

TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN INTO AN URBAN SCHOOL

SETTING

BY

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

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Abstract

The Manitoba Government and the Winnipeg School Division #1 has for sometime expressed support for the principles that cultural diversity is an important and valuable aspect for adding to and enriching the quality of life in the province. The new Manitoba Education Multicultural Policy and that of Winnipeg School Division #1 are a case in point. Teachers as well as struggling with the day by day difficulties in the classroom must also come to an understanding of their ethnically diverse student population in relation to policies, program, teaching practices, and their own behaviours; all of which exist within a wide range of interpretations. Within this bewildering social context teachers are expected to tend to the practical day by needs of all the students within a largely immigrant school enrollment.

The study draws attention to how a group of teachers perceive and respond to one set of issues relative to immigrant education. It points to how teachers view their role during the placement, assessment and program development for immigrant children. Drawing upon qualitative research methodology and ethnographic techniques, the study focuses on bringing attention to individual teaching behaviours in order to better understand why teachers do what they do. The findings consider teacher autonomy, isolation, and survival, related to the powerlessness of teachers in establishing some control and integrity related to their individual teaching behaviours.

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Chapter I.

Rationale for the Study

Throughout its history Canada has been a country of immigrants, rich in ethnic diversity. Many Canadians (it cannot be said the majority) share the belief that a commitment to the understanding and preservation of our cultural diversity is what evokes the best of Canadian tradition. The attempts of the past decade to transfer the reality of Canada's pluralistic society into education practice has met with a degree of mixed results. The implications of immigrant children entering Canadian schools have significant implications on the whole of education.

On the last Census Day, June 1st 1981 there were 3.8 million immigrants in Canada, making up 16% of the population. The Canadian Statistical Review states that out of the 84,253 immigrants who came to Canada in 1986, 3,415 of them came to Manitoba. Out of Winnipeg's 1981 total population of 578,625, the 1981 census shows that 110,915 (19.2 %) were immigrants; Statistics Canada defines an immigrant as a resident of Canada who is not a citizen by birth. In the latest quarterly report (January to March of 1987) Statistics Canada records a total of 32,354 new immigrants to Canada. Of this total 1,097 declared Manitoba as their intended destination. Of the total number of 1,097 immigrants coming to Manitoba, 95 were listed as dependent children and 202 as students. The significance of immigration patterns such as this is important when they finally comes face to face with the reality of children entering schools.

At this point each statistic becomes an individual human being who must adapt to a new political, economic, and social environment. Often it

will be the school and the classroom teacher who determine the long term outcome of the child's first encounters in Canada.

A structured, graded curriculum and a norm of age-grade promotion is based upon the assumption that at each grade level children will have been exposed to and acquired (in varying degrees) the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, embedded in the preceding year's curriculum. Within an existing school system (particularly one that is highly heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, class and so on) there will be problems, and when children arrive into the system part way through their school careers, as immigrant children often do, the problems become increasingly traumatic.

The school curriculum is generally not based on the assumption that children come to school devoid of experience or without some skills; nor that what children will be tested on, is only that which is actually taught and learned in school. Rather, school expectations and evaluations are based on the child's total experience. A school curriculum is also based on a degree of commonality and uniformity of experiences, in and outside of the school environment. For any child these assumptions can create difficulties. The immigrant child whose experiences may be incongruent, is placed in a even exceedingly difficult situation. In the proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development held in 1977, Samuda and Crawford (1980) write:

" Students from ethnic minority backgrounds are unduly penalized by... invalid methods of evaluation, which fail to recognize or take into account patterns of cognitive and affective functioning derived from non- Canadian background... Information on the nature of academic assessment and placement of ethnic minority group students would provide a systematic basis for addressing and dealing effectively with a major area of discontent" (p.55)

The first concrete experiences that a child has when he or she confronts the school is likely to have have urgent and significant implications for the rest of the school career. The critical juncture of the initial period of adjustment is the process of reception, assessment, and placement of the new child. These first encounters with regards to the integration of the child are likely to influence positively or negatively, the continuing educational and developmental needs of the child. How classroom teachers respond to the challenge is the focus of the study.

The Problem Statement

The purpose of this study is to examine the way in which selected, elementary teachers from one particular school in Winnipeg School Division #1 perceive and respond to the issues and difficulties related to the reception, assessment, and program development for immigrant children. The study contextualizes these issues at both the governmental and division levels but recognizes the influence of the classroom teacher as the primary

focus of the research. Specifically, the study looks at the following questions:

1. How do classroom teachers make sense out of, and respond to, the task of the reception, orientation, and assessment of the immigrant child?

2. How do classroom teachers reassess and plan for the continuing educational needs of the child?

3. How do classroom teachers interpret and meet the continuing program needs of the child?

Although teachers have a degree of autonomy within their classrooms they do operate within a wide system relating to policy, resource allocation, and support staff for example, which provides a context for the action and behaviour of individual teachers.

1. What is the role of both the central School Division and the Principal's administration with regards to the placement, assessment and program development of the child?

2. What is the role of the ancillary school personnel relative to the issue?

Methodology

The research was guided by the principles of qualitative research methodology with an ethnographic orientation. This perspective seeks to understand behaviour from an individual teacher's particular frame of reference. For this reason it was decided to conduct the research in one school with a small number of participants in order to provide a more detailed context in which to explore the experience of teachers. Spradley

(1983), specifies that the methodology provides the means with which to study experience:

Ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The essential core of this activity aims to understand another way of life from the native point of view. The goal of ethnography, as Malinowski put it is to "grasp the the natives' point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world (1922:25)...The essential core of ethnography is this concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people we seek to understand. Some of these meanings are directly expressed by language, and many are taken for granted and communicated only indirectly through word and action. (p.1)

After a three month period of entry and participant observation an interview schedule (follows at the end of this chapter) was designed and the interview process begun which occurred over a period of two and a half months. This interview process was the primary means of collecting the data and was conducted in the teachers' own work environment of the school and classroom. The researcher collected as rich and detailed data as possible through in-depth interviews and participatory observation in the classroom to develop an interpretive understanding of the meaning teachers attach to their behaviour. There was at first a period of entry and participant observation in the school, prior to the formal interviewing process for the purpose of becoming familiar with the environment in which the teachers worked and to establish a degree of rapport and trust necessary for successful, candid interviews. All twelve of the teachers who, by choice, became involved were interviewed at least four times. The interview schedule was used for each of the following two circumstances:

1. If the opportunity arose to follow one particular child along with the receiving teacher through the actual process of reception, assessment and

program development in a longitudinal manner the schedule was employed in the following sequence:

1. Introductory observation followed by an interview to become acquainted with the particular teacher's background, teaching ideology, and general views on multiculturalism.

2. An interview immediately following the first day of school for a new child to discuss the initial assessment, placement and orientation concerns

3. A subsequent interview approximately one week later to discuss long term plans for academic, program, and social developmental concerns

4. A final follow up interview one month later to discuss the evaluation of the progress to date.

2. If the opportunity did not arise to actually follow a child and teacher through the process of reception, assessment, and program development the same interview schedule was employed but the timing and pacing remained flexible because teachers were responding from memory and past experience and not immediate circumstance.

Participants and Setting

Participants in the study were twelve teachers from grades three, four and five at R.D. Usher, an Inner City school. This school is located within Winnipeg School Division #1 and was chosen because of its large enrollment of immigrant children. 62% of R.D. Usher's population of nearly 900 were born outside the country (R. D. Usher Handbook, 1986). This percentage includes Filipino, Portuguese, Vietnamese, Chinese, Laotian, East Indian, Cambodian, Greek, German and Polish children. This particular school is one of the larger elementary school in Manitoba and has one the largest teaching and ancillary staff (64 persons). Teachers from the elementary level of grades three, four and five were invited to participate after a written and oral overview of the planned study has been presented to the entire staff for clarification. (Appendix 1). Only the grade three, four, and five teachers were selected as the focus because within the school as part of Division policy the early childhood program has in place a quite distinct placement and assessment program (Early Identification Program) and the grade six classes are preoccupied with preparation for Junior High and were not able to provide the time commitment at the time of year the study was being conducted. This did not mean that the remaining teachers were not interested in the study and were consulted on an informal basis providing a valuable source of background information. In addition there were informal interviews and consultation with teaching aids, ethnic liaison officers, Heritage Language teachers, and the English as a Second Language consultant for the purpose of providing additional important information by elaborating

upon the activities and practices raised by the classroom teachers. Agencies such as the Child Guidance Clinic and Core Area Initiatives were also contacted for additional information.

Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this study is clearly not to develop generalizations regarding Winnipeg School Division # 1 policy and programs relating to immigrant children but rather to provide an in depth look at how this particular issue affects the daily lives and behaviour of teachers in one specific school. This study does not deal directly with the child's personal experience. Such a concern, while obviously crucial to the impact of schooling, raises complex ethical questions of research design, and lies beyond the scope of this study. It is considered important, however, to conduct a study such as this because the way in which a teacher structures his or her classroom and responds to the issues provides the framework in which the child is likely to perceive the classroom experience.

Significance of the Study

Teaching is a complex activity and every teacher must face a multiplicity of problems. There is rarely time available for teachers to be able to conduct "action research" in their individual classrooms. It is hoped that this study will contribute to professional development by providing a focus for reflection upon program planning and evaluation with regard to immigrant children. The study may develop an appreciation of the ways in which teachers make sense of their everyday life work. There will also be

an opportunity for an exchange of ideas and the sharing of expertise found in the literature. The interpretation of the data will be made available to the participating school and will provide a basis for further discussion and analysis.

Definitions

Operational Definition of the Provincial Government and the Winnipeg School Division #1

1. Immigrant (as defined by The Manitoba Regulation 1/86 Section 26 and as adopted by The Winnipeg School Division #1)

"immigrant pupil" means a pupil:

a) whose status in Canada is that of a refugee, landed immigrant, or a Canadian Citizen who has not attended school in Canada

b) who is unable to receive regular classroom instruction because of limited proficiency in the English language

c) who has been receiving instruction in the English language in Canada for two years or less at the elementary grade level, or three years or less at the secondary level

d) who is enrolled in Kindergarten or grades 1 to 12

This definition was designed by the government to provide a funding mechanism for E S L programming.

2. Recent immigrant: As defined by the Division and Government for funding and program purposes as a child who has been in Canada two years or less.

3. Immigrant child as operational to researcher: Children who are newly arrived to Canada and whose previous school experiences(if any) have been in a non-Canadian setting.

Immigrant Child as Understood by Many Teachers Within R.D. Usher School(this definition emerged as the study developed)

An understanding by many of the teachers and Principal includes all those children who are born outside Canada and are funded as E S L students, those students who have received E S L instruction but are now in regular classrooms, those immigrants born outside of the country who do not require E S L instruction(United States,West Indies), those immigrants who are born outside Canada and are newly arrived but are not placed in an E S L classroom, and those children who were born in Canada of parents who were born in another country (for example, at R.D. Usher School this goes as far back as the first Portuguese children who came along with their parents in the early 1960's).

3. Regular Classroom at R. D. Usher School: An age-grade placement situation with accountability to the existing provincial curriculum guidelines. The students appear on the home room register and are the primary responsibility of that teacher. The majority of the children remain with the teacher for the entire day except for library, gym, or Heritage language instruction. In some cases an immigrant child may be in a regular class for one half of the day and an E S L class for the other half.

4. E.S.L. Classroom (abbreviation for "English as a Second Language"): a classroom where children deemed to have a limited proficiency in English are taught the language, most often with a particular methodology and learning materials. There is special funding for these children (\$660 per annum for Grades 1 to 12 and \$330 per annum for the kindergarten year)

These students are referred to the Central registry of the Winnipeg School Division #1 Superintendent's department by principals, teachers and agency personnel.

At R.D.Usher the immigrant children placed in the E S L classroom may receive instruction full-time for the entire year, or half time for the entire year . There are no standard measurements that determine when a child leaves one situation for another. The decision is made on an discretionary basis by the E S L teacher and factors such as enrollment, determined by the Principal .

5. Operational Definition of Placement at R.D.Usher:

(this definition developed as the study progressed)

Placement refers to what happens to the child within the first day or days upon entering the school. Teachers define placement as the paper work and decisions that are generated in the office by the secretary, migrancy teacher and the Principal. When the child arrives at the classroom door the teachers consider that aspect complete and refer to the orientation of the child at this point. Each new child (except for those who have been immediately placed in an E S L classroom) goes to the migrancy teacher for as little as an hour or up to and including several days for that part of the placement process related to reception to the school and if requested by the Principal, some informal testing.

6. Operational Definition of Assessment at R.D. Usher School: (this definition developed as the study developed)

Assessment is a broad term that has both expedient and long term implications as related by teachers. Teachers see the first level of

assessment as that procedure done by the Principal and Migrancy teacher necessary in placing the child. Classroom assessment for teachers includes standardized tests, teacher made unit tests, anecdotal records, specialized tests from the Resource teacher, and reports from the child support agencies.

7. Operational Definition of Program Development at R.D.Usher School:

(this definition developed as the study progressed) Program has a composite definition relating to individual classrooms as one category and then to the broader definition related to the school, and Division. Teachers refer to the term program in as narrow a sense as "my reading program" or as broad as the "multicultural program of the school" or the "new effective schools program " brought about by the Division.

Interview Schedule

Reception, Assessment and Reassessment

1. What will you do to prepare for the arrival of the new child?
2. What do you perceive as the common difficulties when the new child arrives?
3. How will you begin to integrate the child in to your classroom?
4. What immediate criteria will you take into account as you assess the child's skills and abilities?
5. What assistance may you solicit during the orientation period and for what reasons?
6. How will you determine the degree of success you have had in the initial and later, the ongoing, assessment of the child?

7. What things will you do, that you normally would not do, during this period of orientation?

8. What kinds of documentation may you expect to receive? Which of these do you find most useful?

Academic and Social Program Development

1. How might you adapt your program to meet the needs of the new child?

2. How will you assist the child in developing the social skills necessary for the new environment?

3. In what ways can you individualize your program and in what ways may you determine that this is not feasible or appropriate?

4. What outside resources may you use ?

5. What involvement may there be in your program for parents?

6. Which multicultural perspective do you adhere to when you plan your program?

Chapter II

Literature Review

How Teachers Perceive and Respond to the Reception, Placement, Orientation, Assessment, and Continuous Program Development for Immigrant Children

In the now extensive literature describing the education of immigrant children in both Canada and the United States, the issues of reception, placement and orientation have received only limited attention. On most occasions where the concerns are mentioned they are treated in a generally cursory and superficial manner. In addition the three issues of reception, placement and orientation are not integrated but treated largely as distinct and separate aspects.

Most literature investigates the issues from the broad context of immigrant education, or cross-cultural studies, and is relevant to this study in terms of the development of a contextual perspective (Bhatnagar 1976). Program development related to immigrant concerns appears in the literature as a small heading under the topic of curriculum development (Stenhouse, 1976, Tanner & Tanner 1980, Schubert, 1986) or it is included as a chapter in a general anthology of immigrant issues (McDiarmid, 1975, Robinson, 1984).

Many of the psychological implications that relate to immigrant education are considered ; ranging from children's rights from a cross-cultural perspective (Maseman, 1979), to learned helplessness and the immigrant child (Perry, 1976), implications of nonverbal behaviour for

immigrant children (Wolfgang, 1981) to the importance of self esteem in acquiring the English language (Berryman, 1984). While it is generally premised by each author that a good beginning is critical for each immigrant child, this psychological aspect of the literature, usually focuses on the child after the difficult period of placement, orientation and assessment has ended.

Placement

The issue of orientation and placement of immigrant children is treated in general terms by the literature under themes of "adjustment", "cultural adaptation" or "culture shock." Placement appears to be the process of placing the child in the appropriate academic environment. Orientation is the welcoming and initial adjustment stage and is often discussed as part of placement. Orientation and placement are regarded as important issues based on the following assumptions: first of all that crucial decisions are made about placing the child into an appropriate program, and, second, that placements are made in response to the need for appropriate resources to be made available for that child's education. The Toronto Board of Education Issue Paper on Multiculturalism, 1974, expresses a viewpoint that how a child is received into the school will have academic and social implications for the child's future. In general terms, coupled among other general psychological implications, the literature speaks of the need for immigrant children to feel welcome in order to develop positive self esteem as a prerequisite to academic success (Berryman, 1984). Under the broad category of adjustment, the literature generally agrees upon the descriptive and nature of the difficulties many immigrant children face. The following account is typical:

"The culture of the home and community - including the attitudes, values, style of life, and behavioral patterns the child learns in the family environment - is totally alien to what the child is presented with in the school environment ... they have to adjust to the Canadian way of life: they have to adjust to an urban and industrial environment in which the norms and values are in the main in contradiction to their own learned behaviour patterns ... upward social and economic mobility for immigrant children more often than not entails leaving behind the ethnic community, rejecting the ethnic language, customs, values, and adopting the values and language of the host society." (Ramcharan, 1975, p. 99)

In relation to culture shock the literature contains many accounts such as this one:

"...the child is usually quite unprepared for his uprooting and his first reaction in this country is invariably a feeling of shock and bewilderment. His eyes and ears are assailed by a welter of new sights and sounds, as well as experiencing physical shocks of the rigors of an alien climate. Once in school he has to come to term with yet another set of conditions, where differences will affect him more intimately, and where the mastering of a new language is only one of the problems he has to face." (Edson, 1966, newsletter)

Currently there is no difficulty in locating research investigating the racial attitudes of both teachers and students, although much of this literature still has as its origin the inner cities of Britain and Black America. (Cohen & Manion, 1983) Generally this research takes a broader social science perspective on the issues directly related to racism, prejudice and stereotyping and their implications such as underachievement and social relationships among peers.

More specifically, in the Canadian context, individual studies relating particular ethnic groups to particular adjustment and transition difficulties have been carried out (Sealey, 1980, Perry, Clifton & Hryniuk, 1981, Ijaze, 1982, Freisen 1985). The literature investigates the need for new

immigrant children to develop self esteem quickly. Although this will be an ongoing concern throughout the child's school life the literature suggests that this aspect may be of primary importance during the initial placement and orientation period. Immigrant children enter the school door with high, medium and low levels of self esteem. Being able to function effectively in two languages is believed by educators such as Berryman (1984) to contribute positively to the educational and personal development of higher levels of self esteem but there is no investigation in the literature on how self esteem may be affected by the positive or negative results of a placement and orientation process. This large portion of the literature, which sees the entire problem of immigrant adaptation largely as a language problem, does not however, always emphasize the importance of the placement and orientation process other than its specific relationship to the ESL classroom. In comparison to language development, less attention has been ascribed to the other aspects of adjusting to a new environment.

