stated:

> It's not over yet; but now we just want to be separate. "Français" and immersion just don't work together. The "Français" are more culture oriented -- it's their life and customs. We don't want all that, because we are not "Français". We have French as a second-language, not a first. (See also Winnipeg Free Press, November 30, 1978).

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the writer examined the critical incidents occurring in the Frontenac School Division which were related to the policy-making process for French programming in its schools. Essentially, the central issue focused on the conflict between two groups -- one desiring separate "Français" facilities, and the other demanding a co-operative and integrated program of intensive French for both "Français" and immersion students. The available alternatives for Board consideration were to keep all "intensive" classes (both immersion and "Français") together on one site at Ecole Lafontaine, and provide portable classrooms for the overflow of students; or to transfer some classes to another school with available space. However, the dilemma in this transfer decision was to determine who should be moved -- part or all of the "Français" classes, part or all of the immersion classes, or part of both programs. Proponents for both groups sought to influence the official decision by the School Board.

After an intense struggle, the Board reached a temporary decision to transfer the immersion program to a neighboring school for a period of one year. However, the issue has not been permanently resolved, since the "pro-bilingual" group, referring to the temporarily transferred immersion program as "the Lafontaine Annex," is adamant in again having both intensive programs housed together in the original Lafontaine facilities for the fall of 1979. The "pro-Français" group, on the other hand, is just as determined to maintain its recently gained advantage of preserving and enhancing the francophone culture and language at Lafontaine School, through the transfer of the immersion program and the consequent removal

of the assimilating forces of the anglophone culture.

The differences in value systems between and among trustees seemed to account for much of this conflict concerning the issue of French language programs at the local school level. In addition to having differences in beliefs, perceptions, and values, some of the trustees were influenced by other factors, such as: financial resources (for example, the lack of support from the Public School Finance Board), demands of parents, peer pressure, time constraints, or desire for popularity. An interpretation of how these factors influenced the policy-making process will be examined in the following chapter of this thesis.

As a means of clarifying the central issue regarding French programs in Frontenac School Division, Figure 2 shows the basic changes in group-alignments on the School Board during the last several years with respect to preference for the various French programs. The arrival of newly elected trustees, and the influence of various environmental factors tended to influence the direction of School Board policies for French programming in Frontenac.

The discs shown in Figure 2 reveal that in the late sixties and early seventies, a sub-group of the Frontenac School Board favored the integration of interested non-francophone students into the "Français" program. Essentially, though, there was no major conflict between those trustees favoring the bilingual program and those desiring to maintain the traditional French program. In fact, almost all of the trustees were positive toward both programs, in that intensive and "core" language opportunities were thereby provided for the students of the district.

However, a major division of opinion became pronounced in 1977 when a distinct polarization occurred on the Board. A rift developed

FIGURE 2

GROUP ALIGNMENT ON THE FRONTENAC

SCHOOL BOARD REGARDING

FRENCH PROGRAMS

Year	Trustee support for "core" (traditional programs)	Trustee support for integrated bilingual programs	Trustee support for autonomous "Français" programs
1968			
1969			
1970			
1971			
1972			
1973			
1974			
1975			
1976			
1977			
1978			
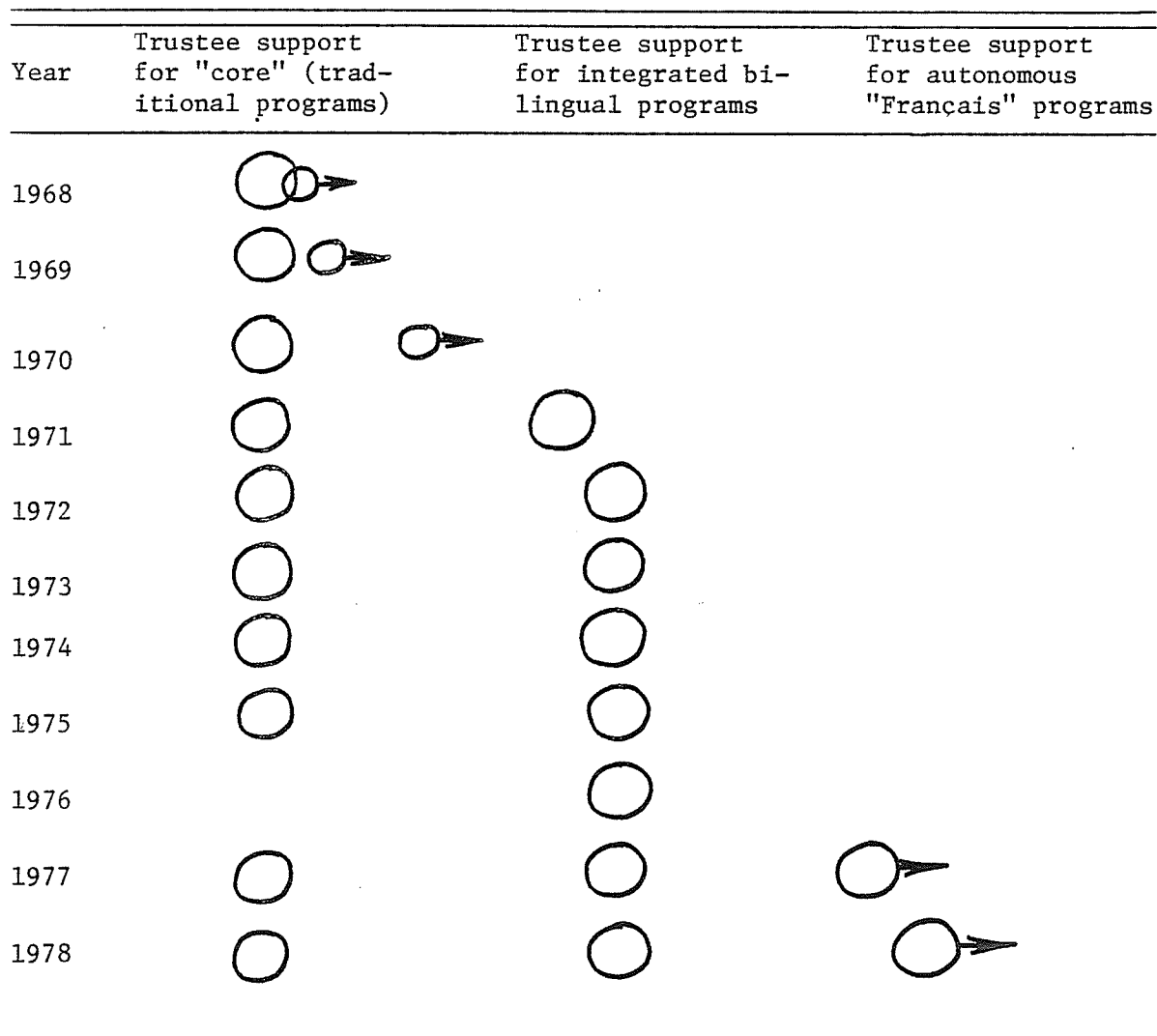
The size of the discs represent the relative size of the subgroup on the School Board actively supporting each program.

between members favoring autonomous "Français" programs (largely for francophones) being separate from intensive immersion programs (basically for non-francophones), and those supporting co-operative bilingual facilities . The election of two new trustees -- one favoring each position -- crystallized the issue in the School Division in 1977.

At the time of the conclusion of this study, the two major groups in conflict over French in the schools appeared unwilling to compromise their position. Continued debate and negotiation is inevitable regarding this issue.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CASE

The purpose of Chapter 5 is to analyze and interpret the events

related to the policy-making process in Frontenac School Division with

respect to French language programming for its schools. This analysis will

be conducted on the basis of the set of critical questions initially pre-

sented in Chapter 1 of this thesis. On the basis of these questions, the

analysis and interpretation will be divided into two general areas: the

policies, per se (the content area), and the policy-making activities (the

process area).

THE POLICIES FOR FRENCH PROGRAMS: ISSUES AND ALTERNATIVES

The first area of analysis and interpretation is concerned with the

policies themselves, which are related to the following questions as orig-

inally posed in Chapter 1:

1. What were the key issues that emerged and required policy decisions
by the school board?

2. What alternative decisions were thought to be available by the
board and by interest groups with respect to resolving each of these
issues?

The responses to these questions were analyzed according to the

preliminary list of possible policy issues and alternatives available for

these issues. The tentative list is found on page 74. The subsequent re-

search into the case of Frontenac School Division yielded a list of policy

issues and alternatives, some of which were similar to, and others which

were different from those in the initial list.

In order to summarise the "content analysis" (that is, the policies* identified by this study) a list of the policy issues, together with the available alternative decisions for each -- which arose in Frontenac School Division during the seven-year period of this study, is presented in Table II. The list is analyzed below.

Aspects of the French Programming Conflict in Frontenac

The analysis of the data from the study revealed that only one key issue actually existed in the Division concerning the provision of French programs in the schools. The other controversies, concerns and conflicts which arose in Frontenac during the last ten years virtually represented different aspects of this central issue. The fundamental issue was related to a basic values conflict among residents over the status of the French language and culture in the community -- and, indeed, in the Nation as a whole. The list of "issues" in Table II reflect different facets of this central issue.

The first aspect of the key issue involving French programming policy in Frontenac was related to the purpose of providing French programs in schools. Latest Board policy provided for a diversity of purposes of various programs, such as: provision for maintenance of the "Français" culture, provision for intensive French for non-francophones, and opportunities for core French for those families desiring it.

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*This study distinguishes between two types of policy: basic or general policy and administrative policy (See Chapter 5). Basic policy refers to a broadly applicable, regulative guide for future action; while administrative policy is defined as a specific directive giving procedural regulations or rules for the implementation of basic policy at the operational level.