Assessment

One of the few exceptions to the lack of specific reference in the literature to a comprehensive analysis of assessment, is the appearance of a detailed diagnostic and prescriptive investigation such as one written by an American educator Karen Chinn (1980). She writes that assessment of immigrant students is one of the most controversial and politically sensitive issues in today's education of culturally diverse people and proceeds by developing an individual approach to instruction based on assessment of student performance (diagnosis) in order to determine an educational plan (prescription). Chinn believes this process is delineated by three variables: culture, the degree of anglicization, and socio-economic

status and that these general criteria are those immediate factors which create the space in which the child will be assessed. She believes these criteria important as they are the original factors by which children are discriminated against, or are labelled as diverse. The space, does not include the character of the individual school, its policy, and administration or the attitude of teachers in their classrooms. Chinn's model does however, raise the issue that alternatives other than standardized testing for assessing immigrant children are necessary.

The literature contains large quantities of material identifying standardized testing as the main assessment tool, currently used for immigrant children and subsequently challenges the credibility of such testing procedure. For immigrant children one important question the literature investigates concerns the choice of goals. Samuda and Crawford investigate the issue of whether testing will continue as the servant of racism, in the sense that it will keep children from realizing their potential by being labelled wrongly, or is in fact the means of diagnosing the difficulties immigrant children face, and as a result open up equitable educational opportunities for all children. Samuda and Crawford state:

"Testing in effect, bolsters a predominant philosophy of racism endemic in the puritan ethic and implanted in the curricular structure of the schools ... in our view testing can serve a useful purpose if it will help to ensure the delivery of quality education to all students." (Samuda & Crawford, 1978, p. 39)

There are others, such as Jensen (1969, 1973) who believe that group differences on intelligence type testing should be viewed as a matter of genetic not cultural or environmental factors. Jensen proceeds to develop the theory that schools and testing are not responsible for the difficulties

black children face. Apologists extend this theory to other minority groups as well as blacks and state that the fault lies to some degree, within the groups themselves. Standardized testing remains as the primary method of realizing a child's innate ability. Environmentalists, however, will argue that it is not the child's genes which are at fault, but family background, culture, and cultural conflict or distance from the culture of the dominant group, which are the major contributing factors to academic success and well being. Since Jensen there has been no paucity of research to dispute his analysis. The literature leaves little doubt that recent immigrant children will have lower test scores and achievement levels than children who were born in Canada, or who have resided here for many years (Bhatnagar, 1970, Ashworth, 1975). Samuda and Tinglin summarized the increasing sensitivity and full extent of how testing has been viewed in the more recent literature:

"Assessment, if it is to be educationally viable or supportive, must adhere to the principle that it must serve the good of individuals in augmenting the effectiveness of the teaching - learning process. By the same token where assessment can be shown to be detrimental to the teaching - learning process it necessarily abrogates the principle of social justice and ipso facto contributes to the violation of the civil rights of individual citizens. There is overwhelming evidence that psychological tests have a deleterious effect upon certain members of certain minority groups, both in terms of their educational effects and the social and economic consequences flowing from such a conditioning process." (Samuda & Tinglin 1978, p.39)

While recent literature demonstrates a more sensitive approach to testing, the policy makers appear reluctant to respond with complete agreement. At this time there appears to be no mandated procedure within the School Division that could replace standardized tests nor does there seem to be agreement that the original premise on which they were originated is true or false. That premise being that standardized testing

removed any sense of unfairness in terms of educational fairness or privilege. Due to increasing public and school trustee concerns Winnipeg School Division #1 has recently suspended testing for all children throughout the Division for one year in order to review its current policy, while most of the school boards in Metropolitan Toronto have suspended testing of immigrants until they have been in the country for two years. Cummins sees the necessity for change but continues with this caveat:

"... however there is abundant evidence that this knowledge about the dangers of testing culturally and linguistically different students does not readily translate into educational practice and that a disproportionate number of bilingual students are still being deported into special education and vocational classes as a combined result of the indiscriminate use of mental tests and the cultural and linguistic orientation of school programs." (Cummins, 1982, p. 2)

One solution offered by educational researchers who believe that standardized testing remains the only viable tool for testing ability, is to design "culture free," "bias free", "or culturally relevant", tests and then determine at what level of linguistic development tests of various types can be considered valid (Cummins, 1980). However, there is research that states standardized testing should not be adapted, modified, transferred, or even translated but looked upon in a completely new perspective. Berry advocates this position :

"... where cultural discontinuities are great, there is a strong likelihood that behavioral differences will be great; and in this case the development of original psychological tests is essential if we are to match a test(both conceptually and empirically) to the behaviour to be sampled." (Perry, 1975, p.152)

Program Development

The literature exploring program development for immigrant children is abundant. Program development is seen as having several elements and can exist under several categories. The elements related to immigrant education, for example include cross cultural curriculum, multicultural program development, multicultural curriculum, multicultural or cross-cultural education and program development. Studies of multicultural education, in general, delineate the approaches in several ways. The definition generally falls into either one of two categories; one concerned directly with the classroom, and the other as support for the classroom. Classroom concerns are directly related to the day by day activities of the teachers and children and the processes of teaching and learning. Support would include areas such as E S L Programs, Heritage Language Programs, Ethnic Liaison Programs and Multicultural Resource Centres. Although there are as many definitions of curriculum as there are researchers, Lawton has one that sets the stage for the discussion of program development for immigrant children by defining curriculum as:

"Essentially a selection from the culture of a society. Certain aspects of our way of life, certain kinds of knowledge, certain attitudes and values are regarded as so important that their transmission to the next generation is not left to chance in our society but is entrusted to specially trained professionals (teachers) in elaborate and expensive institutions (schools.)"
(Lawton, 1975, p. 6)

To understand and organize program development for immigrant education researchers have constructed organizational typologies, or paradigms which are meant to conceptualize the design. (Gibson, 1976, La

Belle & White, 1980). The typology designed by Gibson is organized around these five approaches: (see Table 1)

1. education of the culturally different or benevolent multiculturalism
2. education about cultural differences or cultural understanding
3. education for cultural pluralism
4. bicultural education
5. multicultural education as the normal human experience

(Gibson, 1976, p. 7)

Typologies occur often in the literature, and provide a varied perspective and useful parameters for the discussion of the expectations and evaluation of the community, the school, and the teacher in relationship to program development and curriculum models for immigrant children. (Kehoe, 1981, Jeffcoate, 1982, Cohen & Manion, 1983) For the purposes of this study teacher attitudes and approaches to immigrant education are the primary focus and typologies such as the one Gibson advocates provide a framework for the study by providing a comparative structure. (Table 1) Of further interest will be how teachers in particular manifest these categories in their teaching behaviour. Gibson's typology has clearly influenced both the School Division and the Government's Multicultural Education policy and can be seen in the adopting of a provincial multicultural platform called, "Building the Bridges" which considers several direct references to this particular typology.

Summary

There is literature either directly or indirectly related to the issues of placement, assessment and program development for immigrant children in general theoretical terms. While schools have been featured prominently in

the overall investigation less attention has been directed to what teachers do in their classrooms and why they do it. (Young, 1983) (Barrow, 1984). This omission was articulated some twenty years ago by Philip Jackson:

"The school attendance of children is such a common experience in our society that those of us who watch them go hardly pause to consider what happens to them when they get there. Of course, our indifference disappears occasionally. When something goes wrong or when we have been notified of this remarkable achievement, we might ponder, for a moment at least, the meaning of the experience for the child in question, but most of the time we simply note that our Johnny is on the way to school." (Jackson, 1968, p.1)

Chapter III

Methodology

Influence of Ethnography

This study is guided by the principles of qualitative methodology, and specifically with the techniques of ethnography. Ethnography is considered the hallmark of cultural anthropology and is the work of providing a description and analysis of human social behaviour; the central aim being to understand another way of life or culture from a native point of view.

Ethnographic methodology, in both form and content, lends itself to the terms of reference for the study which are an attempt to understand the meaning of teacher's behaviour in relation to a particular issue. The first significant fact in this regard is that rather than studying people, ethnography seeks to learn from people (Spradley, 1979, 1980). The techniques provide the potential for a first hand analysis of the issues with teachers from their own reality. Ethnographic techniques afford the researcher the opportunity to record "what actually happened and how people perceived their larger environment, despite the fact that at first blush, to be excessive and commonplace." (Everhart, 1976, p.18) Ethnography presupposes that the researcher will develop a process through a series of interviews and participant observations that provide the opportunity for ordinary teachers to become excellent informants. Participant observation is "a period of time where the researcher becomes part of the situation being studied in order to feel what it is like for the people in that situation" (Sanday, 1979, p. 537). The process is delineated by Spradley (1980) as

involving levels of participation and involvement, a wide observational focus, a sense of being an insider and outsider simultaneously, and finally over the duration that researchers become research instruments themselves.

If the idea is accepted that ordinary teachers, through experience and daily classroom agendum have acquired a knowledge and a perspective that is specialized and unique in relation to others, ethnography is, then, an appropriate methodology. The assumption is made that much will be learned if teachers are in fact considered to be informants and not subjects (objects to test hypotheses), respondents (objects for survey or queries where the language comes from the researcher and social science) or actors (object of observation in natural setting). Informants differ from all of the above for several reasons (Spradley, 1979,1980). Ethnography depends largely on the language of the informant and not that of the researcher or the discipline being studied. Instead of only observing actors in the setting researchers actively participate in the environment and this can prevent distortion by not only witnessing behaviour but also actively and simultaneously seeking the meaning behind it. Finally, informants will guide the research process by defining important directions for the investigator to move towards. Subjects, actors and respondents are unable to do this because the questions and answers are not integrated into one person and his or her environment, but kept isolated as for example in the case of the respondent - questionnaire - researcher triad.

The literature regarding ethnography and school research clearly acknowledges that educators are in fact borrowing and adapting from the anthropological tradition (Rist,1975,Wolcott,1975). Wolcott(1975) and Sanday (1979) both caution that at least one year is necessary to produce a

thorough, authentic ethnography. However, encouragement for studies of shorter duration is provided in the literature for those with some degree of indexicality such as teachers studying teachers for example. (Rist, 1980) Indexicality refers to the amount of shared background knowledge necessary to understand a message. (Agar, 1980) When discussing the objectivity and subjectivity Kaplan refers to intersubjectivity which he defines as "a scientific observation that could have been made by any observer so situated: nature plays no favorites, but exposes herself promiscuously." (Kaplan, 1964, p.128) A central tenet of ethnography is that freedom from bias is impossible and a personal analysis from the researcher is crucial.

The recent reappearance of a more "research for meaning approach" has made its presence felt and the educational community is beginning to consider ethnographic methodologies as an additional means for acquiring and interpreting data for research. One such case in point is the recently published report on professional development activities for teachers which advocates 'action research' to be done by teachers in the field in collaboration with the university (Osborne, 1986). In essence, action research for teachers centres upon what is happening now, why is this problematic in any sense, and what can I do about it? (Osborne, 1986). In addition, the question related to behaviour may be added; why do I do what I do?

After establishing a rapport, selecting informants and continuing the participation process the ethnographer will record, categorize and code all the collected data. This is often called "thick description" or when elaborated further refers to the collection of rich, verbatim, detailed, often lengthy accounts from informants. Wolcott describes this process as meant "to hold it [informant - researcher interchange] still, long enough to take a

sketch of it." (Wolcott, 1975, p. 112) To do this effectively, the researcher must place the informants in their context at large and their behaviour must be understood within the natural environment.

There is no single standardized paradigm for ethnographers, or as stated by Young (1983) no "standard methodological package". In order to make sense of the behaviour of teachers in the school setting, the researcher needs to become a methodological pragmatist; to some degree creating methodology as the process of research continues. This, however, does not mean that the approach is allowed to deteriorate to an attitude of *laissez faire* but rather that the researcher is allowed to choose and collate the techniques that best suit the situation. This will allow for flexibility of the informants to direct the study, and to account for the continuous, evasive, and modifying aspects of culture which do not remain fixed but are always changing and adapting. For Wolcott, (1975, p.121) the degree of success of an ethnographic study is measured by "the ability of a stranger to the culture (who may be the ethnographer) to use the ethnography's statements as instructions for appropriately anticipating the scenes of that society." Another aspect for success is measured by the ability of the researcher to respond to and respect the responses of the informant as a whole person. This criterion corresponds to Spradley's belief that the researcher is simultaneously an "insider and an outsider."

The Study at R. D. Usher School Locating and Collecting the Data

The collection of data at R. D. Usher School occurred between January 5, and June 15, 1987. During the first staff meeting of the new year, field work began by sharing with the entire staff the research proposal which informed them of the nature of the intended study, the implications for participants,

what age levels were being targeted and why. The staff was informed that for the rest of the week the researcher would be in the staff room at recess, and lunch breaks, and was prepared to discuss the study with individual teachers in some detail. At that time such matters as time commitment and confidentiality were discussed. It was also emphasized at this time that the researcher was interested in a reciprocal arrangement which meant a willingness to assist in the classroom in a manner the teachers saw as appropriate such as by gathering materials, carrying out small projects or conducting small group remediation. This strategy was employed in order to establish some degree of rapport and trust before the interviewing process began. The researcher came to school every day from January 15 and stayed throughout the school day for four days a week observing a wide range of activities throughout the school, but at the same time being available to talk to interested participants. Grades three, four and five were chosen as the research sample for the grade six teachers were no longer as concerned with the issues of the study because their focus had begun to shift to preparing children for the Junior High experience during the time the interviews were scheduled and therefore time was at a premium. The early primary grades (k-2) were also excluded because they have a standardized program for assessment and program development called the Early Identification Program which has been implemented throughout the Division.

By the beginning of the second week all thirteen of the teachers, who represented the grades three to five, had been surveyed for interest. More than half of these teachers contacted the researcher on their own initiative, while the other half were sought out by the researcher. Out of this number there was only one teacher who decided not to participate in the study

stating that as a first year teacher he felt unable to provide the necessary time commitment. After identifying the twelve informants for the study, the interview times were scheduled.

The opportunity for establishing a primary base for participant observation came from one teacher who extended an invitation for the researcher to enter her classroom at anytime. This continuous access into her classroom provided an advantageous position to observe one classroom in relation to the rest of the school. This teacher also became a key informant and interview material was continually checked and balanced with her on a theoretical basis. A key informant is an individual informant selected to provide a way to check for serious errors during the data collection and to provide an insight into the accuracy of the recording and interpretation of the data. This person was consulted almost daily as well as participating in the regular interview schedule. It was not the authenticity of descriptive data that was checked but the conceptualizing of what was occurring. For example the key informant was asked if she believed it to be true that teachers paid little attention to what assessment the migrancy teacher did on immigrant children. Her own interview was not however, treated any differently than the others. As a further check the researcher met with the Principal on a regular basis to discuss generally the collection of data and matters of protocol for the school. While the interviews were taking place, over the five and one half month period, the researcher continued the process of participant observation. The invitations to come into classrooms were often spontaneous and expedient such as, "come on up after recess and see the books we're making" or, " we're making bannock, why don't you give us a hand."

As time went on the teachers began to identify with the study to the extent of bringing things to the attention of the researcher that were seen as significant. For example, teachers would call attention to projects in their classrooms, information they had collected at an inservice or insights about children they believed relevant to immigrant children. In addition, data was collected from staff meetings, school records and ancillary staff persons such as the Ethnic Liaison Officer, Teacher Aides, Office Staff, Janitor, School Nurse and Crossing Guard.

Collecting the Data

After the informants were identified a schedule for interviewing was begun. Interviews took place at lunch breaks, spare periods and after school hours. They occurred in the staff room, empty classrooms, while walking around the school grounds, in the library or in the local coffee shop. All of the formal interviews were scheduled for one hour but in reality this was often difficult to do and interviews were often cancelled and rescheduled two or three times before the hour could be found. As well as the formal interviews, informal conversations were fitted into whatever time the teacher had to spare and were often pieced together with fifteen minutes of yard duty, or the last twenty minutes of the spare period. After one or two attempts at using a tape recorder it was decided not to continue because it was distracting and served to draw attention, which broke any semblance of privacy that could be obtained in this very crowded school. As well, many of the teachers adamantly expressed the desire not to be recorded; so for the sake of consistency the idea was abandoned entirely.

Field Notes

During the five and one half months of the study the method for recording the data was written field notes which took into account several aspects, and evolved into several distinct types of notes. The first aspect was that whenever the researcher sought to understand why a teacher was responding to the issue as she did, the response was written in the language of that particular teacher: there was no translation, no deletion of slang, repetition or colloquialisms.

For example, the researcher asked one teacher if she would or would not adapt her behaviour or program in any way upon the arrival of an immigrant child:

Gosh ... I don't know ... I've never thought about it like that ... you know what I mean ... it's the kid I think of not what I do ... gosh now that you ask maybe I do ... I guess I say to myself here we go again ... Put on some sort of face... you know what I mean ... for awhile that is ... just till he gets settled ... What I might do is slow down a bit.

If the teacher was indirectly discussing a general theme, or widely accepted principle, the researcher would incorporate that statement by paraphrasing it. For example, one of the responses to the question of how a teacher viewed multiculturalism was "Well for me it all comes down to how you treat them as human beings first." This was paraphrased along with several others as multiculturalism= human response. It was found that people rarely spoke in complete sentences but in phrases and words strung together with pauses and exclamations. To preserve the language of the informant while easing the sometimes cumbersome nature of the transcript, a system of ellipses was used. When three dots (...) occurs, it meant that there has been a pause in the train of thought and when four dots (....) occurs it meant that a new and complete thought is emerging.

At the three critical points in the interview of placement, assessment and program development, lengthy tracts of verbatim transcript were recorded. The researcher used a previously developed shorthand technique coupled with a method of asking a "to be recorded verbatim" question first, followed by a simpler, less crucial question allowing the attention to remain on the recording of the first question. This transcript was left totally unedited and no attempt was made to cut out passages that may at first have not seemed relevant. At some expense of brevity the context leading up to and leaving the issue was left intact and remains so in the later chapters. The transcript was left as intact as possible to allow for connections and linkages to be made which would provide the widest possible context. Finally, wherever possible, concrete language was used in the recording of an incident to avoid the formation of generalities. For example one child was seen "bolting" from the Principal's door, not leaving it.

For the other portions of the interviews and informal discussions not recorded as verbatim transcripts, other methods were employed where the emphasis was meant to be an exercise in listening, not verbatim recording. This was done for example in the initial stages of the interview to get a sense of what was to come or after an informal chat in the lounge. These notes consisted of a few key phrases and words. Later on in the day, after the completion of the interview, the notes were elaborated from memory.