TABLE II

ISSUES AND ALTERNATIVES OF FRENCH LANGUAGE

POLICIES IN FRONTENAC SCHOOL DIVISION:

A SPECIFIC CASE

Issues	Alternatives
1. What purposes are to be served by the French programs?	a. Maintenance of the French culture, and French-as-a-first language
	b. Full bilingualism and biculturalism; French as a second language
	c. Partial bilingualism and biculturalism; French as a second language
	d. Elementary basics of French (as a second language)
	*d. Combination of above
2. What type of program(s) should be offered?	a. "Core" program
	b. Extended program
	c. Immersion program (Early, Intermediate, or Late)
	d. "Français" education
	*e. Combination of above
3. Where should these programs be located?	a. In every school
	b. In selected "neighborhood" schools
	c. In immersion schools or centers
	d. In a single, centralized school
	*d. Combination of above

TABLE II (continued)

Issues	Alternatives
4. How shall students be selected for intensive programs?	a. Native speaker of French
	b. Of French ethnic origin
	c. No specific requisites
	*d. On the recommendation of a designated agent, studying each case individually
5. How will students be transported to a centralized school?	a. Student's family responsible
	b. Transportation provided by school board, but parents must pay additional costs
	*c. Total transportation and costs provided by board
6. How adequate is the provision for instructional materials?	a. Dependence on materials produced commercially outside the province
	b. Teachers required to produce their own materials
	c. A central coordinating facility responsible for producing and distributing materials to teachers
	*d. Combination of above

*Indicates the alternative selected by Frontenac School Division.

A second facet of the issue, directly related to the first aspect, was concerned with the type of programs offered to fulfill the purposes desired by the community. The Board offered a diversity of French programs for students in Frontenac: Français, immersion, and core experiences.

A third aspect of the controversy concerning French programming was the conflict over the location of programs. Current Board policy provides for "core" French to be offered in almost all schools in the Division , where experienced staff is available. The most recent dilemma, however, was related to the location of the two intensive French programs. This conflict was not merely a problem of overcrowding, but a problem reflecting the fundamental issue of the study. The "pro-bilingual" supporters desired the Division to provide a co-operative, sharing of facilities, and they also opposed the separation of programs and the consequent socio-political gain by their opponents. However, the "pro-Français" proponents demanded an autonomous program, separate from anglophone influence. The Board's decision has temporarily favored this "pro-Français" demand.

The recent decision to separate temporarily the immersion and "Français" programs has displeased the "pro-bilingual" group, who is currently stressing the "temporary" provision of the motion made in June 1978. No permanent decision has yet been reached by the Board concerning the future location of the two intensive programs, but each group is continuing to press for its demands.

However, if past events are at all indicative of future trends in the School Division, then one could assume that the "pro-Français" demands will continue to be met, despite opposition by the "pro-bilingual" group. The two programs will probably remain separate. Some of the reasons

for this decision may be that: (1) the Immersion Parents' Committee

now favors the separation, (2) the Superintendent, the Principal (serv-

ing both programs), and the staffs of both programs favor it, (3) similar

separation of programs have occurred in three neighboring school divi-

sions, (4) research shows that "Français" programs are weakened if conduct-

ed in an environment where anglophone influence is present, and (5) an

increase has occurred in the status of the "Français" fact in Canada be-

cause of federal support, provincial legislation, and militant activity

by various francophone groups.

Thus, as was illustrated in items 1 and 2 of Table II, Division

policy regarding the location of programs similarly reflects a decision

alternative intended to provide a broader scope for more diversity and

variety of programs. The policy allows for a combination of program

locations and facilities, each to satisfy the requirements of the rele-

vant program. The persistent problem faced by the Board, however, is the

allocation of scarce resources between the competing interests. In this

case, the scarce resource was the limited space in Ecole Lafontaine, and

the two groups competing for the space are the "Français" and immersion

supporters.

A fourth facet of the central policy issue in the Division also de-

monstrates the general trend towards the acceptance of the "Français"

fact in French programming for its schools. Current Board policy permits

the selection of students for intensive programs to be based on the rec-

ommendation of Mr. Loiselle, the itinerant Principal.

This decision alternative for student selection was considered more

warranted by the Board than other available alternatives. The major rea-

son for this choice was that each case could be treated individually and

that restrictive selection rules or specific criteria were unnecessary.

Parents interested in enrolling a child in intensive French would re-

ceive personal consideration by a competent professional who would make

recommendations regarding the type of program best suited to the child's

background and abilities. Further provision by the Board granted parents

the right to request the Board to overrule the Principal's initial recom-

mendation, if they felt their case was not appropriately handled.*

This additional provision again demonstrated the School Board's desire to

accommodate the needs of the "pro-Français" group, as well as to avoid ex-

cessive parental unrest in the community.

The official Board policy to allow Mr. Loiselle discretion in dir-

ecting students to appropriate programs has generally been well accepted

by the community. However, the group of "anti-Français" trustees oppose

the policy because they believe it perpetuates the separation of intensive

programs.

In performing this selection duty, Mr. Loiselle realizes that the

"Français" Parents' Committee is adamant in retaining the separation of

the programs as it currently exists, and that the Immersion Parents' Com-

mittee has also agreed to it, provided they receive a permanent and ade-

quate immersion facility -- as promised earlier by the Board. Consequently,

in selecting students, Loiselle typically recommends that non-francophone

students interested in intensive French attend the immersion center, but

that francophones -- or non-francophones with sufficient background in

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*For instance, some K-3 immersion students who were to be trans-
ferred to Victoire School with the immersion program, but who had older
siblings remaining at Ecole Lafontaine, were allowed to stay in Lafontaine
but were placed in the "Français" programs. However, very few of these
cases occurred.

French -- attend Ecole Lafontaine. Because of this selection process, the "Français" milieu remains undisturbed, the "pro-Français" supporters are pacified, and the immersion proponents have an intensive center -- although it lacks the interaction between francophone and anglophone students that the immersion parents initially desired. However , the "pro-bilingual" group of trustees and some parents in the community are currently pressuring for the return of the immersion program to the Lafontaine site.

Nevertheless, if the prevailing trend towards granting the "Français" requests continues in the Division, then it is unlikely that the "pro-bilingual" supporters will witness a return to the sharing of facilities by the two intensive programs in Ecole Lafontaine. The political momentum has been set.

A fifth problem which arose in the Division, and which also mirrored the basic values issue at stake, concerned the transportation of students.

When the two-school Lafontaine complex was originally planned, francophone parents agreed to provide transportation for their children to the new centralized school. However, when the school was nearly built, the parents reneged on their promise and offered to devise a transportation plan for the School Division, whereby their students could be bussed. The plan proved to be feasible, and the Board adopted it. This new transportation scheme not only benefitted francophone students, by a provision for bussing them from all areas of Frontenac to Ecole Lafontaine, but it also provided a transportation policy for all students requiring it in the Division -- all at no additional cost to the rate-payers. Thus, the selection of this decision alternative by the Board not only promoted the

"Français" cause, but it served to harmonize the entire community by benefitting all students.

A sixth concern, particularly among the professional staff in the School Division, was related to the availability of instructional materials. During the sixties the francophones in Manitoba experienced a re-awakening of interest and pride in their socio-cultural and historical background. Thus, a greater emphasis was placed by them on the acquisition and use of educational materials that promoted the francophone cause, and that were appropriate for instructional purposes with francophone students in Western Canada.

Until recently, dependence had been on commercially produced teaching materials from outside the Province. Teachers, administrators and many francophone parents were displeased, however, that many of these resources were limited in applicability to the francophone culture and history in Western Canada. Moreover, teachers developed many of their own materials, which proved to be a time-consuming task. Finally, as a result of the efforts of the leaders of various Franco-Manitoban organizations, eleven school divisions in Manitoba -- including Frontenac -- have agreed to assist in the establishment and maintenance of a French Resources Center. This center will be used co-operatively by the divisions for the purpose of furnishing and circulating appropriate instructional materials for the various programs, particularly the "Français" programs.

By agreeing to co-operate in this effort, the Frontenac School Board has further committed itself to an acceptance of the "Français" presence in the educational scene in the Division and in the Province. The Frontenac Board's decision to participate in the joint venture will tend to reduce the impact of any future reaction by the "pro-bilingual"

supporters to demand the abondonment of autonomous "Français" programs. In order for the Board first to support a plan which provides resources for an autonomous "Français" program, then later to eliminate the separate "Français" program in favor of a joint program (shared with immersion students, as desired by the "pro-bilingual" group) would be politically inappropriate.

Hence, the official Board commitment to co-operate in the French Resources Center tends to add even more of an impetus to the trend favoring an increasing recognition and acceptance of the influence of the "pro-Français" group in the community.

The Character of French Language Policies in Frontenac

The majority of policy decisions made by the Frontenac School Board with respect to French programming have, over time, provided for an increasing diversity of French programs to accommodate the various interest groups in the community. Thus, the policy reveals a range of program options which are a response to the political realities existing in the community of Frontenac. The increasing breadth of policy is shown by the first two items in Table II (p. 119).

The trend of French-programming policy toward the satisfying of a pluralism of demands suggests that the Frontenac School Board is essentially oriented as a service agency to "interpret the educational needs and aspirations of the community through the formulation of policies" (F.R.M. 4.1-4.18). Indeed, an examination of the change in French policy over the last few years shows that the Board has been both sensitive and responsive to community pressures. Generally, it sought to grant   the   demands   of   parental   groups   and

could thus be characterized by its emphasis on avoiding community unrest
and on resolving conflicts of interests.

Further analysis of the substantive area of the policies shows
a gradual shift in Board policy towards accommodating the desires of
the "pro-Français" group in the Frontenac area. During the last ten
years, the vocal "Francais" supporters have gained in political power
and have exerted more influence in the community. The Board consistently
responded to the pressure tactics exerted by this group, and the latter
has made steady political gains.

Some of the reasons for this growth of influence by the "pro-
Francais" group — or perception by others of this growth — are presented
below:

1. a persistent attitude among "pro-Français" supporters to pursue
their goals ;

2. an enhancement of the "Francais" cause due to federal government
support through the Official Languages Act, and financial support for
bilingualism ;

3. official legislative support granted by Manitoba law making French
equal to English as a language of instruction in the schools of the
province ;

4. an advancement in attainments by francophones in Manitoba in the
fields of education and culture during the last ten years ;

5. enthusiastic and systematic guidance by francophone leadership
both inside and outside the Province ;

6. the "successes" of other "pro-Français" groups in neighboring
districts ; and

7. an overall bolstering of morale within the "pro-Français" popula-
tion , as a result of the above six events .

8. the special provincial grants-formula for distribution of funds

Summary of Substantive Area

The purpose of the first section of Chapter 5 was to present an analysis of the data from the case study related to the French programming policies in the School Division. The analysis of this substantive area revealed that only one key issue existed in the Division with respect to French programming in the schools. Other incidents, conflicts and controversies which arose in the community concerning French programs during the last ten years were, in actuality, different aspects or "side-issues" of the major issue.

This central issue essentially reflected a clash of values between two groups. One group consisted of "pro-Français" advocates who demanded: (1) equal educational rights with those of the anglophone majority, and (2) autonomous "Français" school programs separate from other French programs. The second group was composed of "anti-Français" or "pro-biling-ual" supporters who: (1) demanded a sharing of facilities between franco-phone and anglophone students pursuing intensive French programs, and (2) opposed any move to grant concessions to the "pro-Français" group, which might tend to increase the latter's socio-political power.

Further analysis of the "content" area of the study revealed the following characteristics regarding the French programming policies made by the School Board over the time-span of this study:

1. Policy has gradually become broader in scope. Today, the policy has been expanded to include provision for "Français" and immersion programs, in addition to the traditional or "core" French programs.

2. The trend in policy changes shows that the School Board has typi-cally been very responsive to community pressure. The Board has gen-erally sought to satisfy the demands of a plurality of groups. It has acted primarily to avoid conflict, to reduce dissonance, and to settle issues in the School Division.

3. School Board policy has shown a trend towards the recognition and

acceptance of "pro-Français" demands as legitimate requests, worthy of Board consideration. Several factors related to the growth of this influence of the "pro-Français" group in the Redville area were also presented.

THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

The second general area of the study was concerned with the policy-making process, as it occurred in a local school division with respect to French language programs.

In order to direct the analysis of this policy process, the original research questions (stated in Chapter 1) which deal with this component of the study are reviewed below:

1. What factors accounted for the development of the issues?

2. What actors seemed to exert more influence on the decisions? Why?

3. What common considerations, if any, were evident in the efforts to resolve each issue?

4. What constraints, conflicts, resources, demands, and supports were evident in the process?

5. What were the consequences of each policy decision?

To assist in responding to these questions related to the policy-making process in Frontenac, the eclectic approach proposed in Chapter 2 will be employed. The responses to these questions are dealt with in the following section of this chapter.

The Background Factors

In identifying the background factors which seem to have accounted for the development of the issues in Frontenac School Division, the systems approach proved useful in offering an overall view of the network of relationships involved in the policy-making process. Figure 1 (p.22) shows the overall network of forces influencing the policy-making process in the

Frontenac School Division. One should note that events at one level

often affect, and are affected by, factors at other levels. Although

these factors are treated separately for analytical purposes, a complicat-

ed, interconnected web of relationships exists among them. The following

section analyzes the way those factors have exerted influence on

policy making in Frontenac. These factors were described in Chapter 3.

Federal influences. Several events at the federal level have af-

fected the formulation of French programming policy in Frontenac School

Division. The federal government's Official Languages Act, special assis-

tance for bilingualism in education through a system of financial grants,

and the Prime Minister's recent proposal to entrench dual language rights

in a new Canadian constitution have all tended to add support to the

claims of the "pro-Français" proponents in Frontenac School Division.

Because of receiving this official federal backing since 1968, the "pro-

Français" group has benefitted from the political prestige accruing from

this recognition. The group has thus experienced an increase in cultural

pride, confidence, and renewed determination to pursue its goal toward

social equality with the anglophone culture in Canada.

Other federal events during the time period of this study, how-

ever, have run contrary to this trend of increased influence by "pro-

Français" sympathizers. Some federal politicians, notably James Richard-

son, have severely criticized the federal government's bilingual policies.

His support of a new political force called "Canadians for One Canada"

reveal that all Canadians do not subscribe to the federal language poli-

cies. Moreover, the recent report from the Task Force on Canadian Unity

recommends that the matter of language rights be left to the provinces or

regions but not be entrenched federally.

An apparent loss in confidence toward the government was also illustrated by the failure of the Liberal party in the October 1978 by-elections, as well as the relative loss of popularity of the Liberal government as shown in recent national polls.

Many "anti-Français" and "pro-bilingual" groups have referred to these incidents to substantiate their argument that the current emphasis by "pro-Français" supporters on equality and autonomy is unacceptable to many Canadians. Individuals who believe that Canada is "Canadian first" (with other cultural or ethnic considerations being secondary) interpret current opposition against the government as signifying a collapse of the "duality of the nation" concept -- both federally and locally, especially in educationl matters.

The events in the Frontenac School Division during the past decade have shown that the federal events supporting the "pro-Français" fact seemed to have had more effect on French programming policy than those incidents opposing the promotion of the "Français" cause. This assertion is demonstrated by the fact that School Board policy has been progressively expanded to accommodate the "Français" demands, over time. The majority of the Board members apparently.consider the "Français" group a powerful force in the community and thus yield to their demands.

Events in Quebec. "Pro-Français" supporters in Frontenac,and in Manitoba generally, have positive opinions of: the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, the assertiveness of francophone groups inside and outside of Quebec, and the activities of le Parti Québecois. They react agreeably because of the attention that these events have attracted to the francophone cause in Canada. Most "pro-Français" activists perceive the renewal of pride in the French language and culture -- originating in Quebec in

the sixties -- as inspiring and morale-building for francophones in
other provinces.

Critics of the "pro-Français" fact, however, point to other e-
vents in Quebec which indicate that Quebecers are far from being unanimous-
ly agreed on the policies of "sovereignty-association," espoused by
Levesque's party. For instance, many Quebecers -- francophones as well
as anglophones -- have recently left the province or are investing their
money elsewhere. Also, many Quebec residents are opposed to separation,
but desire -- as do many Frontenac residents -- to see an increase in co-
operation, sharing, and "unity in diversity" through increased bilingual
experiences, particularly among students.

In Manitoba, however, the provincial Department of Education has
been influenced more by the "pro-Français", separatist attitude of some
Quebecers, than by those desiring co-operation and interaction. For in-
stance, through the efforts of Luc Panet, from Quebec, the goals of the
Bureau de l'Education Française were established to support the existence
and expansion of autonomous "Français" schools, and the eventual creation
of an autonomous "network" or system of "Français" schools across the
Province. At least three trustees on the Frontenac School Board also
support these views. Hence, the policy-making process has been influenced
by Quebec leaders in matters relating to the "Français" programs in the
Province's schools.

Provincial events. Events at the provincial government level in
Manitoba have been both directly and indirectly affected by factors at
other levels. For example, Quebec leaders have influenced the direction
of policy to promote "Français" education. Provincial legislation (Bill
59 and Bill 113), federal-provincial grant schemes, and support from mem-

bers of the former N.D.P. government in Manitoba have all combined to en-

hance the image of the "pro-Français" fact in Manitoba education during

the last decade. Once these supportive precedents have been set at the

legislative level, and once a favorable political momentum has been es-

tablished, then other politicians or political forces cannot easily mod-

ify or reverse the trend at the provincial government level.

The Conservative government, elected in 1977, has maintained the

status quo established under the former N.D.P. government with respect

to French education in Manitoba. Current speculation by many observers

is that the upcoming revision of the Manitoba Schools Act will grant great-

er concessions to the "pro-Français" group in the Province. The govern-

ment apparently believes that the"Français" community is a powerful force,

and must not be alienated; therefore, its requests are considered

seriously.

The influence of francophone groups (such as: la Société Franco-

Manitobaine, les Educateurs Franco-Manitobains, and la Fédération Provin-

ciale des Comités de Parents) has also increased in the province. Les

Educateurs Franco-Manitobains, the provincial organization of francophone

teachers, is currently pressing for equal status with the Manitoba Teach-

ers' Society, rather than maintaining its traditional role as one among

several subject-matter councils in the organization.

On the other hand, there is vocal opposition to the advances which

the "pro-Français" group are making. Nevertheless, the status of the

"Français" element in the Province will probably continue to increase.

This growth seems certain because of the support of: the permanent govern-

ment office of "Education Française," the militant stand by many franco-

phone groups and individuals, the concentration of francophone population

within close proximity to Redville, advancements in media and cultural facilities and activities in Manitoba, and a consequent re-awakening in cultural pride and increase in group morale because of these recent successes.

The use of research evidence. Another factor influencing the policy-making process in Frontenac School Division was the use of research evidence related to French programs. As discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, individuals and groups have interpreted research evidence according to their pre-conceived ideas, perceptions, and values. The "pro-Français" and "pro-bilingual" groups generally accept, reject, or modify research evidence according to how it relates to their value systems.

Most research does, for instance, substantiate the claim that full-immersion programs are most effective in ensuring fluent bilingualism. However, educational administrators must recognize that many parents may not desire intensive immersion programs for their children. Other options must be considered, such as the "core" program, the extended program, or forms of immersion other than the early (K-3) type.

In the Frontenac School Division, the influentials in the policy-making process (other than the three "anti-Français" trustees) were typically in accord with research evidence which recommended the separation of "Français" and immersion programs. The separation, they believed, encourages greater linguistic development in students of both groups, than is the case when the programs are combined.

The "pro-bilingual" group, as represented by Frontenac trustee Stan Fischer, argues on the other hand, that considerable research shows that both student groups need to interact with each other to achieve

maximum linguistic development.

Thus, each faction offers research evidence to support its own ends, and each accuses the other of "twisting the facts."

Events in neighboring school divisions. In Chapter 3 several incidents which occurred in three school divisions adjacent to Frontenac were described. These events were similar to those occurring in Frontenac. In fact, because the incidents in the adjacent communities occurred before the French language issue fully emerged in Frontenac, one could assume that a precedent for policy had already been set in those communities, and that the pattern traced by the socio-political events in Frontenac would likely follow a similar path.

In any case, the findings in the areas adjacent to Frontenac parallelled those in Frontenac: (1) the single, basic issue also centered around the conflict between "pro-Français" and "pro-bilingual" supporters over the separation of intensive programs, (2) school boards were similarly sensitive and responsive to community pressure, especially regarding the French education issue, and (3) the "pro-Français" proponents also seemed to possess considerable power and influence in achieving their goals in the policy-making process in school jurisdictions.

Moreover, the reasons for the fairly recent growth of "Français" influence in the neighboring communities generally resembled those discussed in the first section of this chapter, with regard to Frontenac.

Factors in the school district. Since 1977, the seven-member Frontenac School Board was divided almost evenly on the French issue: three were "pro-Français" advocates, three were "pro-bilingual" adherents, and one vacillated between the two. However, the two parents' committees

of both intensive programs, the staffs of the two intensive programs, the Principal, and the Superintendent all favored the "pro-Français" group's view that both programs should be separated. Research evidence showed that "Français" programs functioned more effectively if not combined with other programs; but other evidence suggested that immersion students benefitted from exposure to francophone culture, by interacting with the "Français" environment.