A Field Journal

Besides field notes a field journal kept an eclectic account of personal thoughts, things to follow up on, observations to pursue and connections being made. This is one part of the entry for Tuesday May 12:

"Multicultural concert today for primary kids ... takes as long for them to get into the gym as program lasts ... Gerry [Principal] didn't attend ... made some comment as we passed in hall that this sort of thing was okay but the kids would be better off doing math and reading ... was consistent with our interview ... saw a lot of pride in the immigrant teachers, they did the most interesting stuff, others did the Virginia reel thing ... Social Studies Consultant was there from the Division ... seems to be big push on ... says there is new policy.

* Get policy ... everyone with spit and polish today, wearing costumes, food passed around, fun ... Alice cancels interview ... too much going on, third day with no interview."

At the back of the book an analysis record kept track of initial insights. An entry dated April 16 read "Seems to be categories of teachers coming out, "I treat them all the same types," "the hug em and love em types," and the let's get on with it, "school of hard knocks types"-- however does this get to make sense.

Interpreting the Data

The fundamental reason for this study was the attempt to understand why teachers do what they do in relation to a particular issue. This was done primarily through the first stage of collecting the data. The second stage was the interpretation of data received from the informants. To facilitate this process an initial attempt was made to design a taxonomy (Table 3) based on the responses of the informants to three basic questions regarding the issue in question. This was to provide a system for imposing order and classification on the collected data. The three fundamental questions were:

1. What do you do when a new immigrant child comes to your classroom door

Why do you do the things you do?

2. What do you do to assess the new immigrant child that comes into your classroom?

Why do you do the things you do?

3. What do you do with regards to program development for the new immigrant child?

Why do you do the things you do?

For the most part, there was little prompting from the researcher unless the interview waned, lost the focus, or if the informant left the area of study for too long or entirely. Direction from the researcher came in the form of recapping and breaking the larger questions into smaller ones.

The next step was to isolate from the field notes those areas related to the placement, assessment and program development of immigrant children. Each verbatim response was removed from the notes and simply color coded to identify which of the three aspects the informant was responding to. Each coded response was lifted out of the field notes and listed categorically as placement, assessment or program development. Then each response was given a semantic interpretation which "is a translation or paraphrase, a set of words having a meaning equivalent or similar to those being explained but more easily understood." (Kaplan, 1964, p. 327). Once this process was complete the search began for similarities based on the semantic relationships. For example the following is a verbatim response from a

teacher articulating her view regarding the placement of immigrant children. Her account is one of the ones included in the placement chapter.

"I don't believe in coddling in general ... if you expect nothing you get nothing ... kids here know what I want Kids in my room will adapt themselves to my program but I do make some changes ... adapt a bit so kids can handle the program ... if they happen not to be on the standard ... or the norm ... whatever ... I don't see immigrant kids having special problems really ... not a separate issue in my room .. except for English I'll make some allowances for different language abilities and with math, you can do it or you can't ... my goal for all new kids, immigrants or not is to make them as independent as possible as soon as possible ... immigrant kids I treat the same as the others ... same behaviour expectations ... same curriculum ... same high standards, those kind of things ... kids are too reliant on the teacher... should be more active in their own learning The only thing that I do other than the obvious things is to set up a peer tutoring system so the strong kids can help the weak ones ... then again it really doesn't matter if you're an immigrant or not for that to work does it ...

The semantic interpretation given to this particular passage is "except for some minor adaptations immigrant children do not need any special treatment". The same process was also applied to all the other responses: the 11 remaining responses related to placement and the 12 responses related to the assessment and program. (There were 12 informants in the study X 3 questions = 36 general responses of three sub-sections each). Knowing the general number of responses enabled the researcher to conclude that there were several, the majority, a few, one, about half and so on when accounting for the responses collectively. Each of the responses was given a semantic interpretation but not all the responses are included in the text. Although the chapter accounts were always verbatim they were sometimes broken into smaller pieces for organizational purposes. This accounts for the fact that some of the chapters have more or less than 12 responses.

Migrancy, resource and E S L teachers responses were not considered to be regular classroom teachers and their role in the study was to provide the connective and comparative material necessary in understanding the relationship of support persons and regular teachers within the school context.

Following this exercise the results were formulated on charts: one for each aspect (see Table 2 for the placement example). The three charts were brought together and a search began for similarities based on the semantic relationships. The end result is seen in the taxonomy chart in Table 3. The charts are included because they contributed to the initial analysis of the data by establishing some categories from which to proceed.

Chapter IV

Subjects and Setting

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the school first in relation to the influences of the Provincial Government and the School Division, and then to relate the school's own individual nature and character to the broader context. The Division is accountable under the Manitoba Education Act and to the Manitoba Department of Education, recently renamed Education Manitoba and draws its students from a large geographic area with diverse economic, social and cultural characteristics. The most salient feature of the Division is the fact that, included within its geographic boundaries is the area known as the Core Area or the Inner City. R.D Usher is located within the boundaries of the Inner City and as such is of one of a category of schools specially designated as Inner City Schools, with a unique set of issues, one of which is immigrant education. The nature of the Inner City and the role of immigrant education cannot be discussed as a separate issue. To understand the difficulties and dilemmas of immigrant education at R.D Usher it is necessary to understand the context of the Inner City because as well as having a unique set of problems, immigrant education at this school must contend with those related to the Inner City as a whole. Establishing the school within its context is also crucial to ethnographic methodology.

Poverty, unemployment, political alienation, family status, migrancy, affect all the population in some form or another, immigrants and non-immigrants alike. Most of the immigrant population send their children to Inner City schools where all the characteristic problems may not be

experienced equally or as intensely by all immigrant children but the nature of their education cannot help but be affected to some degree or another.

Table 4

Winnipeg School Division Information Figures

Total Enrollment (January 1987)	34,018
Elementary Enrollment	20,983
Total Number of Schools in the Division	85
Number of Designated Inner City Schools	57
Total Teaching Staff	2,400
Total Support Staff	2,125

(Winnipeg School Division #1 Statistics Report, 1987)

The Inner City Context

One of the most significant aspects of R. D Usher school is its Inner City character. Of the 85 schools in the Division, 57 are designated as Inner City schools because of their specific geographical location within the core area boundaries of the city of Winnipeg, and because they share several common characteristics in varying degrees of intensity. These criteria are cited in the Winnipeg School Division report Inner City Criteria: Local Data Collection, January 1981. The report also points out how the Division first began to develop these criteria in 1977 and eventually dropped what was then the sixth criterion, public housing, as it was at the time, considered to be no longer significantly viable. In 1984, another criterion was added that acknowledged the growing immigrant population; that criteria being whether there was a first language spoken other than English. The Report of

the Superintendent's Committee for the Inner City, 1984 now cites the following six criteria as:

1. a very high migrancy or mobility rate
2. low family incomes
3. low level of higher education among the adult population
4. frequency of single parent families
5. high unemployment rate
6. first language other than English

The Division has formally adopted these criteria and adds and deletes other criteria when change in the nature of the Inner City is perceived to warrant it. The Division uses the criteria in an effort to provide what it considers as an objective and equitable means of comparing the level of needs of school communities according to the degree of impact of socio-economic factors (Davies, 1981). These criteria are taken into consideration for purposes of staffing, program development and when applying for funding from other agencies. The Division has developed a method of categorizing all schools from category one (high need) through to category four (low need) based on a cumulative rank derived from census data and mobility numbers. The ranking is based on a Canonical Correlation Analysis.¹ The analysis found that a significant relationship existed among the six criteria and the 1983-84 Division wide testing results. The ranking that resulted determines the level of socio-economic need based on these six Inner City criteria. Fundamentally, schools are designated as Inner City schools if they serve areas with one or more of the characteristics.

¹ This correlation =.88, d.f.=14, p=.0001, a mathematical formula determining the relationship between two variables.

Based on the 1981 census data, and school records, the very first statistics published on Inner City schools were related to the first set of criteria (Inner City Criteria: Local Data Collection) and are included in the following table.

Table 2

1981 Report: Inner City Criteria

Percentage of the Total Population of the Area Based on the 1981 Census

Income of Area Below Median Family Income of City -	25%
Student Mobility Rate -	35%
Unemployment -	10%
Single Parent Households -	10%
Heads of Families With Below Grade 10 -	50%
Public Housing -	50%

Since this report was published, public housing is no longer cited as a criteria and first language other than English was added. However, the other criteria have remained constant. Migrancy remains one of the most serious problems affecting Inner City schools. Dr. Lionel Orlikow, a well publicized advocate for Inner City schools, cites migrancy as the largest cause for the instability in the area. (Orlikow, 1986) The concern is further demonstrated by the tabling of the recent Evaluation Report: Migrancy Program (March 1986). The Migrancy Committee that was originally established in 1978 was responsible for initiating migrancy programs as the mobility rates continued to climb. (See Table 6 & 7)

Table 6

1984-85 (October/May) Migrancy Statistics

*1-10 are Inner City schools not named

	In	Out	Total Movers	Av. Enrollment	Mobility
1.	115	107	222	380	58.5%
2.	77	79	156	219	71.4%
3.	208	174	382	828	46.1%
4.	143	121	264	394	67.3%
5.	161	174	335	380	88.8%
6.	79	70	149	297	50.2%
7.	104	103	207	303	68.3%
8.	150	141	291	547	53.2%
9.	173	149	322	374	86.1%
10.	38	53	91	121	75.3%

Table 7

1985-86 (October/May) Migrancy Statistics

	In	Out	Total Movers	Av. Enrollment	Mobility (%)
1.	121	107	228	365	62.5
2.	90	103	193	226	85.3
3.	243	317	560	816	69.9
4.	127	125	252	395	63.8
5.	200	219	419	331	126.7
6.	77	76	153	315	48.6
7.	60	80	140	302	46.4
8.	175	159	334	583	57.3
9.	166	181	347	384	90.4
10.	24	21	45	352	12.8

The figures compiled by the migrancy teacher at Strathcona School are to demonstrate the high rate of mobility in selected Inner City schools, and the remarkable increase in this rate in just one year. Migrancy becomes a complex problem because students are entering and leaving the schools other than the traditional times of September and June. Specifically, many immigrant children do not arrive in the schools at the traditional entry times either. Of the eight hundred and thirty six immigrant students who arrived at R. D. Usher school between 1979 and 1986, only 35% arrived during the month of September. There is the common belief among teachers and principals that a student who transfers from one school to another or arrives part way through the year experiences devastating problems related

to academic and social development. Immigrants often arrive part way through the year and often move from school to school upon first arrival and this coupled with language experience compounds the difficulties of normal classroom entry.

Table 8 explains to a large degree, why the Division adopted the criterion of a language spoken other than English as the sixth Inner City criterion population. This table shows the origin of people in the School Division based on ethnic origin which provides an indication of first languages spoken other than English.

Table 8

Winnipeg School Division #1- Percentage Of Population by Ethnic Origin
Based On 1981 Census

*no data are yet available from the 1986 census

British	37
Ukrainian	13
French	8
Jewish	6
Native	5
German	5
Pacific Islands	4
Polish	4
Portuguese	3
Italian	2
Scandinavian	2
Dutch	2
Chinese	1
Indo-Pakistan	1

Other	6
Total Percentage	100

Note Other includes: Indo-Chinese, South American, and Mixed Origins.
(Statistics Canada, 1981 Census)

Both the Provincial Government and the School Division address the problems associated with Inner City characteristics in several ways. The Statement of Priorities Report issued by the Superintendent's office of the Division in September 1985, states that it will, as its first priority, "implement strategies and action plans relative to the goals and objectives of the Inner City." Pursuant to this priority statement four major organizational categories are identified as important areas of consideration:

1. Development and Implementation of Curriculum
2. Management of Financial, Human and Physical Resources
3. Planning and Organization
4. Policy Development

On June 17, 1987, on the basis of this report, the trustees ratified a specific goals and objectives policy for Inner City education. The purposes outlined in the policy range from the specific goal for the enhancement of basic literacy and numeracy skills of Inner City students, to a more general objective of identifying the educational needs of Inner City students.

The Division announced publicly, at the middle of June 1987, its intention to appoint an Inner City Superintendent by the end of the summer. This is considered to be a senior administrative position with sole responsibility to the Inner City area. Trustee Anita Neville spoke to the

motion at the School Board meeting of June 2, 1987 that "the needs of Inner City education are urgent and growing and more pressing as time passes," and that the new superintendent would be an "advocate for the Inner City" (School Board Minutes, June 2 1987).

The Multicultural Context: Policy Orientation

This study is concerned with the education of immigrant children. However it must be understood that Government and Division personnel refer to the general blanket term of multicultural education, or ESL, when referring to students who were not born in Canada, as well as those who were born in Canada and belong to an ethnic or racial minority. Immigrant students are usually discussed within a multicultural context and for that reason the discussion of both the Government and the Division's Multicultural policy is important at this time. The Government makes a general reference to immigrants when it speaks of education for cultural and linguistic development, while the Division's policy acknowledges immigrants more specifically by stating directly that immigrant children will be assisted to acquire either one or both of Canada's official languages.(see policies outlined on following page)

In 1983 the Manitoba legislature passed Bill 50, The Manitoba Intercultural Act, which established an Intercultural Council representative of various ethnic groups. The bylaws identify its main function as the recognition of cultural pluralism as a positive force and that the contributions of all ethnic groups must be recognized and preserved for future generations.

In April of 1986 the Minister of Education released a discussion paper based on Multicultural education policy. It asserted that educators, and the

public, have developed a greater awareness of the cultural and racial diversity of Manitoba:

Manitoba Education recognizes the multi-ethnic composition of Manitoba. The cultural heritage of Manitoba has always been one which is rich and varied, commencing with the linguistic and cultural diversity of the indigenous peoples and further diversified by the wealth of the ethnocultural groups which have chosen this province as their home. Manitoba Education believes that this cultural diversity contributes positively to life in the province and Canadian society as a whole.

The broad goals of public education stress the developmental needs of all students. Education that is multicultural in nature must be responsive to the cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes our society. Its place within the curriculum acknowledges the need to prepare all students to live in a multicultural society. Objectives that seek to recognize and understand the main focus that culture takes, to assist students to develop and retain a personal identity through an awareness of their own cultural and historical heritages and to develop a understanding and respect for the cultural and historical heritages of others, are integral to the school program in its entirety.

The Multicultural policy of Manitoba Education is reflected in three main thrusts in the educational system of the province. These are education for integration, education for cultural and linguistic development and intercultural development.

At the divisional level in May of 1978 the Winnipeg School Division #1 ratified the following Multicultural policy:

The Winnipeg School Division #1 recognizes the cultural diversity of the city of Winnipeg and its colorful cultural heritages, and accepts the concept of multiculturalism concerning the children and adults in schools. The Division will make every effort to foster policies that will:

1. Encourage multicultural enrichment programs
2. Assist immigrant children to acquire either one or both of Canada's official languages.
3. Emphasize that the student's cultural identity and heritage are not jeopardized
4. Maintain liaison with the ethnic communities in Winnipeg
5. Endeavour to obtain grants for English as a Second Language and cultural preservation programs

The Government and the Division implement their respective policies in several ways. For instance more and more emphasis has been placed on the creation and maintenance of English as a Second Language Programs. Immigrant Student support was established for the Division in 1981 to enhance the language development programs in K-12 for immigrants and refugees. Since then the funding has been expanded to include Canadian pupils who have not attended school in Canada, Canadian born students in K-2 who come from homes where English is seldom spoken and recently Hutterite Bretheren students have been added. The Manitoba Regulation 1/86 Section 26 defines an eligible students as:

1. one whose status in Canada is that of a refugee, landed immigrant, or a Canadian citizen who has not attended school in Canada
2. one who is unable to receive regular classroom instruction because of limited proficiency in the English Language
3. one who has been receiving instruction in the English language in Canada for two years or less at the elementary level, or three years or less at the secondary level and
4. one who is enrolled in kindergarten or grades 1 to 12

All students who now enter Manitoba schools for the first time and who have limited proficiency in English are eligible for ESL support. (ESL Support For Students With Limited Proficiency In English Guidelines: Manitoba Education, 1986) The ESL Administrative Handbook for the Division refers to ESL students as "those who are unable to achieve success in regular school

programs because their language and culture are different from those of the school system". Immigrant students at the elementary level may be placed in any of the following arrangements: in regular classes on a full time basis, regular classes with withdrawal time to E S L, in E S L classes with withdrawal to regular classes, or in ESL classes on a full time basis. The Division recommends that teachers assess the level of language proficiency from 0 (low) to 4 (high). There are to date no formal procedures for integrating students from the special classes into regular school programs.

The government has demonstrated a commitment to its multicultural education policy with projects such as the allocation of funds for ESL classrooms, Multicultural Festivals, and the establishment of the Multicultural Resource Centre. The Division demonstrates its commitment to policy by program implementation such as the recent development and piloting of a new ESL strategy called ESL Protocol: a ten tiered operation ranging from identification and diagnosis, through to evaluation, integration and monitoring of all ESL students throughout the Division. The Protocol is still in the development stage and is only functioning at the level of education seminars in preparation for those teachers who will be implementing it later. The continuing arrival of new immigrants has elicited the development of E S L centres to accommodate students at a beginning level who enter a school where no ESL classroom has been established. Funding is provided for ESL students at the rate of \$ 330 for the kindergarten child, and \$660 for each elementary school child.

To further advance its multicultural policy objectives the Division has initiated in-service training seminars for all staff, encourages the multicultural activities organized by individual schools, searches for and

makes available appropriate materials for teachers, and also provides access to schools of various ethnic community groups.

However in the final analysis, it is for the large part the schools in the Division to determine how they will perceive and respond to policy, and its practice. In addition they determine how immigrant children are to be defined and taught. This is seen through the implementation of the day by day curriculum, the character and environment of the individual school, and the pedagogy and behaviour of the particular teacher and administrator. It is therefore with the meeting of policy and practice, at R.B. Usher school, that the study begins to establish its focus.

The Nature of the School

This particular school has been firmly rooted in the neighborhood catchment area since the first structure was built in 1906. The first structure, a three story brick and limestone building was designed to house an enrollment of four hundred and eighty nine students, and was built thirty five years after the establishment of Manitoba's first school system. The population of Winnipeg in 1906 was 100,000 and the new school was needed to accommodate a very large influx of immigrants. The major tenet of education at the time was the preservation of British values and the inculcation of those values to the increasing numbers of immigrant children as quickly and effectively as possible.