Each of the two groups presented reasons for and against separating the programs, but the "pro-Français" group's demands were granted, albeit temporarily. Possible reasons that the Board, at its meeting of June 29, 1978, unanimously approved the separation of programs were:

1. Time constraints required a decision to be made for preparation for school opening in September 1978.

2. The Public School Finance Board refused to grant financial assistance for portable classroom, because space was available elsewhere in the Division.

3. Stan Fischer, the avid "pro-bilingual" supporter, who would have likely opposed the motion,was absent from the meeting. His fellow supporters may not have felt so strongly about their view because their "spokesman" was absent. In fact, they may have only been complying with his ideals and expectations, but may not have been truly committed to them.

4. The "pro-bilingual" group of trustees were willing to surrender some "political ground" in return for the concession that the transfer was "for the 1978-79 year only." The implication for them was that the two programs would be re-united at a later date.

5. The motion to transfer the immersion program had widespread support in the Division, and similar precedents had also been set in other neighboring divisions. The "pro-bilingual" trustees may have believed that not to submit to this pressure was unjustified under such conditions, particularly in Fischer's absence.

Individuals' values. The one fundamental factor accounting for the development of the French programming issue in Frontenac was the difference between and among the value systems of the individuals involved in

policy making for the School Division.

Although one of the purposes of this study was to analyze the complex set of interrelated factors influencing French programming in Frontenac, the writer contends that the most basic consideration in the entire process was the individual. The meanings placed on events by individual actors in the policy process ultimately determined how each one would behave during the events that transpired. Beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of the policy-makers -- which may have been individually held or shared commonly with others -- comprised the basis for individual action in the process.

The systems approach was useful in identifying the above environmental factors playing upon the policy-development process, but it was limited in analyzing the dynamics of the process itself. The other approaches, described in Chapter 2, were eclecticly employed to analyze the actions of the participants involved in making policies.

How these approaches were applied to the analysis is briefly outlined in the following section. Brief interpretation of the evidence is also provided.

The Key Actors

In order to analyze the actions of the influential participants in the policy-making process in Frontenac, the political bargaining approach as outlined in Chapter 2 was employed. The concept of political bargaining pictured the School Division as an arena in which individuals and groups pursue various goals, using various resources. Often in this bargaining process, the final decision reached was not the result of a formal and rational problem-solving approach, but rather the result of various tactics and manoeuvres by the individual actors and their respective

groups. This appeared to be the case in Frontenac as the School Division attempted to resolve the issue concerning French programs, particularly the problem regarding the transfer of the immersion program out of the Lafontaine School.

The bargaining model used in this study consisted of three types which were applied to the analysis of the policy-making process. Their application is presented below.

The democratic bargaining type, as defined in this thesis, characterizes a political leader who is motivated by personal ambition, self-interest, and desire to please the majority of voters. The "democratic bargainer" generally seeks to be rewarded by re-election, and thus patterns his behavior to conform to the most popular trend or opinion among the electors at a specific time.

An analysis of the actions of the political-actors during the last few months of this study seemed to reveal that some trustees could be characterized by the "democratic bargaining" type. For instance, Marv Stanford first took one position during the controversy, namely, against the establishment of separate programs. Later, however, he changed to a stance favoring the split. The same could be said of Marie Jolie. Both of these trustees presented the final motion to have the programs separated, and yet, they presented the strongest voice of dissent when the proposal was first introduced by the Superintendent.

Whether their change of position was due to a desire to please the majority of the voters, or whether -- as these trustees actually asserted -- "there was no other alternative available" is a matter of speculation. However, they seemed to be the only trustees who did not maintain a consistent stand throughout the whole study, and seemed to be swayed ultimately

by vocal pressure groups -- in this case the parents' committees, the

teachers of Lafontaine, the Superintendent, and some of their colleagues

on the Board. Occasionally, too, during a critical meeting, Stanford was

absent. These times of absence may have been legitimate, or perhaps

he declined to be forced to make a public decision against his ideals

for the sake of popularity.

Trustees characterized by the democratic bargaining typology fur-

ther believe that their task is to represent the majority's views. For

instance, Art Moore declared:

> Anyone elected should listen to the parents -- within reason. The
> parents must be satisfied.

Thus, the democratic bargainer will tend to follow the Board policy-manual

which reads (F.P.M. 4.14):

> To interpret the educational needs and aspirations of the com-
> munity ...
> To maintain two-way communication with the various publics ...

The second type of political personality characterizing the bar-

gaining process in Frontenac was the pluralistic bargainer. This term

in the present study describes a decision-maker who responds sympathet-

ically to all legitimate parties in the political process. This typology

seemed to describe accurately the Superintendent, George Dixon. By vir-

tue of his position, he was forced to interpret and attempt to meet the

needs of many individuals and groups in the Division -- without threatening

the vital interests of each. Obviously, such a goal is seldom completely

achieved , but it appeared that Dixon constantly tried to accommodate the

interests of each participating group involved in the issues -- immersion

parents, "Français" parents, parents from Lafontaine School (English side),

staff, and trustees. He demonstrated keen perception -- in anticipating

consequences -- although some of the outcomes proved to be virtually

unanticipated; he has had to practice tactful diplomacy and astute

public relations skills; and he has had to be very sensitive to the

feelings and sentiments of staff and parents regarding the emotional

issue of the "French fact" in his Division. Most observers believe he

has been successful in these tasks.

The Superintendent was realistic about the need to promote co-

operation among a wide range of interests in order to keep the complex

system functioning. On the other hand, he was realistic about acknowled-

ging the political aspects of the controversies. Regarding the over-

crowding problem at Ecole Lafontaine, he declared (Frontenac, April 13,

1977):

> This is one problem which time itself will not solve, and any
> possible solution will probably disappoint and anger a number of
> people.

Thus, it appears that as a pluralistic bargainer, the Superinten-

dent was one of the influential leaders in the policy-making process.

This is true, not because he overpowered the trustees, staff, and parents

-- indeed his initial proposal regarding the immersion transfer was at

first defeated -- but because he was sensitive both to each group's con-

cerns and to the nature of intensive French education. He gave advice to

the board which: (1) reflected the wishes of each group, (2) the Board

as a whole could generally understand, and (3) he as a professional ad-

ministrator accepted.

The third type of political bargainer was the ideological bargainer,

described as a politician whose actions are consistently in accord with

his own ideological principles and system of values. Two of the trustees

in Frontenac are characterized by this typology.

One of these trustees, Jacques LaSalle, reflected a clear philosophy

which supported the survival and the maintenance of the "Français"

culture and language in Western Canada. The only way to prevent the as-

similation of the French culture, according to LaSalle, is to concentrate

on the school as the center of cultural and linguistic experiences in the

community. The influence of the church as a preserver of the faith and

the language has declined. Strong community or civic organizations have

dwindled, and many observers believe that the influence historically ex-

erted by the home has also decreased. The most viable means of promoting

the culture is therefore the school. If this assumption is accepted, then

it is unacceptable for anglophone and francophone elements to exist to-

gether and expect to meet their own objectives in the same school. The

anglophone culture will naturally tend to dominate because of the influence

of the surrounding milieu in Western Canada.

Ideologically, then, LaSalle held a firm and often-alleged extrem-

ist view. He insisted, however:

> We want different things than the immersion group. We want
> "Français" as a first language and culture. They want it as a sec-
> ond. Let them have good immersion programs -- but let us have good
> "Français" programs. The two must be separate in order to function
> properly.

Stan Fischer, the other trustee, represents an ideological bargainer

holding a firm philosophy as well. He similarly is an "extremist," in

that he tends to hold to his ideological principles seemingly regardless

of the cost. At the June 22, 1978 Board meeting, for instance, he main-

tained his position regardless of the fact that he was outnumbered by

trustees, that the audience ridiculed and laughed at some of his responses,

or that he literally had to vacate the premises in order to cause a loss

of quorum which prevented the passing of the motion he opposed.

Neither LaSalle nor Fischer seemed reluctant to sacrifice the

interests of his social group, or his political ambitions for his phil-

osophical principles. If an observer were to view the stance of one of

these trustees in admirable terms, that trustee would probably be labelled

as "determined, perseverant, and loyal." If on the other hand one would

hold that trustee's values in disrespect, such a trustee would probably

be termed a "stubborn bigot" or an "ignorant fanatic," regardless of

his particular ideals.

In addition to assisting in the categorization of the officials in

the actual policy-making process (the trustees and the Superintendent),

the bargaining typologies were also useful in describing the actions of

other actors who influenced the policy process at the Board level.

For instance, the parent committees of both "Francais" and immersion

groups exerted direct influence on School Board decisions. The spokesper-

son representing the "Français" Parents' Committee, for example, took the

role of an "ideological bargainer." She tenaciously demanded that the

Board satisfy the committee's request to transfer the immersion program,

threatening that, if not, the parents would resort to "other means" in

order to attain their goal.

The spokesman of the Immersion Parents' Committee, on the other

hand, was characterized more as a "democratic bargainer," in that he

tended to comply with popular opinion. He at first opposed the immersion

transfer; later, however, he changed his stand in favor of the move.

Other individuals or groups apparently persuaded him that the transfer was

advantageous. Several possible explanations exist for his change of be-

havior. One explanation is that he may have been willing to submit to the

"Français" demands, in return for a "trade-off": the promise by the Super-

intendent for a new, permanent immersion facility. Another explanation

is that he may have felt that to fight against such powerful odds (that

is, the Superintendent, the Principal, the staffs, the "Français" Parents'

Committee, and three trustees, as well as the precedents already set in

three neighboring school divisions) was fruitless; consequently, he de-

cided to give in to the dominant pressures -- sooner rather than later.

In any case, the Immersion Parents' Committee eventually joined the

"Français" Committee in supporting the transfer decision. The strong

voice of "pro-bilingual" parental protest was silenced.

Thus, the actors involved in policy making for French programs

in Frontenac participated in a bargaining process. Basically, the analy-

sis of this process revealed that parents who organized delegations and

pressure groups were accommodated by the School Board on almost every is-

sue. The Board -- in endeavouring to grant their requests -- could be

characterized by the "pluralistic bargaining" typology. The Board, on

the whole, was "pluralistic" in that it generally attempted to grant the

requests of every pressure group by formulating policy which covered a

broad range of interests.

The increase in scope of French programming policy in the Divi-

sion has not reduced conflict nor simplified problem-solving; but rather,

the problems have only been transferred to a lower policy level: the

administrative policy level. The major conflicts which arose at this

operational level of policy implementation dealt with the resolution of

such issues as the following: (1) Where should the programs be located?

(2) Should intensive programs be combined? (3) Which students may en-

rol in each program?

To solve these problems, the bargaining process came into opera-

tion, as each member of the policy-making system attempted to influence

Board decision-making. At the time of the conclusion of this study,
the "Pro-Français" group had been more influential in the recent politi-
cal-bargaining process in the School Division, than had the "pro-
bilingual" group. This trend was shown by the change in policy which
has tended to favor the "Français" community.

Pervasive Elements in the Policy-Making Process

The analysis of the policy-making process concerning French pro-
grams in the Frontenac School Division during the seven-year period reveal-
ed several pervasive elements which were common to almost every
incident which arose during that time. These elements are summarized
below.

Conflict. One element common to all of the incidents which
occurred in the Division with reference to French programming policies
was the existence of socio-political conflict. The key issue, concerning
the clash of values between the "pro-Français" and "pro-bilingual" groups,
culminated with the overcrowding situation in Lafontaine. The "pro-
bilingual" supporters led by Trustee Fischer refused to submit to the
"Français" demands until specific constraints forced them into a posi-
tion of compromise.

As a result of this ever-present conflict concerning the values
issue, the Board did not act as a single goal-oriented entity, using ra-
tional and objective decision-making. Each trustee acted according to his
own values, beliefs, and perceptions; and consensus was seldom reached.
Decisions often were made as the result of a one vote margin, because of
the operation of the "majority rule" principle in meetings.

Politics. The rational model of decision-making, as describ-
ed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, was largely inadequate in explaining how
decisions regarding French programs were made in the political system
of the Frontenac School Division. In a few cases -- when non-controver-
sial matters were at stake -- the purely rational approach provided a
helpful tool with which to analyze decision-making. Generally, though,
policy making did not follow the restricted linearity of the pre-ordered
steps of the rational approach.

Because of individuals' unique personalities and value systems,
and because of the constraints often present in the political world
(such as the imperfections of human fallibility, the lack of information,
the unknown factors and consequences, or the lack of resources), the ra-
tional approach was limited in helping to analyze the complexities of
policy making in the Frontenac situation.

The case in Frontenac demonstrates that although rationality is
a commendable and necessary goal to pursue, the real world of policy
making seems to be characterized more by "disjointed-incrementalism"
(Lindblom, 1968:108-109) and "satisficing" (Taylor, 1965:48-86). These
terms suggest that the ultimate decision is made on the basis of dis-
satisfying the fewest people as possible, and not by purely statistical
and orderly rationality or objectivity.

This "satisficing" was clearly illustrated by the events in
Frontenac concerning the initial abandonment and later re-establishment
of the "core" program. The initial rational alternative seemed to con-
sider the wishes of the school administrators as representing the desires
of the community. All information at the time seemed to point to this
alternative as the best. However, when parental delegations persuaded the

Board that the "core" French program was useful and desirable for many parents, the trustees rescinded their original motion. This example demonstrates the weakness of the "rational approach" in its usefulness to formulate or analyze policy.

Informality. Informal relationships between and among actors in the policy-making process in Frontenac and the results of "behind the scenes" events were crucial in the development and outcome of the conflict over French programming. Thus, the formal-organization approach or the institutional model (Dye, 1975:17-18) exhibited a serious weakness in analyzing policy making. For instance, the formal approach was inappropriate in explaining why two francophone trustees on the School Board almost constantly disagree, why they call each other "stubborn bigots," and why their basic perceptions and values are so different. Consequently, other approaches and models were required to help explain and analyze the process.

Resources and constraints. Another key element in the policy-making process throughout the time period of this study was the significance of political resources and constraints in the conflict. Individuals and groups involved in the policy-making system possessed and mobilized varying resources with which to support their demands in the bargaining process. With respect to the conflict of values between the "pro-Français" and "pro-bilingual" groups, the former appeared not only to possess more effective resources than the latter but seemed more willing to use them and seemed more skillful in their use, than did the "pro-bilingual" group. For instance, the "pro-Français" political resources (legislative authority, access to senior government officials, increased

status of "official language," loyalty of colleagues elsewhere, growing

morale and support of parental groups) were employed to sway the polit-

ical choices of the administration and School Board in Frontenac. The

"Français" supporters' ability to form coalitions, their determined attit-

ude, and their air of certainty to achieve results similar to those of

their colleagues in neighboring school divisions all combined to ultim-

ately sway the majority of Division support to their view.

However, to obtain a more complete understanding of the bargaining

process, one also must take into account the existence of political con-

straints in the policy process. The School Board, itself, was constrained

in dealing with the overcrowding situation at Ecole Lafontaine, because

tangible resources, such as sufficient school buildings, suitable property

sites, adequate financial backing, assistance from the Public School Fin-

ance Board, and sufficient time to explore all possible decision alterna-

tives were lacking. Moreover, intangible constraints also existed, such

as: lack of foresight into future consequences of decisions; disagree-

ment between conflicting interests; animosities, grudges and personality

conflicts; and differences among individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and

perceptions.

In addition, one group's resources could well be the opposing

side's constraints. For instance, the "Français" group's formation of a

coalition with the Immersion Parents' Committee -- who initially opposed

the request of the transfer of the immersion program -- weakened the "pro-

bilingual" group's opposition to the transfer. Thus, except for the

perseverant objection of the three,die-hard "pro-bilingual" trustees, the

balance of power in the School Division as of June 30, 1978, generally

favored the "pro-Français" views.

The Consequences of Policy Decisions

Each one of the policy decisions, whether dealing with general
or administrative policy, had consequences for the educational life of
the School Division. For example, the policy to offer "Français" pro-
grams in the "Français" school prompted francophones to take advantage of
the opportunity for intensive French exposure. This in turn prompted the
development of a total school-system transportation policy.

In another example, the availability of the "Français" school
and the increased national interest in bilingualism and immersion-French
prompted many anglophones to seek intensive French experiences for their
children at Ecole Lafontaine. Thus, an unofficial immersion group began
to form at the "Français" school and this program continued to expand
until   an overcrowding problem occurred. A policy motion was eventually
drafted to move the kindergarten classes of both "Français" and immersion
programs to a different school to alleviate the overcrowding at Ecole
Lafontaine. However, this policy caused hostility from the parents of the
community, who pressured the School Board to transfer only the immersion
program and not disrupt both intensive plans. In the end, the parental
wishes were granted: the board complied. These examples reveal that
policy decisions had both anticipated and unanticipated consequences.
Those policies which were not opposed by individuals or groups seemed to
remain; while those policies that were opposed by pressure groups were
generally changed.

Policy making at the School Board level followed a path set by
the political pressure exerted by vocal individuals and groups. Follow-
ing this uncharted path seemed to be largely a pragmatic matter consist-
ing of actions of initiation and response, as well as negotiation and

settlement, within the constraints existing in the environment. More often than not, however, the policy decisions made by the Frontenac School Division were a direct result -- not of innovative decision-making nor of creative experimentation -- but of response to a vocal or influential interest groups. The groups' motives reflected such factors as self-interest, ideological or philosophical concerns, individual beliefs and values, or possibly, personal vendettas and animosities between actors.

The Cycle of Policy Making: The Process Model

Jennings' process model (1977) proved helpful in providing a broad view for the analysis and interpretation of the events and actions in the policy-making process in Frontenac. Essentially, the analysis of the bargaining process involved in policy formation regarding French programming over the past ten years reveals that policy making occurred in a continuous cycle, characterized by two alternating stages: unrest by the community, and response by the Board. The central issue of the study will be recapitulated to illustrate the use of the model in tracing a series of stages which tend to repeat over time. The issue concerns the overcrowding problem at Ecole Lafontaine. The summary analysis is presented in point-form within Jennings' framework below:

1. Initiation of the process. Lafontaine opens; anglophone interest in immersion grows; francophone parents oppose assimilation; Loiselle, sensing opposition, advises Dixon; Special Committee formed; proposals presented for separate programs; community unrest erupts.

2. Reformulation of opinion. Opinions crystallize around values: francophones for "Français" only vs. francophones and anglophones for bilingualism; consolidation of views; groups form; leaders emerge: LaSalle et al vs. Fischer and Jolie et al; Dixon realizes "Français" group has

legal and influential support and resources -- thus recommends transfer of immersion as more feasible plan -- other alternatives are less feasible.

3. <u>Emergence of alternatives</u>. Dixon proposes moving immersion only; opposition by "bilingual group" (who offer other alternatives reflecting their viewpoints); teachers of Ecole Lafontaine and both parents' committees support Dixon's defeated proposal.

4. <u>Discussion and debate</u>. Board is split, intense debate; counter-motion proposed by Fischer <u>et al</u> (for moving both kindergartens and using portable classrooms); argument and conflict over separating the programs or combining them; time running-out, Fischer and Jolie block original motion by leaving meeting; end of school year approaching, parents threaten to boycott, a response demanded, trustees consult; P.S.F.B. denies request for portables; negotiation, bargaining among trustees.

5. <u>Legitimization</u>. Unanimous decision to accept Dixon's original proposal (Fischer absent, policy is legitimized June 29 for school-opening, September 1978).

6. <u>Implementation</u>. Policy is implemented by administrative policies, procedures, regulations, and directions. Victoire School is prepared, Loiselle is designated itinerant principal of both intensive programs.

7. <u>Initiation, again</u>. Because policy was "for the school year 1978-79 only" (F.S.B.M. 317/78) whole issue concerning location of immersion program may erupt again.*

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*Since September 1978, one of the "pro-bilingual" trustees has referred to the transferred immersion program at Victoire School as the "Lafontaine Extension," demonstrating his group's intentions of maintaining the mixed status of a dual-program. The "pro-Français" group, on the other hand, seem just as determined to keep the programs separate. LaSalle, for instance, declared: "I've heard that the immersion parents want to stay at Victoire". Thus, the whole issue is still unsettled.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide an analysis and interpretation of the events occurring in Frontenac School Division regarding School Board policy for French language programs.

The analysis of Chapter 5 was presented in relation to the initial research questions found in Chapter 1. The substantive or content component dealt with the questions involving the policy issues and the alternatives available. The process area considered the questions involving: the background environmental factors; the actors and their respective degrees of influence; the common considerations found throughout the study of the policy-process; and the consequences of the policy decisions.