The current building was completed in 1974, and presently has 32 operational classrooms which house an enrollment fluctuating in the last five years between 828 to over 920 pupils from nursery through grade six. The enrollment is generally referred to by the teachers and the

administration to be "multicultural" since a large percentage of the children are immigrants or speak a first language other than English.

R. D. Usher is one of the 57 schools that is designated as an Inner City school. There are 46 people on the teaching staff, 12 teaching aids, 3 office staff, 2 crossing guards, 4 custodians, a half time nurse, a principal and a vice principal.

R. D. Usher has all the characteristics of an Inner City school. For the purposes of staff allocation, the Superintendent's Office for the Division ranks each of the Inner City Schools according to the characteristic Inner City criteria of mobility, single parent families, level of education, family income, minority status, and unemployment. R. D. Usher ranks among the top ten in relationship to the greatest socio-economic need, based on the 1981 Census and transfers in and out of the school.

The Migrancy Program

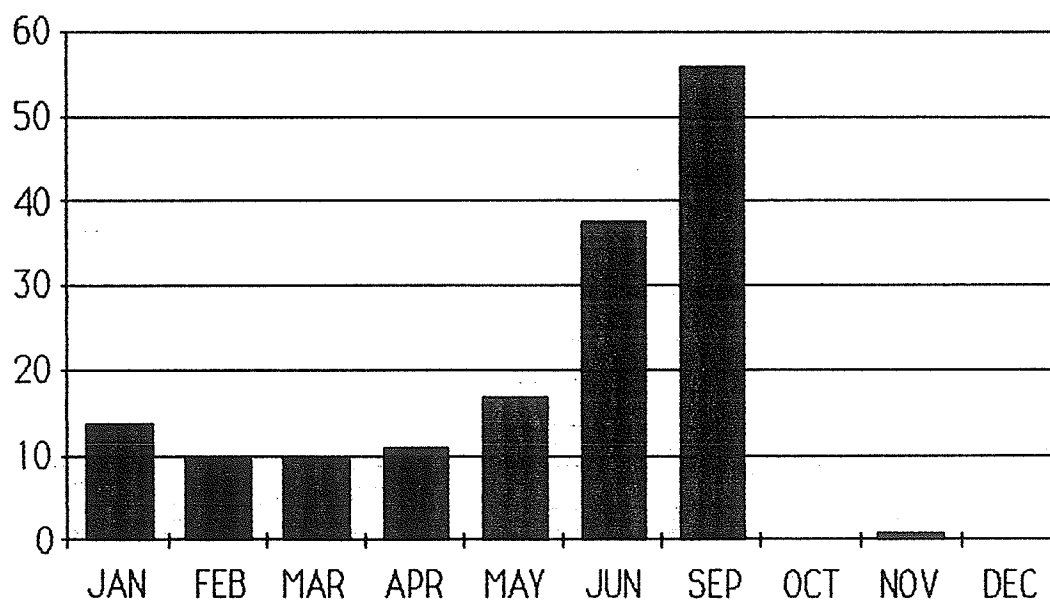
To respond to the Inner City characteristic of increasing rates of family mobility a migrancy program has been fully operational in the school for several years. The first pilot programs began in 1980, and R. D. Usher has one of these twelve programs that are now fully operational. The 1986 Migrancy Program Evaluation Report outlined the objectives of the Migrancy Program:

1. assess students who transfer into the school and assign the most appropriate classroom placement based on that assessment
2. establish a communication link with the previous school; and,
3. orient new students and their parents to the school program.

Because Immigrant children are new to the community they can become part of the responsibilities of the migrancy teacher, that is if it has been determined that they do not need ESL instruction. Immigrants add to the criterion of mobility because they do not all enter the school during the traditional September period. (see table 9)

Table 9

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS ENTERING R. D. USHER
SCHOOL IN EACH MONTH (1979-1986)



The comparison of new immigrant transfers in with the standard mobility rate can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10
Transfers In and Out for the Year 1986-87
R. D. Usher School

	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June
Transfers IN	46	35	26	38	33	23	27	14	8
Transfers OUT	41	60	24	23	49	28	24	18	15

Total in: 250 Immigrants in: 27 (see table 13)

Total out: 282

(R. D. Usher Records, 1987)

An adjunct problem to migrancy is truancy, with the school reporting an average of 20 new cases each month of which an increasing number are Vietnamese immigrant children. The Principal reports that the school records indicate that 120 active cases that have been referred to the Child Guidance Clinic as a direct result of the social problems related to the Inner City. For example, 50 cases of sexual abuse have been reported this year from the school to the Child and Family Services office. (these figures come from a proposal submitted by the Principal to the Division requesting an elementary counsellor, May, 1987) The Principal believes that not only are

immigrants in R.D. Usher having language or academic difficulties but as well they are succumbing to the results of the pressures characteristic of the Inner City population in general: poverty, family breakdown, and abuse of many kinds.

The Immigrant Population and the Criteria of English as a Second Language

The perception of the school as being "multicultural" is further enhanced by the existence of two full-time ESL classrooms, one senior class with a register accounting for 37 children at the end of June 1987 and a primary classroom accounting for 24 children. In addition, there are Heritage Language Programs for Portuguese, Pilipino, and Mandarin speaking children. Tables 11, 12 and 13 illustrate demographic information of the origins and numbers of immigrant children in R. D. Usher.

Table 11
 First Language of Students For the Year: 1986-87
 R. D. Usher School

	No. of Students	Percentage of Total
English	319	38
Pilipino	140	16.8
Portuguese	71	8.5
Vietnamese	69	8.4
Cantonese	48	5.8
Cree, Saulteaux	76	9.1
Mandarin	25	3
Laotian	15	1.8
Hindi	14	1.7
Cambodian	10	1.2
Other (Italian, Greek, Spanish, Punjabi, French, Tamil)	49	5.8
Total:	836	100

(R. D. Usher School, 1986)

Table 12
 Total Number of New Immigrant Student Arrivals at R. D. Usher
 School 1980-1986

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Number of New Immigrant Students</u>
Belize	1
Cambodia	7
El Salvador	4
Greece	1
Guatemala	2
Guyana	6
Hong Kong	9
India	2
Indonesia	3
Jamaica	2
Laos	6
Malaysia	1
Poland	2
Portugal	3
Philippines	21
South America	1
Taiwan	1
Thailand	8
Vietnam	78
 Total:	 158

Table 13
Arrival Of New Immigrant Students At R. H. Usher, November 1 to
June 30, 1987

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Number</u>
Philippine	4
Italy	1
Vietnam	3
India	6
Belize	1
Guatemala	5
Jamaica	1
Portugal	2
El Salvador	2
Guyana	1
Thailand	1
Total	27

(R. D. Usher Records, 1987)

The School In Relation to the ESL Context

At this time the Division has published no data to relate the total number of new immigrant children within the Division, or the number of children born in Canada from ethnic minorities, although each school keeps its own tally. However, in the central registry at the School Division office, all the names of those children who need English as a Second Language instruction are listed for funding purposes. As of December 1986, 1,043 children were listed on the Division's central registry and R. D. Usher was listed as having 95 children receiving English Language instruction, while in fact 62% of the enrollment speaks a first language other than English. This

comparison points out that not all immigrants are seen as needing English Language instruction, and the central registry figures cannot be used as accurate indicators for the number of recent immigrants in the school division, or even in an individual school.

The School in Relation to the Criteria of Unemployment, Family Status and Low Family Income

Census statistics further verify the Inner City status of R. D. Usher school. According to the data 2,080 persons in the catchment area, out of a total area population of 8,535, have less than a grade nine education. Also, 21.8 per cent of the children in 1981 came from homes where the head of the family was unemployed. Based on the 1981 school data, 21.8% were children from single parent homes. The average income for each household based on the 1981 Census was \$14,077. The results of this low income level are seen in the attendance at the breakfast program at the school where between 130 and 200 students are served every day, and additional emergency lunches are provided. The school operates a clothing bank for those who need it, especially in the winter months. The principal reports that immigrant, children, especially when they first arrive, need these supports as often or more so than any other group of children.

The Character of the School

Standardized Testing and Promotion Procedure

By appearances R. D. Usher is a thriving, active and overcrowded school. The official philosophy of the school is published in the R.D.Usher handbook and is based on four major premises: accountability, standardized testing and promotion, decision making and role modeling. Accountability at this particular school means that teachers are expected to teach to the

provincial curriculum so as to produce results that are as good as or better than the average norm for standardized tests. The school follows all the curricular requirements of the province first, after which expectations and content may be modified to fit the needs of individual students. This premise is implemented by the principal who distributes complete sets of curriculum guides to all teachers and recommended material lists for each grade level. Grade level meetings are held by the teachers to discuss and share implementation techniques. In-service days are organized to keep abreast of new teaching strategies.

Results at this particular school are measured by criteria based on standardized tests during fall and spring in-school testing programs. Standardized testing conducted throughout the year leads to "promotion day" at the end of May. The principal believes that the majority of the parents, most of whom are immigrants, have a keen interest in the academic success of their children. These parents, he believes, interpret success in the traditional manner of pass, fail and gradations in between, rather than on anecdotal comments. For these reasons promotion day is prepared for carefully throughout the entire year. Final promotion takes place at the end of May during a meeting between the principal and individual teachers and is fundamentally based on the standardized test scores for reading, language, spelling, social studies, arithmetic, and science. Also taken into consideration are the child's aggregate attendance, last basal reader completed, heritage languages spoken, and any other information thought pertinent by the teacher. Also considered are the basic principles of age-grade correspondence, but the promotional sheet which accompanies each official Division report card based on the test results, allows for four categories for placement the following school term: (figure 2)

1. unconditional promotion to the next grade
2. conditional placement in the next grade but with the provision that the child will be completing the previous year's skills in the new year
3. the child will remain in the present situation because many of the skills required to proceed to the next grade have not been mastered; the child will remain at this grade level and will be assessed in January for a mid year promotion
4. the child must unconditionally repeat the grade due to a very poor skill level in all areas

This promotion procedure is unique to the Division, designed to attempt to compensate for language deficiencies immigrant children have when faced with formal testing. The Principal is very concerned about the test scores and proud that his school does well relative to the other inner city schools and the national norms, considering that the population is, in his opinion, handicapped due to transiency, lack of auditory and visual stimulation in the home environment, and since over 62% of the pupils speak English as a second language. He comments:

"I have some of the best test scores in the Division and I'll use these scores to the best advantage ... they keep getting better because my teachers teach kids how to take tests ... we teach the test if we have to ... these kids need to be test wise if they're going to get anywhere. If I am going to follow the mandate of the Division, I'll do it well...I'm not saying it's right, just practical."

The principal points to these test scores as an indicator of how well the school manages to teach basic skills to a largely immigrant population.

Table 14

Grade Four Standardized Test Results For R. D. Usher
Canadian Test of Basic Skills-Spring 1987

	Vocabulary	Reading	Math Concepts	Math Problems	Math Computation
Raw Score:	15.0	16	12.9	8.9	17.3
National % Rank	4	3	11	5	23
Grade Equivalent	3.27	3.34	3.66	3.53	3.86

Table 15
Grade Four Winnipeg School Division #1 Standardized Test
Results for 1986

	Vocabulary	Reading	Math Concepts	Math Problems	Math Computation
Raw Score:	19.2	21	15.2	11.0	18.5
National % Rank	31	31	40	28	33
Grade Equivalent	3.87	3.92	4.07	3.93	3.96

Staff Decision Making

A third major premise for this school is that there will be staff input into the decision making and the promotion of a team atmosphere within the school. To this end a committee structure is in place that deals with issues directly related to the school such as professional development, multiculturalism, discipline, and student evaluation. All these committees are responsible for the generation of new action plans and/or policy suggestions and are expected to report to the larger staff body in the form of written papers or oral reports. For example the Multicultural Committee was responsible for organizing the activities for the week in May designated by the Division as Multicultural week. Everyone is encouraged to respond to the ideas brought about by each individual committee. In addition each grade level has a representative whose responsibility it is to keep colleagues informed of events and issues related to their own individual group needs.

Role Modeling

A fourth major premise for the school is that all staff work toward positive reinforcement of good academic and social behaviour of the students. The staff has recently ratified a school wide discipline policy to

deal with disruptive behaviour in the classroom, and has established a code of personal conduct both in and out of the school. The process is a series of negotiated steps designed to help the child understand why some behaviour is inappropriate and then clearly defines the consequences. If change does not occur, suspension from school for one or two days may be the severest outcome. Modeling is evident throughout the school, especially by the principal, who believes it integral to his administration. This idea is demonstrated in the unusual amount of neatness, courtesy, general orderliness of the school, and the dress and demeanor of the staff. This is largely a response by the Principal to accommodate to what the Principal calls "old world" values which he believes immigrant parents expect and appreciate.

Community Involvement

The school has a long tradition of community and parental involvement. On the average there are seventeen permits a week issued to community groups to use the facilities. Permits range from activities for children, youth and adults sponsored by City of Winnipeg Parks and Recreation branch, to the Parents Council and Outreach Programs. There is also a viable volunteer program in the school with thirty seven volunteers participating this past year. They assist in the library, provide tutoring, enrichment activities and locate special help as needed by the teachers.

There is a very active Parents Council, and according to the handbook, "parents have a high level of expectation for academic achievement for their children" (R.D.Usher Handbook, 1986) According to the principal and resource teachers it is not unusual for parents to demand that their children be given more homework in order that the student may succeed academically. The majority of parents in this community also expect that their children will

be able to learn to speak their own heritage language. The school offers instruction in Mandarin, Portuguese, and Pilipino during regular school hours on a withdrawal basis.

Principal's Context

Gerry Melville has been the Principal of R. D. Usher since 1974. His previous twenty six years experience has all been within the boundaries of Winnipeg School Division #1, most of it within Inner City schools. His educational philosophy focuses on establishing a warm, humane, environment dedicated to child development while at the same time emphasizing academic progress which he does not view as a contradiction but the appropriate response to the mandate of the Division. He states emphatically that, "I do not have the responsibility to Social Work the community." His pedagogy provides for children to learn by drill and practise augmented by observation and modeling by peers and teachers. Through his administration he wants the Principal and teachers to work co-operatively in order to determine the values and character for the school. He admits that whatever degree of success he has achieved is due to the use of a consensus decision making model, by controlling staffing patterns and by looking for skill oriented teachers who can work within a structure that can both be planned effectively and articulated well.

Gerry has designed a hiring matrix which includes such criterion as the willingness to follow the provincial curriculum and ranges from the ability to use a high level of chalkboard work to a high standards of oral and written proficiency. Believing as he does that he should do what he knows best, which is to teach, he strives to be an instructional leader as well as an administrator, but not a Social Worker. This attitude arises from his observation that too many agencies are tripping over each other. What he is

intent on doing is to give children the social and academic skills needed to break what he has coined as the slum cycle. He is not content with mere survival as a goal for the children as he wants them to "win". Opposed to "bleeding hearts", Gerry wants "teachers to open windows for children so that they see alternatives, have choices, become doctors and lawyers". This he believes is accomplished through positive reinforcement and role modeling.

As for the school, he sets limits for its responsibilities to the life of the child. "We can feed them if they are hungry, we can bandage them when hurt but we will notify the agencies when they are abused." There is room for pedagogical innovations only if they do not compromise the structural and organizational principles that have been established for the school. His style of administration seeks to encourage:

"people who know the parameters and have a business like purpose.... teachers who say that they want to work with needy kids leaves me cold...I know what I'm doing and the continuity of my staff is the net result ... I am not afraid to say what I believe because there is no other outlet for this issue or any other... too bad but there is little debate among my colleagues of what quality education is."

Gerry sees immigrant education and its implications as part of a larger issue. He chose to begin his analysis of the issue of placement and assessment of immigrant children by discussing the issue of racism, and how it relates to both covert and overt problems of the school:

"Sure, I see racism every day and just the other day I was accused of discriminating against white kids for heavens sake, yet I am the original W.A. S. P... the biggest problem is the cultural difference between the accepted Canadian norm and the imported tradition Here I'm supposed to start every day with the Lord's prayer and over 60 per cent of the kids aren't even Christians I'll give you another example... there is a big shock around here when Christmas is such a big holiday and Chinese New Year is

nothing These kids are caught in between the cracks... even the child rearing policies are different ... Last year some of my teachers were really upset when the Asian kids were coming to school with bruises on their throats. They thought that there was abuse involved ... it turned out that this is an ancient Asiatic remedy for sore throats ... apparently they rub coins over the throat and that causes the bruises I even had Dr. Du² come to talk to the teachers. They still don't like it. If you watch you will see that some of the oriental teachers will have bruises on their necks if they have a cold Not so long ago a kid brought a bag of raw rice to school as his contribution to a party snack This sort of thing doesn't always go over very well around here Teachers are not always as tolerant of these things even when they know better. Kids in this area are forever faced with a dichotomy, just a few blocks from here are gambling establishments and cock fights for heaven sakes, so what do they do, go Canadian or stay as is?"

The school says go Canadian, and if that is the case I want them to understand the pecking order of Junior Highs for example, I want them to know that they have alternatives and real choices to make; they don't have to go to the dead end schools; they should be able to get into schools where they have a better chance of getting into University of Manitoba and not just shunted into R. B. or Tech Voc This is my top priority and the rest of it- what I call secondary multiculturalism is nice but not as important I am quite clear on this: I will actively encourage people to express their traditions but only as a secondary goal ... I just paid \$100 to have the Dragon Dance come through the school ... It was good for the kids, all of them, especially the Chinese kids, and was a good reminder to the teachers but it's not the most important thing that goes on around here ... it's the modeling and the academics ... their time is as well spent reading as that sort of stuff What I have done which is more important is consciously and deliberately developed a multicultural teaching and support staff... modeling is very, very important.

² Dr. Joseph Du is a well known Winnipeg pediatrician and spokesperson for the Vietnamese community.

Gerry's perspectives on the problems faced by immigrant children are consistent with those Inner City criteria that relates to economic survival and its ramifications:

"What I see as the biggest problem is the hidden poverty and the degree of face saving that goes on ... Many of the Asian immigrant kids are better dressed than kids in River Heights for heaven sake ... this makes me wonder if somebody at home is doing without so that the kids can look good at school ... I also see from where I am sitting a lot of inborn fear of authority A lot of bad teaching goes undetected because immigrant parents are afraid to come forward. It's too bad but I see that immigrant schools seem to attract the poorer teachers ... Why? ... because the whole school is often badly run and they hope they can get lost ... no one will notice their shortcomings shall we say ... Basically for me it comes down to the fact that we all cry tears and we all bleed red... Teachers must stop children from using ethnic slurs and what I do is to deliberately set classes so that there is an ethnic mix.

His analysis continues with a comparison of immigrant and Native children:

"What I see on the street around here is that the pecking order has the Native kids always and continually on the bottom and those on top will vary from time to time ... Right now the Vietnamese appear to be more aggressive, not so long ago it was the Portuguese ... I think the pecking order is the way it is because in most cases the immigrant kids are fighters already, they have come from some bloody revolution or some other horrible circumstances The parents of immigrant kids have different expectations than Native parents Native parents have lost their parenting skills, have no drive, no structure anymore ... no competitive interest ... You would never see a Portuguese or Filipino kid living on the street because their parents control them at home Native kids are on the streets when I come to work early at 7 A.M. and I see them late at night when I come back down here for a movie People may not like to hear this but I see it every single day They [Native

children] have no role models, that's why it is so important that the school at least try to provide them."³

Gerry believes immigrant parents are interested in their child's academic program. He elaborates:

"Immigrant parents want their children to stay in school, I've had incidents where a parent will say that a child is ten, when he's really eleven so he can stay in school longer... I know for a fact that an unofficial list of schools recommended by various ethnic organizations is circulating among the immigrant community ... This school is rated very highly.... I think it's because parents know that their kids will get a fair deal and that the academic standards are high ... you see, I have some of the best test scores in the Inner City schools."

He spoke at great length of his interest in helping children acquire more than survival skills:

I look hard for areas where these kids can get the limelight ... They have been on Sesame Street more than once and have participated in big concerts in the concert hall.... I do everything I can to support their positive image, not just the immigrant kids, all of them ... to do this you have to be a bit of a showman ... you have to put across to the world that these immigrant kids are an asset and not a liability You don't want to hide them away but to publicize them every chance you get I spend a great deal of time teaching manners and decorum so they don't look like second class citizens.... I use testing to their advantage rather than avoiding them as some of my principal colleagues prefer to do Here in this school we teach the children how to take the tests That is one of the reasons our scores are so much higher.... If I am to follow the mandate of the Division, I'll do it well, and that includes the immigrant kids as well as all others ... as long as they are in this school they will have the same opportunity and must be encouraged to excel ... what I mean is that there will be

³ Ogbu has designed a typology which divides minority groups into three types: autonomous, caste, and immigrant. Autonomous minorities do not necessarily regard the majority group as their reference nor do they necessarily want to be assimilated, (Jews and Mormons) but there may be competition and/or accommodation. Caste minorities are the polar opposite as the dominant group sees them as inferior in all ways. Caste minorities are kept subordinate and apart from the dominant group in all aspects. Immigrant minorities fall between caste and autonomous and although they begin with little acceptance from the dominant group they often later tend to adjust to the norm of the dominant group.

standards for these kids to achieve and models for them to learn from and everything will be done to see that this happens. I am not saying that the mandate is right but it's practical"

Gerry's enthusiasm for his role as an Inner City educator was echoed by the majority of teachers at R.D.Usher. The following quote typifies their responses:

" Immigrant kids and the whole question of the Inner City education ought not to be considered as an albatross ... it could be and should be an exciting and vital place to be, both for teachers and the children."

Chapter V

Reception and Placement of Immigrant Children

Reception and placement are the first real life experiences of an immigrant child's school career, and as such will have implications of immediate academic and social significance. Moreover, it is likely to continue to have an ongoing effect on later life. This critical juncture makes the nature and character of the child's reception and placement a matter of some concern. Before the child arrives at an R. D. Usher classroom door he or she will have experienced a placement process not involving the classroom teacher. However, the results of this initial experience will be, in both form and content, inherited by the classroom teacher. For this reason it is important to examine the procedure before the reaction to it by teachers or implications of it for teachers.

Erickson (1975) states the importance of the process in this way:

"At various points in people's lives, decisions affecting social mobility are made. The decisions are usually made jointly; individuals may exercise some degree of choice over their own future, but given the scarcity of positions in some areas of society, their qualifications are usually evaluated by others who decide whether or not they can do as they wish. The people who tend the gates are often professionals with experience and credentials in the fields they monitor. They are found in schools, colleges, employment agencies, and personnel offices or businesses and government. Where individual cases form patterns, such decisions may have consequences for society as a whole, especially if these patterns are determined by race and ethnicity. (p.45)

At R.D Usher the initial gatekeeping functions take place immediately upon arrival and involves several of the school staff. In 1987 the school

registered 250 new students and 27 of these were new arrival immigrants, which in number is more than an average enrolment for one classroom. The procedure and routines for placement of all new children are meant for the entire school and are based on placing children in programs that already function largely on an age-grade basis. The Principal plays a crucial role in each new placement by making the final decision as to which classroom the child will eventually be placed. This is not necessarily a unilateral decision because he will seek advice, as need be, from the secretary, migrancy teacher and resource teacher.

In this school the very first and direct contact the child, parents and guardians will have is with the school secretary. In R. D. Usher the secretary, Janice, has the desk near the door of the reception area. It is one of her primary responsibilities to 'process' all the transfers in and out of the school and as such is the first person in the placement process concerned with reception and placement. When a new child arrives at the school Janice will ask two preliminary questions: "What school, city, or country do you come from and how much English do you speak?" Janice is the first one to assess the child's ability to speak English and she uses indicators developed through experience to determine whether the child has a moderate or severe problem. For example if there are only short, one word answers to her questions, a heavy accent, any evidence of confusion, or an interpreter accompanying the child, Janice will gather these impressions and report them to Gerry. She uses her first impressions to alert the principal to the degree of language difficulty there may or may not be. She explains her interpretation of the Principal's role:

"Mr. Melville is always around so he makes the actual decision as to where he thinks the child ought to be

placed he does this by an informal interview and by looking at the passport or other papers they might have on them ... sometimes even when the whole family comes we can't find any clues because nobody speaks any English so he just makes the decision."

Her next task is to fill out the prerequisite paper work: the student description form, health card, record card and index card. She then explains to the child, or accompanying adult, that the medical form that she gives them must be returned as soon as possible. (figure 3)

The preliminary paper work is the same for each new child that enters the school whether they are a new immigrant, or a child from another school division in the city. There are four program options at this school with regards to placement and the Principal, with some consultation in certain situations, exercises these options. The Principal will decide whether the child will go into a regular classroom, to an ESL classroom, either half or full time, to the Special Needs classroom or to the Migrancy program. The Division has mandated that every new child to the school who is also new to the community will spend a period of time with the Migrancy teacher for the purpose of assessment and orientation. All immigrant children qualify for the Migrancy program as mandated, but if Gerry decides that this particular immigrant child needs E S L instruction the child will go directly to the ESL teacher and bypass the Migrancy Program. Gerry explains the criteria for placement:

"If the child appears to have little or no difficulty with English I'll send him to a regular classroom as an age-grade placement and it becomes a matter of which one ... I will check the class list for enrollment ... see if the room can handle another one ... I also look for an ethnic mix ... also consider the personality of the teacher.... burn out factor too ... If it's apparent that he needs a lot of help in English I'll send him to one of the two ESL classrooms ... depending on his age ... we have a primary and senior classroom in this school ... cut off date is around 8 ... probably send him up for full time at first ...

If he's not to go to ESL I'll send him to Marion [migrancy teacher] and she'll do some testing and orientation ... observation for a day or two ... then we'll sit down together and decide where to put him."

Janice's next task in the placement process is to ask one of the office clerks to take the child to his or her new teacher, or to call the teacher down to the office to receive the child. The child arrives at the actual classroom door by one of several ways. If the placement occurred during classtime a clerk will accompany the child to the classroom. If the placement occurred outside of classtime the classroom teacher will be contacted and asked to come to the office to collect the child. If there is no one immediately available to accompany the child, he or she will wait in the office until a clerk is free or until a break occurs in classtime. Lydia, one of the grade four teachers describes her reaction in this way:

"once in awhile you may get some warning but usually not ... there is a knock on the door and someone is there with the kid ... or you'll just have got your coffee and there's a buzz from the office."

Janice, being the first person to see all the immigrant children when they first enter the school, makes these observations concerning the child's first moments at the school:

"fear... so many of these kids are scared to death, they cry ... not wailing or anything usually but lots of tears ... they hang onto their parents ... The other thing I notice is that they are so often dressed inappropriately, no boots or heavy coats in winter...this gets to be old hat ... done this [placements] fifty or sixty times this year already."

The role of the secretary although not one of critical decision making is never the less an important role in the process of placement of immigrant children. Janice is a pleasant, Anglo, fair haired woman of middle age who

has been at R D Usher for several years and who says, "I've seen hundreds of these [immigrant children] kids come through here." She has adopted a straight forward, soft spoken, business-like attitude when she deals with people who come to the office and without exception, all people are treated in the same manner; although a stern voice may be addressed towards children if there is need of disciplinary action due to an altercation in the school yard for example and if it so happens that the principal is not there to respond. For immigrant children who may be already disturbed or intimidated by authority, she represents the first official contact with the school. Marion, the migrancy teacher recalls this incident:

"one child from Vietnam screamed bloody murder that first time the uncle brought the kid to the door... couldn't get the kid in the door... turned out that the building terrified him... last time he saw a building this size his father went in and never came out... we figure must have been a prison or something"

Even though Janice is the first person with any official capacity to have contact with new immigrants or any new arrivals for that matter, she does not welcome them or spend any time making them feel comfortable. Partly this is because as she stated, "From where I sit I think they're scared of the big school... so much space and so many people at once... I agree that the thing to do is to get them in the classroom as soon as possible and get a routine going". Her response to this concern is to break the large frightening school into a smaller manageable unit by getting the child into a smaller classroom immediately and then by establishing security by way of the organized, routinized classroom. To this end Janice has developed an expedient method for processing the new immigrant as quickly and efficiently as possible believing that aspects of welcome and orientation are not part of her function and would in fact delay the important classroom entry. The

literature regarding self esteem, culture shock and immigrant education all make reference to the importance of the psychological implications of what is almost characterized as an "imprinting" process. (Jeffcoate, 1980) At this time at R.D.Usher a child may not hear a word of welcome or hear a question related to how he or she feels until arriving at the classroom door. Even then it is not a guarantee because the child may arrive in the middle of a lesson or part way through a gym class, and the teacher may not be able to stop immediately to spend time welcoming the child.

School secretaries do have a role with important social implications as well as a bureaucratic function and the Division could include them as well as teachers in the attendance of cultural awareness seminars. In that way the child may be assured of both a sensitive reception and placement by beginning to integrate the two aspects immediately in the office. The second reason for Janice's attitude of expediency is one of time and energy. In one year she may process over 250 transfers in and out, with approximately only 30 of these being transfers in of new immigrants. There are no specialized procedures mandated by the Division for placing immigrant children so there are none to implement. The choice for treating immigrants in a unique way would be left to the discretion of the office staff on an individual basis if they believed immigrants warranted preferential treatment. These factors accompanied with all the other problems associated with an Inner City school tend to leave this issue as one of low priority concern.

Placement and the Classroom Teacher

Immigrant education is an all encompassing concept. As a result, developing the appropriate environment for this education to occur has implications for everyone involved in the educational environment. The

degree of success will be determined by the ability of those involved to assume the appropriate level of responsibility. No where may this be seen as more crucial than in the role of the attitudes and behaviour of the classroom teacher. Teacher's play a significant role in the formation of children's attitudes towards others of differing backgrounds.(Ijaz, 1982; Kehoe, 1979) This literature also states that children bring negative bias and attitudes to the classroom and when this happens it is for the teacher to develop strategies to change these existing attitudes into positive ones of tolerance, and understanding. Our present educational system depends to a large extent on the one to one relationship between teacher and child, and as long as this remains true the teacher's role is crucial to the success or failure of program delivery, and more to the point in this instance of immigrant education. Teacher attitudes and behaviour will determine the degree of expectations for the immigrant child which if too high or too low can have a detrimental effect on the child. Teachers, as a result of their own schooling, bring to the classroom a set of bias and prejudice which will influence all aspects of classroom life. Teachers will also bring to the classroom a sensitivity or insensitivity to different backgrounds which will determine how each individual child is interpreted and valued.

These factors will in turn determine how a teacher will respond to the issues of placing immigrant children. The ways in which an immigrant child is placed into the classroom environment is likely to be crucial to his or her academic success and social well being for the rest of the school career. In those first few hours and the child will gather positive and negative impressions that may influence his or her school career.

The new school environment will provide the first institutional setting (other important settings being the street and the home)to develop and test

the skills that will determine what degree of control the child will have over his or her new environment. If the child is encouraged in those first weeks to be independent he or she is more likely to develop that characteristic the rest of the school career. Perry relates this to learned helplessness:

"..if a person experiences many situations in which his actions do not produce the expected outcome,he may believe that his own ability and efforts do not matter,but rather that uncontrollable external forces like luck or fate have taken over. ...the critical development is that the ethnocultural child no longer expects that he will be able, through his skills and work to succeed.....he has learned to believe that he is helpless." (Perry, 1982,p.19)

This attitude of learned helplessness could possibly effect a child's academic achievement and social development and although this attitude could increase or diminish over the years a pattern could be established during those very important hours,days and weeks of the placement process.(Berryman, 1979) He also points to a well balanced sense of self esteem as being a necessary factor in being able to overcome culture shock.(form of anxiety exhibited in such behaviours as anger,frustration and isolation) He believes that culture shock begins immediately after the initial period of excitement and euphoria over the newness of the new environment has dissipated. This period of time corresponds to the time when children are being received, placed and oriented to their new environment. This awareness elevates the importance of the placement process to one deserving consideration as a distinctly important issue linked to the whole of immigrant education but separate in the sense that it needs an individual investigation and a structured, methodological orientation.

The remainder of this chapter contains separate accounts of how teachers perceive the issue of placement and orientation of immigrant children and how they make sense of the issues involved. It became apparent quite early on in the interview stage of the study that teachers did not see the issues of reception and placement, assessment, and program development as separate issues. The issues were seen on the whole as interdependent and interrelated. For this reason some relatively long segments of the transcript of the interview are included rather than only those lines which may be considered pertinent to the particular issue. In doing so it is believed that insights may be gathered about how the teacher does in fact relate this issue to other issues and to his or her own particular experience and behaviour. Fundamentally, each one of the accounts could be considered on its own as one separate example of how teachers view the issues related to the reception and placement, assessment, and program development of immigrant children.

The ESL Teacher

Each of the chapters related to the presentation of data will begin by considering the E S L teacher. This account will provide a context with which to compare the regular classroom environment. Teachers often have very little or no warning as to who may come into their classrooms, or when they may be arriving, or how many. The E S L teacher is no exception but unlike regular classroom teachers, she does have the option of moving children who are almost prepared to move out into the regular classrooms if space is needed for new arrivals. Regular teachers do not have this option of sending children to another classroom, however the frustration shown here by the E S L teacher would indicate that moving children around expediently is not a good solution for any situation. The frustration stems from the fact

that there is no way to determine when immigrant children will arrive or in what numbers. The Principal must ensure that the new children be placed equitably among the available regular classroom and specially funded program situations like E S L. Gina, the ESL teacher expressed her own concern and that of many classroom teachers as well:

"... just this mid-February three Guatemalan children were brought to ... my room was full ... I had to stop everything I was doing ... what I had planned There was absolutely no room for them so I had to send out three others ... some who were here longer that I thought could manage in regular classrooms I was not happy in doing this ... had to think too quickly ... sent them out to below age grade level but felt they could get by ... I don't like this but what can you do If the Guatemalans hadn't come I would have kept them [the others] longer."

The Regular Classroom Environment

This is a tendency throughout the school to place immigrant children into the regular classroom situation as soon as possible and several of the teachers commented on the this urgency. Laureen, one of the grade four teachers, saw the evolution of the placement process and understands the dilemma in this way:

"Seven or eight years ago as I remember children were kept longer with the migrancy teacher ... five or six days were what I recall ... that was what was recommended by those teachers who piloted the new program This has changed now because I don't think it was a hard or fast rule or anything ... not policy or anything ... it varies from school to school and different administrations and their priorities I guess ... too, the kids want to get into the classrooms Basically I think things are moved along quickly because really ... how long does that first testing and paperwork take ... can't stretch out the process for very long ... really ... it only takes three minutes to read a passage at the grade three level ... they can do it or not.

The tone for the urgency in placing children as quickly as possible in their appropriate classroom situations is due in part to the pace set by the

office and the administration. In part the expediency stems from the philosophy of the school whose emphasis is on academic achievement and the sooner the child is learning to read, write and do mathematics the better. Part of the expediency originates from the inability on the part of the school as a whole to see the significance of the placement process as more than a bureaucratic necessity. There were however, a few individual teachers who articulated a concern about the nature of the placement-orientation process:

"The whole thing [placement and orientation] is done too fast ... they might as well not do it at all for all the good it does ... should be longer... less rushed."(Alice, Grade 5)

These frustrations may be alleviated if the process of reception, orientation and placement of immigrant children were considered to be integral to one another but worthy of individual recognition with regards to delegation of responsibility and the development of strategies for effective implementation. To that end reception would become an entity unto itself, it would become someone's responsibility, a process would be established and in that way every child would be assured of a welcome into the school. Part of this responsibility would be to inform teachers that a new child would be arriving the next day. This would provide lead time for teachers to think about and prepare ways to integrate the child immediately upon arrival at the classroom door. In part this is accomplished through the migrancy program which provides some notification in order that the regular teacher may prepare for the incoming immigrant child and there may be at least a half day in which to do so. This can occur because every immigrant child is considered new to the community and there will spend some period of time with the migrancy teacher.

Reception, Placement:Teacher's Pedagogical Styles; Expectations and Attitudes Toward Immigrant Children

In part the methods used by individual teachers in the reception and placement of immigrant children reflected their teaching pedagogy and attitudes and behaviours towards immigrant children. Cohen and Manion (1983) provide a typology which outlines an analysis for understanding teacher's positions towards immigrant children and the particular stage of the developmental sequence in which they are located. Further research (Ford,1979) demonstrated that teachers can be spread into the first five stages. The sixth stage was added as a consequence of the study. The typology is included here because it was a method used in the initial stages of identifying what kinds of teacher behaviours were discussed by the literature relative to immigrant and multicultural education. The following are the major characteristics of the typology:

Levels of Ethnicity

Stage 1. Individuals internalize the negative views of his ethnic group that are institutionalized within society at large; consequently experiencing self-rejection and low self esteem. This may lead to the avoidance of situations that bring him in contact with other groups or he may endeavour to become part of the dominant group often aggressively: demonstrating some form of anti-social behaviour. This has been labelled ethnic psychological captivity.