The substantive component of the study, dealing with the policies themselves, was summarized in Table II: a list of the issues, together with the possible alternative decisions available to the Board for resolving these issues. The analysis of this substantive area revealed the following findings:

1. Only one key issue regarding French programming actually existed in the School Division. That issue arose over a conflict of values between "pro-Français" supporters and "pro-bilingual" sympathizers. The former desired autonomous "Français" schools being separate from other programs, as well as eventual equality with the anglophone majority regarding educational rights. The latter preferred a sharing and combining of intensive French programs -- "Français" with immersion -- so that mutual interaction between linguistic groups could occur.

2. School Board policy relating to French programming in Frontenac has become broader in scope during the past ten years. This broadening of policy has included provision for a diversity of programs: core, immersion, and "Français".

3. In making policy, the Frontenac Board has been very sensitive and responsive to almost all community interest groups. It has tended to emphasize the avoidance of community unrest.

4. Recently, French programming policy in Frontenac has shown an increasing trend toward the granting of "pro-Français" demands, and less to the satisfying of the "pro-bilingual" requests.

The analysis of the process component of the study -- dealing with the dynamics of policy making in Frontenac -- was also presented.

The analysis of the entire policy making process was considered in terms of the eclectic use of the seven analytical approaches and typologies described in Chapter 2. The systems approach proved helpful in organizing the initial over-view of the study of the process. However, the rational approach and the forml, institutional model were restricted in their ability to explain the complexities of the policy-making activities. The most accurate approaches for explaining the policy-making process in the Division were the political bargaining approach and Jennings' process model. These approaches assisted in the clarification, simplification, and categorization of the various facets of the process of policy formation regarding French programming.

Essentially, policy making in Frontenac was characterized as a pragmatic matter consisting of actions of initiative and response, as well as negotiation and settlement by various partisan actors within the constraints of the environment. The consequences of this bargaining process tended to lead to a continuous cycle of policy modification.

The overlapping stages in the cycle of policy making revealed in Frontenac were:

1. expression of unrest or discontent in community,

2. polarization of community and trustee opinion,

3. consideration of alternatives by trustees,

4. increased political activity: argument, debate, bargaining,

5. selection of policy alternative,

6. implementation of alternative at operational level, and

7. modification of policy when unrest emerges again.

The conclusions and implications of this study, together with recommendations for school jurisdictions concerning French in schools, are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the concluding chapter of this thesis is three-
fold: (1) to present conclusions derived from the findings of the study,
(2) to examine possible implications of these conclusions for school
jurisdictions with respect to policies for modern language programming,
and (3) to suggest recommendations for school boards intending to create
or modify policy in this area.

In order to discuss these concluding perspectives within the con-
text of the study, a recapitulation of the essential findings of the case
will first be presented.

THE FINDINGS RECAPITULATED

This study was an analysis of the historical and socio-political
circumstances facing a school division in Western Canada as it developed
policy for French programming in its schools. Seven major research ques-
tions were addressed in the study with respect to two general areas of
analysis. One area was the "content" aspect, relating to the actual poli-
cies of the School Division, the policy issues, and the alternative policy
decisions available to resolve these issues. The other area of analysis
dealt with the "process" component, relating to the on-going policy-
making activities occurring in the School Division.

The major findings of the study are summarized below in relation,
first, to the substantive or "policy" area, and, second, to the "process"
aspect. The findings are more thoroughly examined in Chapter 5 of this
thesis.

Findings Related to the Policies

      With respect to the substantive component of the case in Frontenac

School Division, the study revealed that:

    1. Only one key policy issue existed in the Division: the clash of
values between the "pro-bilingual" supporters and the "pro-Français"
advocates. Other conflicts or controversies that arose at various
times in the Division represented various aspects of this issue.

    2. School Board policy regarding French programming has gradually
become broader and more-inclusive. It has been modified over the past
ten years to include provision for immersion and "Français" programs.
Policy has not been static, but has undergone a continual evolution
over time.

    3. This policy modification has been largely due to the Board's
sensitivity and responsiveness to a plurality of community demands.

    4. Policy in the Division regarding French programming has shown a
gradual trend favoring "pro-Français" demands more than it has other
groups' sentiments.

Findings Related to Policy Making

      Analysis of the data related to the actual process of policy for-

mation in Frontenac School Division revealed that:

    1. The eclectic or multi-dimensional approach of analyzing policy
making was less restrictive than sole reliance on any single model.
More flexibility was permitted, and the strengths of various models
assisted in overcoming the limitations of others. The eclectic
approach allowed the analyst to use several perspectives to examine
the data, and to focus on specific facets of the process, not possible
when using a single model.
    The seven models used in the study are recapitulated and briefly
evaluated below:

    a. The systems approach. The systems approach was useful to the
writer in placing the over-all policy process in a general perspec-
tive within the Canadian socio-political environment. It clarified
how the Frontenac School Division was generally related to and in-
fluenced by various environmental factors. The systems model was
also helpful in generating initial research questions concerning
policy formation; however, it was limited in explaining the actual
process of policy development.

    b. The rational approach. The rational approach demonstrated that
human decisions are a result of the influence of specific factors
and conditions -- although these factors may be interrelated in a

very complex fashion. The rational model, like the systems approach, provided a preliminary, methodical plan with which to: (1) clarify and simplify analytical categories, (2) identify certain steps in decision making, and (3) offer a general overview of the policy-making process. The rational process, however, also proved to be inadequate in explaining actual policy-making activities in Frontenac School Division, since it tended to over-emphasize order, efficiency and stability, while de-emphasizing the political and personal factors involved.

c. The formal-organization approach. The formal model proved to be the least effective in analyzing the actual policy-making process occurring in the Frontenac School Division. It tended to ignore the informal and unofficial relationships and incidents which occurred in the community, and rather restricted the view to the formal lines of organizational authority. This approach, however, was beneficial in the early stages of the study -- as were the systems and rational approaches because of providing the general orientation to the study and assisting in the generation of preliminary research questions. Nevertheless, to analyze the dynamics of policy deveopment, the formal-organization method was largely ineffective, for it tended to ignore the effect of individual perceptions, values, and actions, as well as the political manipulations and strategies of interest groups.

d. The bargaining approach. (Three types). The bargaining approach was a useful model in analyzing the actual policy making in Frontenac School Division. It was most accurate in describing and explaining the political activity occurring in the School Division. This model conceptualized the local School Board as an arena within which various actors pursued varying goals, by using various resources. Decisions reached were outcomes of the bargaining process occurring among the actors -- each of whom had certain stakes in the conflict at hand.

Three types of political bargaining were outlined, reflecting three basic personality-types. Each of these typologies characterized several actors in the political system in Frontenac School Division. The three types were:
Democratic bargaining (describing political leaders motivated by the desire of the majority of voters, by self-interest, and by ambition); Pluralistic bargaining (describing political leaders who attempt to satisfy the desires of all groups in the political arena); and Ideological bargaining (portraying political leaders who operate according to a personal system of values or principles).

e. The process model. A seventh approach to the analysis of policy making used in this thesis was Jennings' (1977) process model. Essentially a rational plan, this model provided the researcher with a comprehensive approach by which to analyze the dynamics of the policy-making process. The cyclical framework of six overlapping policy-making aspects or steps provided a valid conceptualization of how the process actually operated for most of the policy issues arising during the time-period of the study in Frontenac School Division.

The process model helped to overcome the weakness of the rational approach, in that strict order and linearity of stages were replaced by a framework allowing for more flexibility in the order of the aspects of the process.

2. The first three approaches outlined above were useful in initially outlining the range of factors influencing policy making in the School Division. (They were the systems approach, the rational model, and the formal-institutional approach.) However, these "formal-rational" approaches were deficient in their ability to explain the complexities of the process in the School Division.

3. The most effective approaches in analyzing the dynamics of the process were the political bargaining typologies and the process model. These models were more beneficial than the others in assisting the researcher to: direct the inquiry into the process, to categorize and simplify the data, and to suggest relevant and meaningful explanations for the actions and events which occurred.

4. Essentially, the policy-making process concerning French programs in the School Division followed a cyclical pattern of recurring stages or aspects, alternating between periods of unrest or conflict in the community and periods of political bargaining and action by the School Board in reaction to this unrest. Policy was continuously modified, as this cyclical process was repeated over time.

5. The aspects or stages of this policy-making process in the School Division tended to follow a general order, but often,overlapping of these aspects was noted. The basic pattern of this process was evidenced repeatedly in the Division: community unrest arose, School Board response to this unrest yielded a policy decision, the community reacted positively or negatively to the policy, the Board reacted to negative community reaction with policy modification, and the whole process tended to begin again.

CONCLUSIONS

A limitation of the case study approach is that the findings are not generalizable to other cases in other locations and situations. Therefore, on the basis of the analysis conducted in this thesis, the following conclusions have been reached with respect to policy making related to French programming in Frontenac School Division.

Policy as a Product of Factors

One conclusion of this study is that policy results from a complex interrelationship of factors, and that no single element can be identified as the "sole cause" of policy. This study has demonstrated that the individual -- with his unique personality, values, attitudes, and perceptions -- is a key consideration in understanding policy making at the school board level. Individuals involved in the policy-making process interact with each other on the basis of their perceptions of and reactions to events and incidents which occur in their socio-political environment. Not only do peoples' perceptions tend to shape their interpretation of the environmental factors, but the factors may also modify individuals' perceptions and attitudes.

The factors which influence these perceptions regarding modern language programming in a jurisdiction's schools may arise at various levels: the national level, Quebec or other provinces, the provincial government level of the school jurisdiction's home province, neighboring regions of the province, and the local community, itself. At the same time, however, individuals, alone or in groups, tend to interpret this complicated web of events according to their existing values and perceptions and tend to behave in relation to them. According to these behaviors, the actors in the process of policy making at the school board level may be classified into various political-personality typologies. Three of these typologies describing how various participants might behave are: (1) the democratic bargaining typology, which portrays a political leader as one who operates in order to please the majority of the electorate, so as to gain re-election; (2) the pluralistic bargaining typology, which describes a political leader as one attempting to satisfy the whole range of

interests expressed various groups; and (3) the ideological bargaining typology, which pictures a political leader in terms of being motivated solely by his ideals, principles and values, but not necessarily by popular opinion or a need to meet all interests.

Hence, school division policy is the result of a process of political conflict and bargaining, within which individual actors, each representing a particular interest that may or may not be shared, pursue various goals with diverse resources.

Policy as a Pluralistic Response

A second conclusion of this study is that a school board, as a unit, by its nature, is sensitive and responsive to the demands of interest groups, particularly parental groups. With respect to modern language programming for schools, the process of policy making is largely a pragmatic matter of initiation and response, and negotiation and settlement, within the constraints and actions of a specific setting. Provincial law broadly dictates how a school board shall act, but how it acts in practice is determined by the use of political influence and control by individuals and groups in the community.

Interest groups that are organized and vocal in their demands generally achieve their objectives: the school board tends to grant their requests, particularly if the group has governmental support, or if precedents favorable to the group's position have been set elsewhere. Policy making by school boards today seems to be influenced by a pluralism of groups, whose vocal leaders use pressure tactics to persuade the majority of the board members to meet their demands. Thus, policy decisions tend to reflect the interests of an assortment of particular, vocal interest groups -- those who influence the policy makers. The trend regarding

modern language policy for school jurisdictions, is to provide for a grow-

ing diversity of programs.

If a school board endeavors to respond positively to a pluralism

of interests, then the program policy it produces will tend to become

increasingly broader in scope. However, as basic policy becomes more

inclusive, potential administrative problems are increased. To operation-

alize an all-encompassing, general policy requires detailed organization

and direction at the implementation level; and conflicts often arise at

this stage.

Consequently, the policy makers in school jurisdictions generally

spend much of their time and effort attempting to settle conflicts, re-

solve issues, solve problems, eliminate dissonance, and maintain or re-

store equilibrium at the administrative or procedural level. The goal of

decision-making by school boards is often more characterized by "disjointed

incrementalism" (Lindblom, 1968:108-109), than by enhancing personal and

group development; by "satisficing" (Taylor, 1965:48-86), than by facil-

itating genuine inter-group awareness, dialogue, and clarification of each

other's assumptions and values; or by hasty response to vocal demands,

than by innovative decision-making or creative experimentation.

Policy Making as a "Political-Rational" Process

A third conclusion of this study is that the policy-making process

in local school jurisdictions may be characterized as being both "politi-

cal" and "rational". It is political because of encompassing the realities

of the political world: discussion, debate, conflict, persuasion, negoti-

ation, influence and control. With respect to modern language program-

ming for today's school, policy is not final: it tends to be in a state

of gradual evolution , reflecting a continuing cycle. The cycle typical-

ly alternates between periods of discontent or demand by one or more

community groups, and periods of political activity by the policy

makers in response to these interest group pressures.

However, the policy-making process at the local school board

level is not only a political activity but it is also a "rational" pro-

cess, in that it typically consists of a series of overlapping compo-

nents or stages. The term, "rational," as used in this sense, does not

refer to the strict linearity of a prescriptive series of several "prob-

lem- solving" steps, often promoted by advocates of the rational model

of decision-making. Indeed, the restrictive and rigorous emphasis by

these adherents on such goals as: stability, efficiency, regulation,

and normality in policy making is unrealistic and indefensible. Empiri-

cally, policy making in local school jurisdictions -- although following

a general series of activities -- is simply not a mechanical process by

which a single, goal-seeking organism (the school board) objectively and

rationally formulates the optimum policy decision to resolve an issue.

A useful policy-making model which combines both notions of

"political" and "rational" is Jennings' (1977) process model. Jennings

has overcome the traditional over-emphasis placed by advocates of the

purely rational approach on rigid order and linearity by providing an over-

lapping set of steps or aspects in the process of policy making. Each

aspect of the process raises specific questions that must be addressed by

the policy makers in the school jurisdiction, before subsequent aspects

are dealt with. The six overlapping steps are outlined below:

1. <u>Initiation of the process.</u> Individuals or groups, dissatisfied
with a certain situation, appeal to the school officials or otherwise
make a demand. An issue arises.

2. <u>Reformulation of opinions.</u> Opinions in the community begin to

crystallize around specific issues. Groups form and leaders emerge. A consolidation of views occurs.

3. <u>Emergence of alternatives</u>. Each group presents possible alternatives to resolve the issue. The alternatives are weighed and considered by the school board.

4. <u>Discussion and debate</u>. Although argument and interaction occurs throughout the process, it intensifies at this point. Groups present and defend their alternative solutions. Bargaining, consultation, negotiation and conflict characterize this stage of the process.

5. <u>Legitimization</u>. The school board finally selects a policy alternative through majority vote. If a majority is not reached, the process reverts to activities characterizing aspects 3 and 4, above.

6. <u>Implementation</u>. The legislated policy leads to the development of specific administrative policy and procedures with which to operationalize the policy in the schools.

7. <u>Re-initiation of the process</u>. Generally, the implementation stage causes further dissatisfaction and new conflicts emerge, whereupon the process begins again, and the series of aspects tends to be repeated. If no unrest occurs, the policy tends to remain as "formal or official" policy in the jurisdiction.

The Eclectic Approach to Policy Analysis

A fourth conclusion of this study relates to the methodological aspect of analyzing policy making. On the basis of the research conducted in this thesis, the writer concludes that the eclectic approach to the study of policy making at the school board level provides an appropriate method of analysis. Each analytical model or approach can be applied eclecticly to the analysis of the policy process, and each model can be applied to the particular component of the process for which the model has been designed. A particular model, alone, is not sufficiently powerful to explain all the complexities in the total process; but the bargaining typologies and the process model, in particular, are helpful in suggesting explanations for various aspects of the policy-making process. The eclectic use of these analytical tools can serve to simplify and clarify the

complex process of political activity at the local school district level.

IMPLICATIONS

The conclusions of this study have implications for school juris-
dictions who may be revising or producing policy for French and other
modern language programs.

Provision for Interaction

One implication relates to the interaction among participants in
the political bargaining process. If it is assumed that policies for
language programs are the product of individuals within a complex socio-
political environment interacting in an arena of political bargaining, then
the individual and his interaction become the focus of attention. How
policy-makers perceive, interpret and react to the multiplicity of factors
relevant to a policy issue will ultimately determine the outcome of
policy. Therefore, in order to enhance communication and clarification
of each individual's or group's ideas and values in this interacting pro-
cess, and in order to avoid, or at least to reduce, misconception, mis-
interpretation, stereotyping and prejudice, policy makers must engage in
authentic dialogue to ensure that all members' views are clearly under-
stood.

Provision must be made for all participants in the policy-making
process both to present their arguments, and to examine the claims of
other members. The policy issues, the policy alternatives, the value
positions of individuals and groups, and the consequences of various en-
vironmental influences must be thoroughly explored and articulated in
order that policy-makers may address policy questions with knowledge of
the issues and their causes. If these provisions are made, then all de-

mands, issues and ideas can be publicly scrutinized and critically

analyzed by relevant actors in the policy arena.

The promotion of values clarification and public defense of ideas

will tend not to reduce conflict, but will no doubt sharpen it. Never-

theless, the policy issues will be more clearly defined and the protago-

nists' positions will be more precisely delimited.

Provision for Diversity of Programs

A second implication of this study for school jurisdictions is

related to the current trend toward the broadening of modern language

policy to provide for a diversity of programs. If school boards continue

to play a responsive role by satisfying a pluralism of community demands,

policy will gradually tend to provide for a wider diversity of modern

language programs. Therefore, if the multi-cultural nature of Canada is

to be stressed, then school trustees and administrators will not only have

to consider the question of the "two founding nations" of Canada's his-

tory, but they will have to look beyond this duality.   School language

programs must not be restricted to only core, immersion, or "Français",

but school boards need to seriously consider the implications of providing

for other languages as well. Indeed, students in Canadian schools should

be provided with the opportunity to "become competent in multiple cultural

systems" (Gibson, 1976:9).

A consequence of this view for the English-French question in

Canada is that instead of focusing on two cultural or ethnic groups, which

leads to pigeon-holing and stereotyping, emphasis should rather be placed

on individuals and their acquisition of competence in varying cultures.

Dichotomies are thus eliminated, and fuller appreciation of several cultur-

es is permitted. This wider view will emphasize more than formal school-

ing, out will perceive education in a broader context. Thus, the acqui-

sition of multiple cultural competencies will be promoted, not inhibited.

For example, "Français" schools, for those desiring to increase their

competence in French as first language, will be accepted -- along with

immersion programs for those wanting to acquire competence in French as a

second language. There will be room for both. However, cultural plural-

ism will not be preoccupied solely with "Français" and immersion, but

will also be engaged in providing programs for groups of individuals desir-

ing to learn other languages, as well. This diversity of programs will

help satisfy the needs and desires of the many cultural and ethnic groups

in Western Canadian communities -- who together with English and French

Canadians -- have shared in Canada's history and development.

An Emphasis on the Socio-Political Realities

With respect to formulating policy providing for a diversity of

language programs, school officials are required to consider the political,

social, and individual factors involved in the process. These factors are

indicated by following questions, which will have to be faced:

1. If trustees represent the community, what groups in the community?
Who desires each language program? What groups are most influential?
Why?

2. What alternative plans are most important? Who proposed each al-
ternative? For what reasons? Are these reasons important?

3. When the ideals of rationality and objectivity exhibit limitations,
what procedures determine the consideration and selection of alterna-
tives? What alternatives are considered seriously? Why?

4. What determines the "best" policy alternative? Who exerts more
influence on this decision?

5. What factors determine if a policy is withdrawn? continued? or
modified?

The events in Frontenac School Division regarding the French programs in the schools have indicated that these questions appear to be more important than the goal of rational decision-making. The political and social situation not only significantly influences policy making, but it largely determines the agendas and procedures to be used in the rational component of the process.

The Necessity of a Rational Approach

Recognizing the social-political realities of a situation does not suggest that rational or systematic decision-making is to be ignored. Rationality should be a characteristic of policy-making activity. Assuming that it is the school board's duty to interpret accurately the educational aspirations of the local community through the formulation of policies, then the following rational plan could be employed:

1. the community attitudes and preferences should be systematically assessed to determine to what extent various modern-language programs are desired;

2. these needs must be related to the resources available, and alternative plans for meeting these needs must be generated;

3. discussion, open-debate, and critical analysis of the proposed policy-alternatives should occur. Political influence will doubtless be exerted -- but thorough and methodical planning must be stressed as a basic concern;

4. selection and implementation of the most warranted policy decision should occur -- under an on-going monitoring process which evaluates the consequences of the policy-impact; and

5. in the light of this policy assessment, the existing policies should be re-considered for continuation, withdrawal, or modification.