Stage 2. The individual participates primarily in his own ethnic community (ethnic exclusiveness) believing that his group is superior,

having internalized the myths of the superiority of their group and the innate inferiority of others as a result leading lives of ethnocentrism.

Stage 3. This stage is characterized by the clarification of attitudes and ethnic identity, a reduction of conflicts, and development of positive attitudes towards his own group: this self acceptance being a prerequisite to responding positively to other groups and is based on a genuine pride, free from fear. This stage is usually accompanied with some degree of economic and psychological security.

Stage 4. The person has the psychological characteristics and skills to operate successfully in his own group as well as others. This particular teacher's attitude is concerned more with the academic standards for her students than the placement process.

Stage 5. Individuals have a commitment to their group, an empathy for others, and a strong but reflective allegiance to the country as a whole and to some idealized values.

Stage 6. The individual has all the above characteristics but now has a balance of ethnic, national and in addition global values.

Features of teacher behaviour that can be strongly influenced by a teacher's level of ethnicity are the expectations and attitudes towards the children they teach. Ford believes that teachers are operating within the parameters of one of these stages and also either consciously or unconsciously placing the children they teach at one of the levels, most often at the same level or lower than the one on which they are currently situated. These expectations and attitudes affected by the level of "ethnic awareness" include such aspects as whether a teacher is more concerned about academic achievement than social development, for example. It will determine whether a teacher has a limited classroom view of immigrant

educational concerns or more of a global or political perspective. It will determine the emphasis the teacher will place on such things as self-esteem and independence for the immigrant child. It will also determine whether the teacher sees the need to change or adapt his or her program or management style to fit the needs of the child and the degree of sensitivity and empathy employed by the teacher.

Each of the following accounts is one response to the question of how teacher's make sense of the issues related to the reception, placement and orientation of immigrant children into their classrooms. Leah, one of the grade four teachers began with:

"I don't believe in coddling in general ... if you expect nothing you get nothing ... kids here know what I want Kids in my room will adapt themselves to my program but I do make some changes ... adapt a bit so kids can handle the program ... if they happen not to be on the standard ... or the norm ... whatever ... I don't see immigrant kids having special problems really ... not a separate issue in my room .. except for English I'll make some allowances for different language abilities and with math, you can do it or you can't ... my goal for all new kids, immigrants or not is to make them as independent as possible as soon as possible ... immigrant kids I treat the same as the others ... same behaviour expectations ... same curriculum ... same high standards, those kind of things ... kids are too reliant on the teacher... should be more active in their own learning The only thing that I do other than the obvious things is to set up a peer tutoring system so the strong kids can help the weak ones.... then again it really doesn't matter if you're an immigrant or not for that to work does it."

In contrast, Alice, a grade five teacher with many years experience in the Inner city places her focus more on the emotional needs of her students when she said:

"I recognize that there is not a whole lot I can do at the beginning for these youngsters academically for a whole lot of reasons ... I've had them come to me terrified ... some of the stories are awful ... having to run to a plane being shot at with the Red Cross coming along and scooping them up and throwing them on the plane ... you can't expect them to get over that in a hurry What I do is to at least try to make them feel welcome ... always a big smile ... immediately make the child a part of the group ... I can always call on one child to buddy up ... take under their wing ... children are always willing to help and welcome new ones in this school ... my experience in the South end was that children there were more cliquy ... maybe because they don't ever feel left out themselves and doesn't occur to them ... no special placement methods ... are going to make much difference to the child until the hurt and the trauma are gone this depends on the amount of time between leaving the home country and coming here to school ... also how they got here ... Some of the Vietnam ones cling to me I think because I am like a mother to them ... I think the overcrowded conditions don't help either ... they need some space and to be liked for themselves ... not one of a big group all the time ... bottom line for me with orientation and placement of these youngsters is for them to see my room as a place where they are welcome and if we get any academic work done at some point it's a bonus I've see hundreds of immigrant children come and go and lots of theories the lasting impressions are going to be whether or not they were cared for long after remembering how they came into the school and the first days and weeks."

There are also teachers who are to a large degree indifferent to the process of placement, the receipt of documents and other information that is passed on to them as the result of the Principal's placement or the migrancy teacher's observations. Donna, one of the grade four teachers said:

"Basically placement of the child begins for me when they bring him to the door and I see the color of his skin I really don't know how he gets to me or what they do in the office ... there will be a file with the child with the usual blue form, transfer in sheet and maybe some stuff from the migrancy teacher ... anecdotal things ... you know ... a picture that was drawn, color identification, printing sample ... that sort of thing I may glance at it but that's all usually useless unless I have lots of time ...

am going to make up my own opinions no matter how fat the file is.

She responded to the issue of the importance of acquiring accurate information relating to the child's origin and previous educational background in regards to placement and orientation by replying:

"I don't see this [child's previous file] as being of any significance really because my job is to teach them all to read and write and this is not affected whether they are Vietnamese or Cambodian... I will admit that I once did mistake a Cambodian kid for Vietnamese ... found that out when I finally decided to read the files thoroughly ... I am not keen either on knowing about ugly, bloody stuff in the kid's past ... doesn't do them any good but that's not in the file anyway ... from where I'm sitting the money and energy put into placement would be better spent on good films, books and resource people who could come in Right now I'm doing a unit on shelter... something that concerns all the kids no matter where they come from ... would love to make the point of how this need make us similar ... we could make a quinsy hut outside in the playground but there's never money ... there is too much paper and process and not enough hands on for these kids ... no better way to place kids or get them used to school than by doing it ... I guess the only thing I do really, that first day or so is to not be as demanding on the new child for awhile because I don't know if she has the skill ... and of course my first priority is to make them comfortable and at home and if there are any reluctant ones ... those who have not quickly formed an attachment on that first day ... I will pick a more responsible child to be a special helper for the new child ... this is not a reward but a responsibility."

There are then those teachers whose attitude towards this issue is entrenched in an articulated holistic philosophical approach to education that sees placement and orientation as only one small aspect of a much larger concern. George begins to elaborate this with these comments:

"Basically I am concerned with today and tomorrow and not the past so placement and orientation start when the kid comes to my door... the school has policies and

procedure to get them that far and they do their job and I do mine ... What I am interested in is what the kid is going to be able to do not what he's done ... so everybody starts at square one with me and we go from there you see ... What I'm interested in doing is creating a mechanism that will allow all immigrant kids, regular kids, everybody to deal with developing to become the best people they can be... I don't do any thing much that's special when a new kid comes ... oh I might look at some of the paper for the basics and would try in the first day or two to meet with all those people who had a stake in this and come up with some sort of a strategy ... determine how much English he knows, get some survival English going maybe ... signs and symbols ... give him a buddy... but my main concern would be to get him plugged immediately into the program."

The school staff has approximately one third of its teachers who were once immigrants. Many of these teachers adopt more of a personal stance than their colleagues and often view immigrant education as part of a larger context. Perla, one of the Filipino teachers, began her commentary with:

"I am sensitive to the feeling of oppression that immigrant children experience ... Thai ... that was one of my Vietnamese students isn't intimidated by me because we are the same color ... I'm not blond ... I know that these children are intimidated by authority when they first come to the school ... the detention room and being punished for lateness frightens them ... I see the issue of placement and reception of new children as only a small part of the idea of Multiculturalism ... it has got to be more than lip service policy in schools ... has to be part of the whole Division ... the whole curriculum ... everything."

One of the other immigrant teachers, Maria, remembers her own school placement some twenty years ago:

"We came from Portugal at the end of February ... was the first time I'd seen snow ... there I was at the airport in a pink chiffon dress, patent leather shoes and a cotton coat ... I remember seeing kids playing wearing snowsuits ... made them look like fat little balls ... two days later I

went to school at Victoria, Albert The Principal found out where I was from and took me straight to what was called at the time basic English ... we learned English by repeating basic words and phrases like what is this ... this is a book ... I don't remember any special orientation ... that was it."

Now, some 25 years later in her own grade three classroom Maria relates how her own experience enables her to empathize with immigrant children when they are placed in her room:

"well I can relate better, I've been there ...Portuguese parents won't let the girls go camping with the school so I try and explain to them that it will be alright,that nothing will happen ...doesn't always work because the tradition is strong of keeping girls away from the world....I was called a Porkchop when I was a kid,I know what that was like...in my room we spend a lot of time learning about other cultures...I'm still interested in the Portuguese customs and I share that with the kids here"

Another ethnic minority teacher attempted to put reception and placement into a socio-economic perspective in this way:

"no matter what I am able to do here to get the child started ... make him welcome ... reception and placement I think you call it ... all the good done here will be a lot undone if there are problems in the home ... so many of these kids are left to fend for themselves ... most are fed and clothed basically but there is little or no support or stimulation at home ... the parents are too busy surviving I have a student ... Maria, her mother, is a Portuguese single parent who works at menial jobs to support them ... she has another one in day care ... Maria thinks that her mother hates her... she [Maria] lashes out ... acts out with the other kids something terrible ... always unsettled no matter how hard we all worked to get her oriented to the school ... see what has happened is that traditional Portuguese families are breaking down where I never saw that before ...the pressures of trying to make it here ... living in second rate housing and jobs ... I know what a good family life can do for kids ... it shows good up as strong academics, positive image of themselves, no behaviour problems, willing to cooperate ... things will take hold at the beginning if the home is okay."

One grade five teacher discussed placement and orientation of new children from an academic, management development aspect.

"I assume when these children are placed in my room that they are ready to receive instruction or they wouldn't be here.... They have already spent time in an ESL classroom ... I make a point of getting a verbal account from the ESL teacher myself ... no, it's not policy to do that ... I just happen to think that it's a good idea ... I watch a lot for body language ... watch for signs on the face ... try to be perceptive ... Even if the class discussion is at a high level I will include them in everything.... they will get their fair share of time from me and extra help if they need it ... on the whole I want to get them integrated into the program as quickly as possible ... get them into their groups ... nice thing about this school is the emphasis on grouping ... child is not singled out that much ... my first priority is to treat all the children the same ... I do this as part of my day by day routine ... how? ... by not singling out as I mentioned ... a lot of mixing around ... seating plan ... switching groups ... each group has a captain to keep order and give assistance to the others ... everybody gets a chance ... even the very newest ones."

A counter approach to the question of "treating them all the same" was brought forth by Vincent, a grade three teacher, himself an immigrant. The response is consistent to other comments about the necessity of having children psychologically safe and secure as a necessary prerequisite to learning and stands in direct contrast to those who have adopted an attitude of 'getting on with it as soon as possible'

"No I don't treat them all the same, especially at the beginning ... for them I will look for suitable, special materials ... what will fit their needs ... at the start I'm going to make the work easier... this will happen until the insertion into the group ... this is important in enhancing self esteem ... this is the most important part of learning ... must establish an identity or everything else is useless ... not all immigrants are the same so you don't treat them the same ... Latin Americans tend to be shy ... West Indians are more open ... one thing I do for all I

guess is to be friendly but not familiar you understand ... this helps overcome their fear of authority ... most of them have that... I'll admit the school can only do what it can to help children adjust ... still the tendency is for some to adjust to the school after a short time and some never do... there are no two situations the same."

Any investigation of what develops as an argument based on equal opportunity or treating of immigrant children the same or different, must be made within a political, social, and economic context. As stated by Cheng et al, 1981 an equal chance is "essentially, a culture-bound concept, defined relative to the dominant belief system and political and economic structures." (p.140) They continue by stating that the basic tenet of democracy is equal opportunity for all which implies that we are all meant to turn out relatively the same. Along with this comes some of the adverse effects of equality of opportunity which can be seen as the perpetuation of the notion of being ashamed of what you are, how you look, how you talk. This shame may cause immigrants to on one hand assimilate as quickly as possible or avoid the possibility entirely. The education system often tends to view assimilation as the way to ensure equality of opportunity. In response to the thought that immigrants were disadvantaged, compensatory programs were developed to assist those culturally deprived children in order that they could become an equal member of the dominant group. Essentially compensatory education is based on the premise that the problem lies within the learner and not the host society. Within this argument there are those who believe that until society recognizes that there must be a greater economic balance before there can be cultural pluralism. Teachers perceive and react to this dilemma of equality by how they treat their children in the classroom.

There are those teachers who view the issue from a particular methodological point of view. Barbara, a grade three teacher with twenty five years of experience looks back at her teaching experience with immigrant children in this way:

"It doesn't matter how you place and orient these kids ... one way I see as the problem is the translation delay ... These kids think in their own language for a long time and they have to translate bit by bit.... this causes incredible fatigue and frustration which makes them really vulnerable in those crucial first months ... what we need to do is place them and allow for an adjustment period in their own language ... we're beginning to get Cambodians in our school and there's nobody here who can speak a word to them when they come in ... there are teachers here who can speak another language ... but it's only used for translation ... not encouraged ... anyway ... that's not what I mean ... I mean instruction, paper work, the whole thing ... everything should be in the kid's own language for oh I don't know ... a few weeks, maybe two months or so ... yes I know that this would be expensive and impractical sometimes ... for now I use a lot of body language ... eye contact, facial expressions ... they are reading me all the time ... I also believe in physical contact In my room orientation begins the minute they get in the door ... I initiate the involvement ... I don't wait for them to be ready ... games are a good way to do this ... getting them to do things with others."

Several of the teachers when asked to discuss step by step how they organized the child's first day and week if they could plan ahead relayed a procedure very similar to this one of Maria's:

"The first thing I will do is to conduct very formal introductions.... I explain to the class that they have a new friend ... smiles are important so I smile a lot ... they look at your face ... then I quickly tend to their physical needs ... a desk ... some supplies of their own ... I ask for volunteers to be their buddy ... for the first few hours I let them play and wonder around the room ... I expect no work ... immigrants are often in awe of machinery so I allow them to explore the language master, projector ... I will have one of the volunteers take the child on a tour of the school ... one thing that is important is that I don't interpret aggressiveness or defensiveness of the new

child as a behaviour problem ... I use my intuition a lot because I was after all a immigrant myself ... you have to watch for psychological trauma ... teachers should recognize this ... social workers are called in too early."

At this point she began to talk about what she characterized as the ideal nature of a placement and orientation process:

"initially there must be a very warm, very kind and friendly greeting in the office ... Ideally there should be an interpreter there ... some one from a similar background, myself for example could do it for my own kind ... this should be done very slowly ... not like a snap or mechanical ... someone could be trained ... the cost shared by the community and the school or maybe part of the job of a student teacher ... ideally you'd use books ... other varied multicultural materials, stories ... legends to let the child know right away that their culture is respected and is not inferior to the dominant one ... you have to always watch your gestures they mean different things to people ... wait for a smile ... you would try to encourage laughter ... ideally you must take the child for what he is ... you will let them eat what they want not just Canadian snacks ... so now we have food experience so why not show that taste may be different but the substance ... the nutrients are the same ... noodles are a good one for that."

When asked how she would implement her ideal process she replied:

"First you need strong administrative support with a unified staff and encouragement.... lots of it ... and a good level of consciousness regarding ethnic groups ... you should say that some children lack energy due to poor nutrition not that Chinese people eat too many noodles also like the concept of time ... there is a thing called Filipino time ... I should know.... nobody ever comes to a party right on time ... you make a grand entrance ... but we make a difference ... we do this only for social occasions not for meetings."

Celia: A Placement Incident

During a conversation with the principal a spontaneous opportunity occurred when the placement of an immigrant child could be observed

directly. The secretary buzzed into the principal's office to tell him that a new child along with the family was waiting to see him. The following account describes the reception process.

Gerry: 'Don't leave, I'll be right back, this should not take very long.'
It was at this time ten minutes to two on a Thursday afternoon, the first recess bell had just rung. Gerry proceeded straight for a woman's outstretched hand and took a document from her. The first comment came from him.

Gerry: 'Yes, this is a passport.' (looking at a young girl he asked) 'are you Celia Nanchez?' (The child nodded the affirmative) Gerry looked to the woman accompanying Celia, 'Are you the Mother?'

Mother: "Yes."

Gerry: (looking directly at the accompanying male) "Are you Celia's Father?"

Uncle: 'No, Uncle.'

Gerry: (Ignoring the Uncle and speaking to the Mother) 'what grade should she be in?'

Mother: 'Grade five, grade five please.'

There was no response immediately, Gerry continued looking at the passport. After a moment he turned to the mother.

Gerry: 'No, she will have to go into grade six because I see here that her birthday is January 21, and January 1 is the cut off date for grade six.'

Mother: 'I want her in grade five ... grade five please.'

Gerry: 'No the rules say that she must go into grade six and tomorrow she will go to Mrs. Davies [migrancy teacher] who will show her around.' (Gerry then turned directly to Celia to say) 'Would you like to stay here today or come back again tomorrow?'

Celia: 'Tomorrow.'

Gerry: 'Don't buy any books or supplies because we'll supply them for you okay ... will you be staying for lunch? ... here I'll give you a lunch pass ... (he went to a filing cabinet to pull one out) '... you need one to get into the lunch room ... see you tomorrow and don't forget to bring your lunch.'

At this point Celia broke away from the group and bolted towards the front entrance and stopped just outside the door. No one in the office went after the girl, or commented on her departure.

Gerry: (looking at the Mother) 'The secretary will help you fill out some forms ... okay.' (he pointed to Janice) 'bye now.'

The Principal left the outer office and returned to his own office. This process had taken eight minutes. After returning he explained the event in this way:

"I don't think that these people are as poor as some we get ... the mother's clothes and henna hair treatment looked expensive enough ... Celia was wearing a good pair of jeans ... makes me believe that these are not political refugees ... not as desperate ... the passport says that she is from Guatemala ... I wonder what that means because we had another family not so long ago.

Gerry considered that for the most part his job was complete. He continued:

'I've done my job because I've made the decision where to place her by the book.... The mother wanted her her to be in grade five but I can't do that because of her age and this would go against division and government policy ... What I'll do now is to notify Marion [migrancy teacher] and she will do some informal testing and then I'll decide what grade six class to put her in ... I really don't think she needs any ESL ... her English, what little I heard sounded pretty good but just in case I'll just have Marion come in ... Oh yes and her passport said that she's been in an ESL classroom somewhere in Alberta for a few months, Red Deer I think it was.... So what I'll do is look at the enrollments of all the grade six classes, ethnic composition, numbers and who may be better equipped to handle a new kid at this time, burn out, energy level, you know what I mean Sometimes I have to think as much or more of my teachers as the kids.... don't be surprised if she doesn't come back tomorrow ... happens sometimes ...

they shop around from school to school, by Monday they could be on the other side of town."

Summary

There was no formal or initial stage of introduction or small talk of hello, how are you, or where are you from. There were no words of welcome. The business at hand was begun abruptly and proceeded very quickly. The Principal was able to make a placement decision within ten minutes. On the basis of three or four questions he was able to determine what probable class Celia should be placed in and that her English was likely satisfactory. The mother may have been an example of the situation he described earlier of immigrants attempting to have their children remain in school longer by lying about their age or requesting lower grade placements. In this case Celia is a very tall, physically maturing child who may have felt very awkward and uncomfortable among the smaller, less mature fifth graders. Celia was unhappy throughout the interview and bolted for the door as soon as she was dismissed. No attempts were made to speak to her privately or determine what may have been troubling her. At this time it may have proven very difficult to do as there were two other people waiting to see the Principal, and the secretary was busy with Celia's mother, filling out the registration forms.

Since September the school had 252 transfers in, with 27 of these being new immigrants. In a school the size of this one, priority is not placed on placement of children at this initial stage. Placement was interpreted as an interruption by the administration and the office staff, and the sooner it could be dispatched, the rhythm of the school restored and the real business of instruction begun, the better. The interview did not take place within the

privacy of the Principal's office but in the ante room adjoining it. During the interview several people wandered in and out to use the phone and the copy machines, or to wait for the Principal to be free. To further aggravate the situation there are windows on three sides of this room which open onto the corridor and several times curious children peered in on Celia and the family.

Celia, Orientation and Initial Assessment: The Role of the Migrancy Program

Celia did not return on the Friday morning but arrived at nine o'clock the following Monday morning accompanied by her mother. The office secretary directed Celia and her mother to Marion, the migrancy teacher. Marion outlined her assessment and placement procedures by first accounting for how Celia came to be with her and what happened that first morning:

"well you see she didn't come on Friday after all ... came just before nine on Monday ... was with her mother ... she's a shy little one ... I guess Gerry decided on Thursday that she didn't need ESL so Janice buzzed me in the staff room and said she was here ... I went to get her and we came straight here to my office."

The migrancy teacher at R. D. Usher sees her main responsibility when dealing with immigrant children as the elimination of fear.

" The first problem is the fear and anxiety I see in them ... so what I do first is spend time trying to deal with this ... I let things filter in slowly with these kids."

This attitude differs somewhat from the more regular transients who have moved several times before and know what to expect: "it's not fear so much with the regular movers, it's more sorting them out as anything ... as fast as possible."

Before Celia's mother left the school Marion made sure that the mother was aware of all the amenities of the school; the breakfast program, traffic

patrols, school bulletins, Heritage Language Programs, entry and dismissal times, and the lunch program. The mother was given a copy of the Parent's guide to the school act and Celia was given a gift from the school of a grooming kit.(brush,comb,toothpaste) The next stage of development was to conduct some informal academic testing to determine Celia's areas of strength and weakness. For reading assessment purposes Marion uses pre-packaged tests such as the Bader Reading Test, Queen's Vocabulary Test, San Diego Schonel List and Spelling Test and the Dolch Word List. (Figure 4 & 5) For Mathematics assessment Marion will administer the Lundoff Computational Skills Test.

As soon as the mother had left Marion took Celia across the hall to the nurse where the child was quickly checked for vision problems or obvious diseases that may have related to her skin, throat or hair. When this procedure was complete Marion took Celia on a tour of the school where all the personnel and the programs were pointed out. At this time it was recess and she quickly found a child about her age to take her out into the yard. During recess Marion discussed Celia's placement with Gerry and together they decided what room was best for Celia and while doing so considered teacher personalities, class atmosphere and ethnic mix, as well as enrollment numbers. Marion collected Celia after recess and walked with her to the Grade 6 class that had been chosen for her. There she introduced Celia to the teacher and quickly spotted someone to be her buddy. She explained that she tries to choose a buddy who was new him or herself recently and is known to be reliable. Celia did not stay in the classroom immediately but returned with Marion to the nutrition room. This Marion relates as being the most productive aspect of the orientation and assessment process: "I like to give these kids a snack ... it wins them over

right away ... it breaks the ice somehow and they relax so much more." After the snack Celia went with Marion to the library where she was shown how to choose a book and enjoy the library. At 11:30 She was once again taken by Marion to the lunch room where she was introduced to the supervisor and the rules of conduct.

Over the lunch hour she graded Celia's tests and briefed the Grade Six teacher on the results. Marion also made sure that Celia had the supplies she was entitled to and that she had a note to take home which gave information regarding her teacher and her new classroom. In the afternoon Marion continued to spend time with Celia in a more informal way and at the end of the afternoon took her to the art room to join a class in progress. The next morning she took Celia to her classroom one last time and asked her assigned buddy to assist Celia in establishing in the housekeeping rituals such as where to store her things. Marion speaks of her role as being one of expediency, adaptability and flexibility:

"it was very unusual for me to be able to be one on one with Celia today ... could happen where I would have 12 of them at once ... immigrant kids and new to the community kids all mixed together ... you can see how tiny my room is [her room is not a classroom but a small office] ... my main goal for all the kids is to let them know and have them believe that I am here for them if they need me ... only a few come back for direct contact but most will smile and wave and poke their head in my door ... they really don't forget this first experience ... especially the immigrant kids ... from where I am I see these kids as very accepting ... you'd think snow for the first time would be a negative thing but it's not."

Marion's biggest concern regarding her role as migrancy teacher is that she is not able to communicate well with many of the immigrant children.

On her second day of school, Celia experienced an incident that upset her greatly:

"Celia had a yellow bag stolen at recess yesterday with her bus pass in it and she was very upset ... it would have been good if someone would have been able to speak to her in Spanish and reassure her but there was no one here to do it."

The final responsibility towards Celia's placement and assessment was to provide a recommendation regarding her next few weeks and months at the school. This recommendation was to provide direction for academic program development and the possible need for resource assistance:

"my recommendation to Gerry was that Celia didn't need any liaison with the C.G.C. [Child Guidance Clinic] or any other agencies like Child and Family Services ... I suggested that it might be a good idea to refer her to resource for a bit of enrichment depending on the general framework of the class she was placed in and depending on the needs of other kids"

As it now stands the Division does not have in place a standardized procedure and a set of guidelines to assist the process of placing and orienting immigrant children. The establishment of a procedure is the first step in ensuring that all immigrant children who enter schools within the Division, will receive an appropriate and meaningful entry into the school system. At present the reception and placement of immigrant children consists of often ambiguous and contradictory practices. This is not the fault of any one individual because the responsibility is shared haphazardly by many depending on circumstance, time available, and simultaneously the number of more immediate problems that develop. The reception and placement of immigrant children at the school studied is not considered to

be of significant importance to teachers because they either believe it is not within their jurisdiction or because there is no time to do so. As a result children are dispatched abruptly, believing that the sooner they become part of the mainstream the better.

Chapter VI

Assessment of Immigrant Children

Assessment is a general term used when articulating the multi-level process of appraisal with regards to a child's suitability for, and achievement in, a particular grade placement or program. Although, within the education literature the term largely refers to formal psychological and standardized testing, it may also have several other evaluative criteria involving aspects such as the observation of behaviour, social development, informal skills, interest, values and personality inventories. Assessment at all levels is concerned primarily with the diagnosis of ability and achievement and is the fundamental method for evaluating, selecting, grouping and streaming children in the elementary school. Ability and achievement although largely of academic concern, do also consider social, emotional and physical evaluation. The results of these tests are placed in the child's cumulative file and remain for the remainder of his or her school career. Due to the important emphasis of R. D. Usher School on standardized testing and high academic expectations, Division policy is included in this chapter for easy reference. In the newly drafted policy (June 1987) Winnipeg School Division #1 defines assessment as:

"The act or process of gathering data which evaluates important elements involved in education, such as competencies or achievements in subject areas by students, or the relative effectiveness of school programs, or the impact of certain instructional variables. Assessment may focus upon any of these or the relationship among them."

The draft policy also states that the purposes for assessment will become the following:

1. Program planning
2. Program evaluation
3. Placement of students
4. Information to students and parents
5. Accountability to the public
6. Allocation of general resources

The draft document continues by establishing six principles of assessment that form the basis for the development and implementation of student assessment policies and procedures. They are:

1. Assessment should be a continuous process taking place as an integral part of the teaching learning process
2. Assessment should take into account the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains, and the developmental level and learning style of the student
3. Assessment procedures should be designed specifically to assess particular and clearly articulated instructional objectives
4. The major emphasis should be on formative, rather than summative assessment
5. Assessment procedures should focus on process, as well as content
6. Assessment instruments should be as free as possible from cultural, racial and socio-economic bias.

To a large extent assessment at R D Usher is conducted through the process of standardized testing. The Division states in the draft document the purposes for testing are:

1. To assist in addressing general issues with regard to student performance
2. To provide the Board and Superintendents with summary statistics as a generalized indication of academic performance in the Division and assist in the interpretation of specific educational patterns within individual schools or Division areas
3. To provide the superintendents with information on specific schools
4. To assist in identifying the needs of groups of pupils and subsequently in planning of appropriate programs within individual schools
5. To assist individual schools making requests for additional resources, human and material, for the implementation of specific programs
6. To assist in student transfers, so that appropriate programs could be devised more readily with reference to the information received
7. To provide in depth diagnosis on individual students
8. To provide information regarding the implementation of the objectives of provincial curricula

Although R.D.Usher responds to every level of this policy the focus is on assessment as a tool to provide in depth diagnosis on individual students and to provide a basis for requesting additional resources as seen this past year when the Principal petitioned the School Division for an Elementary School Counsellor.

Although the proposed draft policy is concerned with standardized testing as the major assessment tool, provisions are made for additional methods, including:

1. Classroom observations
2. Performance testing.
3. Informal reading inventories
4. Writing folders- writing samples
5. Teacher developed tests.
6. Check lists/rating scales
7. Oral/ written examinations
8. Homework

During the past several years, North American educators have become increasingly aware of the contradictions and ambiguities of testing immigrants and minority language children. Several school boards have abolished formal testing until the child has been in Canada for at least two years (Toronto North York Board 1977). On May 12, 1987 a motion was passed by the Winnipeg School Board Trustees to suspend Division wide standardized testing for one year because it was determined the tests used were not based on the curricula the children were taught, nor were they normed on a student population similar to that of other Divisions. The money usually allocated for the traditional testing procedure will be used to develop a Division wide criterion based testing program. The motion read:

Be it resolved that the Division wide testing program as it is currently stands be suspended for the year 1987-88 school year and that the \$21,500 included in budget item no. 5251 for this program be utilized to develop a curriculum based - Division wide testing program and that during the review of the proposed policy on Student Assessment by the Board, the Administration provide

information on the projected costs and timeline for the development of such a testing program. (School Board Minutes Section 7.2 May 12, 1987).

The reasons expressed for the decision to suspend standardized testing at the Division level stems from the possibility of the misuse, inappropriateness and misinterpretation of the test results. The policies are formulated by the Division, while most of the formal testing done in elementary schools is conducted by specialists such as clinical psychologists, and resource teachers, with the more informal testing being left to the teacher.

This portion of the study will examine how teachers at R.D. Usher perceive and respond to the initial assessment of immigrant children and their role in that process. Teachers attitudes and concerns regarding the assessment and interpretation done by others, affect the attitudes of teachers towards immigrant children, and how they organize their programs.

In spite of extensive Government and Division policy and guidelines, it was seen that each teacher developed his or her own rationale and strategy regarding the initial placement, assessment and program development of immigrant children. The next section contains separate accounts of how teachers perceive the issue of testing and assessment of immigrant children. At R.D. Usher School teachers are to respond to and be involved with assessment at several different levels. There are clinical and formal psychological assessments done by the Child Guidance Clinic as well as those tests conducted by the Migrancy and E S L teachers. Then there are the assessments conducted by the classroom teachers under their individual control which include unit tests, reading inventories, and diagnostic math tests. A distinction is made by the teachers that assessment has

categorically two purposes; one being initially for diagnostic purposes and the other being standardized tests that are used systematically throughout the system to evaluate achievement and ability. The difference between achievement and ability lies close to the heart of the controversy regarding the testing of minority children.

The E S L Teacher

Once again the accounts will begin with the initial context of the ESL teacher to provide a basis for comparison with the regular classroom. For those immigrant students whose initial placement is the E S L program, they are likely to be subjected to a considerable degree of formal and informal assessment within the first few days and weeks in the school. Much of this initial assessment for immigrant children occurs in the E S L classroom. This process generates data on the academic ability of the child and also relative personal information as well as anecdotal records of a child's physical and socio-emotional development. One of the ESL teachers, Gina, began her discussion by stating "I really don't know how or what they do downstairs that determines how they get to me ... it really doesn't matter I don't think." She is also one of the majority of teachers who choose to ignore assessments or records that come from another school, either in this or a foreign country because she believes that most of the documentation is not useful because it is difficult to follow, and the documents that accompany a child are not reliable and for the most part the information is useless. She explains that being told that a child was a very good reader in Spanish at a grade four level does not tell give any useful information other than the fact that the child was perhaps a willing student.

The moment the child arrives Gina begins to test the child informally. She builds simple tests around activities that are occurring in the

classroom. For example, as the class was doing a vocabulary exercise she adjusted it to test the new child and did it without changing her general plans or calling it a test. She uses informal exercises to decide how to group the child and to form her own opinions of where to begin. These results are transcribed into anecdotal records she keeps for each of her students. She will include comments ranging from how many of the colors a child can recognize, to observations of the child's social behaviour, likes and dislikes. Gina keeps a constant watch on the anecdotal record system she developed over the years, and finds that they assist in planning for the skill, or concepts, she must reinforce and for which skill or concept the child has mastered. Gina also keeps carefully dated samples of the child's work, with comments providing contextual information. She comments: "nobody but me could understand this record system ... everyone does it differently so sharing it with someone else is of no use."

From time to time audio samples of each child's speech are recorded to identify, for example, problems involving syntax and cadence. A test of a more formal nature that is given is the R. D. Usher Inventory. (Figure 4). This is an itemized checklist designed by the ESL staff and resource teachers for determining a pace, and strategy, for each child regarding language development. If difficulties arise she cannot diagnose she will use the Maculaitis test; a comprehensive language development test made available from Manitoba Education which she uses to extend or verify her own diagnostic ability.

Gina sees her primary function as preparing immigrant children to receive instruction in English and prepare for the regular classroom, yet there is relatively little procedure, formal or informal, to link the classroom teacher and the regular teacher during the critical period of transfer and

transition. As much as she is concerned with assessing and developing language abilities, social and emotional development are seen as equally important. If the assessment determines that the child is ready to enter a full-time regular classroom, but is emotionally troubled, Gina states that she is:

"Reluctant to send him to the bigger class even though he [ESL student] knows enough to cope ... this is still the right place for him until he acquires enough self esteem ... if I put him into a large class it will hurt his ego again and he will go back to where he was ... unless it gets too crowded in here I will keep him longer."

Gina's reluctance to send an emotionally unstable child to a regular classroom even though he or she may be academically ready stems from her own experience as an immigrant and her awareness that immigrant children need a secure and safe environment in order to recover from what she calls culture shock. If she determines that a child is still suffering from culture shock she will keep the child with her until circumstances force a move or until she believes the child able to leave confidently. In part her reluctance to transfer some of her children is because a strong attachment occurs very quickly between the immigrant child and the E S L teacher. It is difficult for both Gina and the child because often times she does not have the children with her for the complete, natural cycle of the year; the majority of them come and go after a few months at most because more often than not they do not arrive in September. Neither are there provisions for her to share the accomplishments of her children after they have been placed in a regular classroom.

Gina considers her job complete when a child can read and understand common directions such as "sit", "stand", "put it away". Not looking for a

perfect assessment, but as she calls it "enough for the child to float and not submerge." Cummins (1980) refers to the basic stage of language acquisition Gina is referring to as BICS or Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills which is basically English for everyday survival which Cummins believes takes at least two years. The subsequent level is called CALP or Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency and is the use of English to learn which Cummins states takes seven years to be as proficient as others in the class whose first language is English. At the BICS level Gina expects that the child can write simple stories depending on his or her grade level. For example, at the grade six level she expects the child to write several simple sentences cohesively that are grammatically correct, and then be able to read them back to her. Cummins believes that the transition period from BICS to CALP is the most stressful and difficult period of transition for the child because even though there is enough vocabulary to get by because there is not always enough structure to the language to form concepts that are necessary for abstract thought. It may be this stress that Gina sees in the emotionally unstable child who she fears may "submerge" at this time.

In Math Gina expects from her experience that most immigrant children already have basic math skills of computation, but they will need practise in problem solving due to the language difficulty. In this case she will provide reviews in basic Math and upgrading skills whenever necessary.

Her account of the transfer process suggests that the E S L classroom is somewhat of an isolated entity in this particular school with little communication between Gina and the receiving classroom teacher. The ESL classroom as it is structured in this school serves more as a "reception" program, rather than a "withdrawal" or "resource" program. Yet several of

the teachers believe that by the time the child enters the regular program, English should not be a problem. There is no evident agreement or understanding between the regular teachers and the E S L teacher, as to whether the child should achieve the CALPS level of language acquisition before entering the regular classroom or whether it is suffice to have mastered only the BICS level.(Cummins) In addition, there are no formalized transfer procedures; or mechanisms in place for the sharing of all the invaluable information Gina has gathered.

"when I have completed the assessment and done what I can I first think of the personality of the teachers in the classes for that grade level ... I want to be sure that the child will be comfortable with that particular teacher ... I can recommend or ask for the teacher I want, but the Principal makes the decision ... then I will tell the new teacher whoever it is what testing I have done but that's all really ... If they ask for it I'll pass on other things but I won't push won't suggest it even ... some will want it but most won't ... I guess they don't want all the bulky paper."

The Context of the Regular Classroom Teacher

An observation emerging from the interviews was that the majority of the teachers were not overtly interested in the assessment advice of others. As pointed to earlier the E S L teacher is responsible for eliciting a large amount of documentation that for the most part remains useless after the child enters the regular classroom. Lorna, a relatively new grade four teacher spoke for the majority of teachers when she said:

"I must find out for myself...one test or even several from somewhere else are not enough to know where a child is at...I'm going to review anyway...make up my own mind...children change so fast ..what someone else thinks is not really important...I may look to see if there is some sort of emotional problems but as for academics I do that myself really"

Vincent was another teacher who did not see the importance of maintaining a liaison with the E S L and reflected the attitude in this way:

"when a child comes to my door from E S L that's it..new beginning...what happened before I don't really care too much about.. I assume that they know enough English to get on with the program in my room...sometimes we [ESL teacher and himself] talk about the new child but not usually..too busy

Another theme that emerged with regards to assessment was an overall reluctance to use standardized tests which in turn brought to light the need of teachers to be seen as independent agents in the classroom. Several of the teachers either rationalized the use of standardized tests or diminished their importance. Anna, a grade three teacher, expressed her attitude to testing in this way:

"Most tests other than the ones I give have no real meaning for me, I assume that a lot of teachers feel this way ... I give standardized tests only because I have to ... giving them to immigrant kids is ridiculous especially for the first three years ... I teach the test ... I read the directions ... test scores from other schools I may glance at that's all."