For a school board to rely solely on a rational approach to policy making, however, would seriously limit the effect of its deliberations. The social, political, cultural and individual variables must also be recognized as operating in the process.

Provision for Human Development

A fifth implication derived from the conclusions of this study relates to how school officials view the policy-making process in their jurisdiction.

The writer has attempted to show from this study that a realistic view of policy making with respect to the modern language field of education is not a dichotomous one of "rational vs. political" -- but rather a view which sees these two factors as a complementary and complex blend. To attempt to separate them is not only unwarranted, it is often impossible. Assuming, then, that policy making is both rational(rather than unpremeditated and haphazard) and political (rather than void of individual influence and group pressures), an appropriate conception of the policy process would not be preoccupied with one of these aspects at the exclusion of the other.

Accepting the political aspect of policy making as an expected and essential component would alter policy makers' assumptions and behaviors. For instance, rather than viewing the conflict over community preferences as symptoms of disorderly, chaotic or "pathological" behavior, school officials could, at least, acknowledge that conflict is to be expected, and could also attempt to use it to promote cognitive, moral and social development among the individuals involved in the process. Dissonance, according to developmental psychologists, is a necessary step to all human development, and must therefore not be considered in terms of "eradication at all costs". Only when individuals experience cognitive or moral dissonance will they accommodate new ideas into their existing mental "schemata." Thus, to undergo attitude change and to reach higher stages of cognitive development, individuals must encounter a discrepancy between their existing cognitive state and new ones.

The process of interaction and public debate concerning the various language programs may serve to priorize alternatives and modify individual attitudes that previously may have been uncritically accepted and unexamined. If individuals can be more open about their values, and be willing to accept critical analysis of them, then attitudinal change will tend to occur. Actors involved in policy making for schools need to know these facts, but what is more, they need to experience the developmental process themselves.

However, if personal animosities and ethnocentric rivalries in a school jurisdiction have built up to such an extent that any action is stifled and a veritable impasse exists, then the dissonance will have to be reduced. The solution to such problems of dissonance-reduction, however, should not be based on assumptions characterized by dicothomous extremes of the "right - wrong", "win - lose" or "health - illness" variety, but rather on shaping the solution so that all parties in the conflict can be understood, and so that all parties can be benefitted in some way. In the case of providing for modern-language programs in schools, the most prudent action is that trustees and administrators should seek to provide a diversity of programs, in order to meet the diversity of cultural and linguistic preferences in a community. Thus, to reduce dissonance in the community might be the most appropriate decision in specific situations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the implications of the study which were discussed in the previous section, the writer offers the following recommendations for school jurisdictions in Western Canada who may be formulating or revising French and other modern language program policy for their schools.

1. ᵀf school leaders assume that school boards are to be representative

of the public they serve, then a school division should determine the

preference of the entire community concerning the types of modern language

programs desired for students.

2. If education officials assume that a realistic view of policy making

emphasizes the political aspect of the process, then sole preoccupation

with the qualities of efficiency, rationality, order, and normality will

be avoided.

Instead, the existence of partisan bargaining will be acknowledg-

ed and policy making will be considered as serving the interests of cer-

tain groups in local situations. Furthermore, the process will be viewed

as being situation-specific and not widely applicable elsewhere, so that

emphasis on the local political situation will overrule excessive concern

for formal, objective principles of generalizability. Considering policy

making in these terms will prevent policy makers from being aloof from

the social and political realities of their specific locality. The exis-

tence of conflict will be accepted, and the requisites for the develop-

mental process will be provided, namely, opportunities for the individual

to interact with his environment, concerning specific policy issues.

3. If educational administrators assume that cultural pluralsm* (Gibson,

1976) is a goal of Canadian life and that Canada's ethnic or cultural

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*Cultural pluralism in this thesis is defined not as: (1) benev-
olent paternalism of the majority, (2) stressing differences or ignoring
similarities among all cultural groups, (3) assimilation or fusion (the
"metling-pot" view), nor (4) biculturalism; but rather as a process
whereby the person develops competencies in multiple cultural systems.
This definition emphasizes an exploration of differences among members of
any cultural group, as well as similarities of individuals across cultural
and ethnic lines.

unrest is typical of a nation on its way to development into a cultural-
ly pluralistic society (Havighurst, 1974), then efforts must be made to
provide a diversity of programs, within the constraints of provincial
legislation and available school jurisdiction resources. On the other
hand, if school division officials assume, as does the Liberal party, that
Canada is a "duality of nations", and that multilingualism should be
pursued "within a bilingual framework," then "Français" schools will be
made autonomous and equal with English schools. If both of these values
exist in a community, then conflict will arise and some form of compromise
will have to be reached between and among these differing views. Ulti-
mately however, language policy will not only have to provide for both
types of intensive French programs, but will also make provision for core
French and other modern language programs.

4. If school jurisdiction officials believe that interaction, dissonance,
and debate are necessary to promote individual and group development -- be
it cognitive, social, or moral -- then provision will be made to permit
dialogue, argument and genuine social interaction among policy-making
participants, concerning the resolution of genuine policy problems. Also,
there will be a decline in fear and avoidance of individual and group dis-
sonance, and an emphasis on encouragement of community participation,
discussion, and social discourse. To consider community dissonance, con-
flict or interaction as evil or pathological is to deny individuals the
essential aspect of the developmental process.

Indeed, if adequate time and conditions are not provided for
members of the policy-making group to mutually interact regarding the
issues, then individual development and attitudinal change will tend not

to occur.* Ethnocentric attitudes, prejudice and stagnation of ideas

will continue to predominate. If, on the other hand, school leaders were

to accept the assumptions of developmentalism, the writer anticipates

that educational leaders would increasingly engage in policy discussion,

debate and analysis, and that the values and issues involved in the pro-

cess would be more clearly understood by all members of the policy making

body.

If this interaction occured, then Havighurst's (1974) research

could well be applicable to Canada's current national-unity problems.

The dissension and conflict over bicultural and muticultural relations

could then be perceived as signs of the stage in the development of a

nation preceding the final stage. This final stage of development would

occur when members of Canadian society seek to live together in amity and

mutual understanding: co-operation would exist but separate cultures

would be maintained. The goal represented by the slogan, "unity in

diversity," would then become a reality. If educational leaders value the

virtues of tolerance, mutual acceptance, and co-operation, then "unity in

diversity" is, indeed, a goal worth pursuing.

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*For example, one trustee in Frontenac School Division reported:
"We really never have all sat down and openly discussed these matters to-
gether in one place. It would help." Another trustee declared: "There
was a feeling of distrust created when some of them [trustees] had private
meetings with the parents....Why shouldn't all of us have been included?"

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Superintendent, Assistant-Superintendent, Secretary-Treasurer

1. What are the critical issues which have arisen in your community
with regards to Board policy concerning French language opportunities
in the schools? (Some issues may be suggested from the tentative
list of issues.)

2. What are the factors which have given rise to each of the issues?

3. How did the School Board respond to each issue? (What decisions
were made? What alternatives were available to them? How were the
decisions made?)

4. Who seemed to influence the policy decision to the greatest extent?
Who opposed it?

5. What were the results of each of these decisions? (Board agree-
ment? Administrator reaction? Staff? Community?)

6. What characteristics, if any, seem common to the policy-making
process in this Division?

7. Why do the trustees react in the way that they do concerning the
issues?

8. If policies have changed, why have they changed? How?

Principal of "Français" School, Principal of "Immersion" School

1. What issues have arisen in the community which have influenced
Board policy with respect to the French program offered in your school?
(Some issues may be suggested from the tentative list of issues.)

2. What background factors seem to be related to each issue?

3. Do you feel the School Board responded wisely to each of these issues? Comment on your response.

4. Who seems to exert the most power in the policy decisions of the board? Who opposes them?

5. Are you satisfied with the current situation as it exists in your program? Why or why not?

6. Are the staff, students, and parents satisfied with the current program? Why or why not?

7. What do you think needs to be done in the future regarding French programs in your school? in the Division?

8. What are the criteria for student admission to your school? Are there any refusals or drop-outs? How are they handled?

9. Would you explain how the teaching of culture and religion is conducted in your school? (What is the reaction?)

10. Do advisory groups exist in the community? Do they function?

School Trustees (Chairman, two francophone, and two anglophone members)

1. What issues have arisen in the Division during the past five or six years with respect to the provision of French programs in the schools? (The tentative list of issues may be used for suggestions.)

2. What factors have influenced the appearance of these issues?

3. How did the Board handle each of these issues?

4. Who seemed to exert the most influence on these decisions? Why? Who opposed it?

5. Do you feel they were the best decisions? Why or why not?

6. What were the consequences of these decisions?

7. How do you feel this Board functions with respect to the develop-

ment of French language policies?

8. ...

<u>Parents (spokesmen for Francophone Parents' Committee, Immersion Parents'</u>
<u>Committee, Kindergarten-Entry Parents' Committee; two anglophone parents,</u>
<u>two francophone parents</u>)

1. What issues have arisen in the community with respect to provision
of French programs for students? (The tentative list may be used for
suggestion s.)

2. Are you concerned about any of these issues? Which ones? (for
example, culture? religion?) Why?

3. Are you satisfied with the way the School Board handled this
(these) issues(s)? Why or why not?

4. Who seems to exert the most influence regarding these policy-
decisions? Why?

5. What changes, if any, would you like to see in School Board
policy regarding French programs?

6. ...

<u>Teachers</u>

1. What do you feel are some of the recent issues which have arisen
in the Division with respect to French programs in Schools? (Use
tentative map, if required)

2. What has influenced the development of these issues?

3. How did the School Board respond to these issues?

4. Who do you think influenced these decisions? Who do you think
opposed them?

5. Are you satisfied with current policy? Why or why not?

6. Should it be changed? Why or why not?

7. Do you like teaching in the program you are now in? Why or why not?

8. What issues concern you most? How could they be rectified? (Use tentative list for suggestions.)

9. ...

Department of Education Officials

1. What is the purpose of the French Division of the Department of Education?

2. Describe your position in the organization.

3. Is this office achieving its goals for the schools in the province? Comment.

4. In what areas is more work required?

5. What area seems to be of most concern to school divisions? (school boards, teachers, parents)

6. How are French programs funded in the province?

7. Are curriculum materials available? adequate?

8. ...