Other teachers linked their understanding of testing and assessment directly to what they viewed the needs of immigrant children to be. For example, the grade six teacher believes that treating all children academically equal does not apply when it comes to the assessment of immigrant children.

"It won't work because of the language ... when you're trying to do the same things with all the students, it's difficult because of the many levels ... some will find it harder no matter how fair you are ... you wouldn't expect the same from everyone."

Instead of ignoring the scores, or teaching the test like some of her colleagues, Leah prefers to assume control by using the scores for interpretation and assumes that the results will be lower than the norm. She uses the tests to identify areas of strength and weakness, where she can improve her program and alter the established groups if it is needed. She sees standardized testing for immigrants as contradictory to learning theory "Ideally we're not here to put students through a system of testing ... at least not so soon for the immigrant students but the reality is that they all must do it." To make sense out of this contradiction in her own classroom Leah adds her own unit tests and has established a set of criteria and strategy for what she sees as effective assessment procedures for immigrant children:

"First thing I'll do is to make allowances for English by reading the questions to the students and by interpreting ... I don't look for correct answers but for hints as what they know and don't know ... for Social Studies I don't test or look at the reading ... I will as well do oral testing ... hold conferences with the new children often ... I also change my own teaching style a bit by slowing down ... I adjust when I have to ... I don't rely only on testing for assessment ... look for progress in their day by day work ... notebooks are a good way to keep track of that ... I also keep folders of student's work."

Realizing the Division has required the administration of standardized tests to all children teachers continue to rationalize their existence. One grade five teacher exemplified the majority of responses:

"It's a good thing that they're not really very many of them. The C. T. B. S. [Canadian Test of Basic Skills] is only given here in grade three and six this year ... then there's the Gates test ... that's given to all grades ... it's only a vocabulary and comprehension test ... it's not so bad ... not as remote ... three quarters of the kids can do

well ... It's done in October and May and is kind of useful in looking for progress.... really only good for those who have been here all year pretty much useless for immigrant kids especially at the start ... a lot of them come during the year too."

The few teachers who openly criticized testing rather than rationalizing its existence related their argument to concerns such as child development for one example:

"I had an immigrant girl this past year who was already developing physically ... she was failing in most areas but had a readiness to work ... in this case I won't hold her back a grade ... I used my judgement and didn't go by the book... would be too hard on her ... she'd be awfully out of place ... if she didn't have this readiness I'd say put her in a special needs classroom ... what you'll have if you don't then is a physically mature grade six student reading at a grade three level with little kids...the age-grade system is not perfect."

The observations of the inconsequential attention paid by most teachers to previous assessments built invariably into a central theme of teacher autonomy. In this instance the previous assessment of children, someone else's opinions could be seen as a threat to the order and authority that teachers feel they need to establish within their own domain in order to be effective. Teachers often appear to view their "real" work as what goes on after the children come to their classroom door and after the classroom door is shut. Common sees the issue this way:

"in the classroom they are perceived as the producers of ideas because they are the major authority and source of knowledge for the students. They are expected to manage their classrooms efficiently and effectively, to be in control of their students. They determine to some significant degree, what is right or wrong, good and bad, beautiful and ugly, in the lives of their students. Teachers make serious and consequential decisions about their

student's successes and futures. Because of this, when the classroom door is closed, teachers believe themselves to be powerful figures in the classroom. Teacher's determine, they believe, the nature of the life in the classroom, a life that is tampered with from the outside very little" (Common, 1983, p.42)

Compared to other occupations, teachers undergo relatively little direct, day by day supervision so they can have, behind closed classroom doors, the opportunity to develop and express individuality between themselves and the children they teach. Teachers do have, to one degree or another, the opportunity to become quite autonomous people within the classroom domain, who may want to preserve and protect that autonomy at every opportunity. This autonomy could become a jealously guarded commodity to be preserved at times at the expense of co-operation and information sharing.

The Supporting Role of the Ethnic Liaison Officer, the Vice Principal and the Resource Teacher

The development of the theme of teacher autonomy lead to the investigation of how teachers made use or did not make use of the support personnel in ways other than the obvious ones mandated by the central administration such as all new children to the community see the migrancy teacher first or if the more obvious traditional ones such as if the child has pink eye, teachers would send for the nurse. Support personnel were seen in several general categories: the first being the office staff, the second being resource teachers, and the third being the housekeeping personnel, fourth being the personal care people (nurse, nutrition staff), fifth being the administration, and finally a sixth and relatively new category of ethnic

liaison teachers. Each of these categories of people were consulted by teachers to one degree or another depending on the overt need and the level of confidence and independence felt by individual teachers. The examples discussed in the following sections are examples from three of the general categories, and how they are utilized by teachers and how this may indicate the nature of their collective or individual autonomy.

The Vietnamese Liaison Teacher

The Vietnamese teacher has a wealth of relative information regarding Vietnamese immigrant children and the immigrant experience in general. During the time of the study, however, it was noted that the teachers did not appear to acknowledge this significant resource potential. Teachers were asked about his role and the answer invariably was linked to the understanding that he had something to do with the community but not the school directly. Teachers did not see his role entering the reality of "actual" "real" teaching other than in a token, superficial manner of showing slides or talking about artifacts during Multicultural week.

The Vietnamese Liaison teacher, for example, sees the issue of assessment and testing of immigrant children from a more broader, cultural perspective. His account brings to mind the importance of understanding the cultural background of immigrants and the significance of hearing of this experience directly from those who have experienced it themselves, and warns of the potential danger of disallowing immigrant children individual experiences. In this instance he is discussing assessment of Vietnamese children:

"Vietnamese children are used to testing ... There is a strong tradition of testing in Vietnam there are many rewards for good work ... even official celebrations to honor good students ... kids won't be traumatized by

testing ... In Vietnam children learn by memorizing and the testing is seen as a measure of worth and self reliance ... parents will pay for a tutor so that children can do well in the tests ... when they come to Canada the testing is different ... the children mark their own work or that of their classmates ... another way is by checking the answers in the back of the book ... because they want to please the teacher they will cheat on tests even though they don't see it as cheating ... they lose respect for the test because it's not serious anymore ... lose respect for the teacher ... so using those tests with Vietnamese children to tell what they know is no good."

The Vice Principal

There are also teachers who articulate the issue from a step by step plan of action. One such individual was Sam, an immigrant from China some 19 years ago. For many years he has been a classroom teacher until he became the Vice-Principal of R.D. Usher school just a few weeks before this interview. In this instance Sam is displaying a form of autonomy that allows him to reflect upon the "big picture" because he is divorced from the day by day operation of a classroom. In this way he brings an integrated perspective to the issues related to assessment that regular teachers tend to compartmentalize into their classroom domain. Sam's account is included here to provide that comparison and he begins to outline his plan:

"First thing you could do is to acquire as much background information as possible ... as much history as you can get from the parents ... next you would do a cognitive assessment with the aid of an interpreter to get an idea of the literacy level of the child in their own language ... then you would begin to assess the level of the child's English language literacy level ... you could use picture cards, concrete objects for identification, Dolch word list for word recognition ... then you would do some very simple assessment of writing skills and the same orally ... with computational skills you would go through the whole gambit and continue until the upper limit had been reached ... for problem solving I'd use an interpreter ... also for critical thinking skills ... thirdly I'd test the psychomotor abilities ... you could call in a specialist to check for fine and gross motor skills ... then

I'd arrange for a thorough medical including hearing, vision, tactile discrimination, stamina, lastly I guess I'd arrange some testing of the affective ... not probing in to the dark recesses of the child's mind but how do they feel about coming to Canada ... I'd stick to an attitudinal profile which any caring teacher or administrator could administer ... This profile would provide clues as to the security level of the child and the self image I would only ask for a psychological assessment later on if the period of adjustment became maladjustment."

The reply to the question of who should orchestrate this process was met with the following: "of course it should be the ESL teacher because she has frontline ownership ... working closely with the receiving teacher."

The Resource Teacher

For a minority of teachers consultation with the available resource teachers formed a crucial part of the assessment process and in this way the resource function played a pivotal role as a buffer between the placement, assessment and program development for the immigrant child. One teacher put it this way:

"When I have any trouble deciding how to group the new kid or if there is a particular skill gap like spelling or just in general to organize his program if it had to be in any way different from the others, I may call on Mat." [resource teacher]

The Resource Context

The role of the resource teacher at R. D. Usher is to provide individual and small group remediation for children who require it. In addition, resource teachers will design teaching aids and develop programs for specific individual problems for use in the classroom. The second major function is to collaborate with teachers in order to develop strategies to assist

teachers, for example, with implementing provincial curriculum and diagnosing behaviour problems. The third function is to act as a consultant, or liaison, for teachers with regard to ancillary support agencies such as the Child Guidance Clinic, and to assist in interpreting test results. Mat, one of the two resource teachers at R. D. Usher realizes his role in this way:

"I work in classrooms with kids ... I am first and foremost a classroom teacher who finds himself in the role of resource... I don't agree with taking kids out and fixing them ... as far as immigrant kids are concerned I determine some means of designing programs to help with the language and academics or continue to get the things they need."

Mat's experience as a resource teacher has lead to observations such as:

"Computational math skills are often not a problem because it's a show and tell sort of thing problem solving is another matter ... here they need to know and of recognize what needs to be done ... there I need to determine if it's a language problem, a concept problem ... low skill problem ... first job is to sort it all out ... collectively we ... and the experts who ever they are tend to blame the lack of success on language ... there is the sky is falling attitude around ... There seems to be some magic number somewhere from the research that says it takes seven years for a kid to learn English...(this may be a reference to the work of Cummins) This I think is some sort of a rationalization because we don't have an organized curriculum to help these immigrant kids who need it.... B.C has had one for ten years."

He has developed a straight forward method of determining the language abilities of the child, and applies the evaluation to develop programs to meet the assessed needs. The first step is to investigate what type of English the child has acquired:

"... first of all I look to see how the child is functioning with basic classroom, sometimes called street, or survival language, which can be determined by the degree of success in following directions ... 'please get your pen out of the desk Celia' ... at this stage you will watch for

cues and decide whether the child looks to others for cues or if she does so automatically ... is the child functioning at a more sophisticated level of socializing or conversation, "how are you today Celia" ... "I am fine thank you" would be considered an appropriate response at this level ... the final stage I call the level of expanding vocabulary ... 'I am very happy today thank you, would you like to see what my mother bought me at Woolco yesterday' ... this assessment is conducted basically as an intensive oral exercise ... I look towards that magic moment when yeah it's time to go into the mainstream."

Mat bases the degree of success on the number of children who need him, and how well his calculated, intuitive judgement is working. He believes his intuition works more often than not even with the element of risk because he is working with no established guidelines.

"Criteria now is very general ... would take a very skillful, perceptive teacher to determine a test for relevant criteria to show language proficiency ... right now there are no appropriate learning materials either... often we all go wrong because we must ... we are obliged to by the Division ... to acquire and incorporate language first and then be concerned with the curriculum ... This implies that language cannot be learned in a vacuum and that concepts and structure and vocabulary of language ought to be developed together, not separately."

Results are best achieved by determining what is relevant to the child. Although relevancy has become a cliché in the past decade, Mat believes that it is still ignored by many. He would like to see more attention paid to aspects of child development dealing with how children acquire language:

"too much time and too much money is spent on reporting how good we are ... when what we should be doing is reflecting on how children learn differently ... I see some children learning to read by spelling out the words ... like d-o-g, then they say the word ... reading it actually ... if they don't know it they'll ask and continue the process and incorporate into their existing vocabulary ... this is not a conventional way of teaching children to read but

may work for those children whose alphabet may be somewhat similar to English ... could be a method of providing that spark or what reading clinicians call the encoding and decoding key."

This observation was possible because he asks himself where is this child now, and what does he or she need? Assessment for Mat is more than the clinical or technical aspects of testing and evaluation. In continuing to define his role as a resource teacher Mat relayed his concern for the socio-emotional needs of immigrant children:

" Why teach a Guatamalan kid about igneous rocks when he is dying inside spiritually..how often do you think teachers encourage their Vietnamese kids to talk about their life over there ... we just assume that it's better here ... not always so ... look ... a lot of these kids have parents who were professionals ... now they're washing dishes just to get by ... it's naive to say that they've got to be happy here ... a lot of them come to Winnipeg from small villages ... that's difficult enough under the best of circumstances ... teachers ... all of us must talk about these things ... otherwise you can't grow."

In general all the E S L and resource teachers expressed a strong concern for the need of a strong, healthy, social and emotional well being of immigrant students. While psychological implications were a priority to some degree for some classroom teachers it was not consistently recognized to be of major importance throughout. Both the ESL and resource teachers are on the "frontline" of the receipt of new immigrants which may explain their concern over the psychological aspects which will have manifested themselves more intently at the beginning and also because of the fact that they deal with smaller numbers of children, so there may be more time and energy to devote to these concerns. In part the roles of both are more of a transitory nature which allows them to focus more on the immediacy of the difficulties for new immigrants as opposed to regular

classroom teachers who may see psychological implications as only one consideration of many that need attention. Regular classroom teachers are not only faced with the problems of immigrant children but a host of others as well.

In summation the first consideration was not to overlook the obvious. The following discussion begins with Mat's observation that too often the rules of common courtesy are neglected. Then he continues to generate a humanistic perspective:

"What would it take to learn to say hello in fifteen languages? ... it is a simple matter of hospitality ... How come I can't find a simple dictionary so I could at least say hello... that's so simple but so important ... somehow it's not done ... we should highlight the days that are important to these kids ... I can't find a good ethnic calendar either ... assumption may be that it is difficult to translate policy into action ... too much acknowledgment of multiculturalism and little enough energy and resources doing it ... this idea of many cultures has got to be incorporated ... I mean integrated into all aspects of school life ... there has got to be some notion of sharing ... the idea of we'll do it together rather than I'll give you something ... what has happened is that somehow a label got stuck on the fact that we are not one culture ... we talk about many cultures ... so now that we've got the label we have to continue the notion but nothing practical is going on ... we need specially designed learning materials and less research of the type that says if a child is proficient in their own language so will they be in English ... I hear this sort of thing spouted all the time but I never see the researcher to tell me exactly how this works ... how I can make it work ... I try to test in the home language but you can't judge the level of home language proficiency because I don't know what the expectations are ... an ethnic aid helps but there is still a problem of conceptual congruity between me and the aid ... it's a great help in some cases but still only an indicator ... my bottom line opinion is that for the first six months or more a immigrant child should be taught in their home language ... I know that this is a nice theory but totally impractical financially ... would never happen."

One of his concerns is that teachers have a difficult time allowing immigrant children to be independent human beings. The reason for this is that teachers:

"prefer to be needed ... a certain teaching personality type wants kids to remain dependent ... they need that ... want to be patted on the back for persevering."

Believing that teachers must confront their own attitudes towards immigrant children, and that these attitudes can not be legislated in any way he continues:

"What you have are teachers that cover up or ignore their prejudices ... that way it is more dangerous because you can't identify who they are ... they can hide behind dictated policies ... no doubt it's better to come out in the open even if it's not a good feeling ... even so, if you hear a teacher say that West Indians are lazy it's best not to over react because this is a dangerous thing ... maybe that teacher was tired or frustrated ... easy to make judgements ... but at least there may be the opportunity to talk about it."

The assessment of immigrant children is a curious contradiction: on one hand teachers want their students to appear to be succeeding and standardized assessment is the way this is currently done, and on the other hand this standardized assessment is seen as being highly inappropriate in determining the ability of immigrant children. All other valuable incidental forms of assessment done by teachers is considered inconsequential and is often not shared. If time was more readily available teachers might be encouraged to share the progress of their students in a more open way and this could develop into one possible strategy for eliminating some of the heavy reliance on standardized assessment procedures. There is an established procedure called the Review of the Child which provides the format for this type of sharing. This process involves a team approach,

problem solving approach to children who are at risk for whatever reason. The team consists of all those involved in the education of that particular child. The classroom teacher brings the problem or issue regarding a particular child to the team and a solution and plan of action is sought collectively. The team meets at the request of the teacher until the problem has been resolved. A report is then submitted to the Principal and the child's file. By its nature this approach demands a great deal of time and a philosophical agreement regarding the reasons for assessment.

From the ethnic liaison teacher it was learned that Vietnamese students do not fear testing because it has been an essential aspect of their culture and doing well is a mark of self esteem. More use might be made of the immigrant teachers as resource people during the assessment process because immigrant teachers can relate the cultural aspects pertinent in designing evaluation procedures relevant to different backgrounds.

Chapter VII

Program Development for Immigrant Children

Jean Burnett (1980) describes successful program development for immigrant children as linked to the overall concept of multiculturalism along with a commitment to the values of equality, variety and change. Other authors such as Mallea and Young (1980) and Mock (1983) have identified preferred teaching outcomes in terms of ensuring that all children gain self esteem and positive well being in their individual culture while understanding that this is in part one aspect only of the value Canadians place on the total multicultural environment. Mock(1983) notes that all programs seem to have some common denominators in teaching skills, some of which are so universal they are often not specified: one of these is the consideration of a healthy and safe psychological environment in which to learn. Other required teaching skills as categorized by Mock (1983) may be interpersonal sensitivity, planning and implementing curriculum, evaluating child progress, working with parents to promote home and school unity, and classroom and behaviour management. In immigrant education interpersonal skills may be seen as crucial during the child's first few months at school when both teacher and child are struggling to communicate. In order to establish successful interpersonal communication a teacher will acquire many skills related to an understanding of how children grow and develop, along with some knowledge of how people communicate with one another fundamentally and what specific cultural characteristics may differ.

A teacher will also have to develop the necessary "people" skills of interaction, empathy, and fair play when dealing with these children and other teachers. Not all the data collected during this study supports this

idea but ideally, according to Mock the successful teacher of immigrant children is:

"fully committed to the understanding the individual backgrounds,abilities,and needs of all the children in the class and to incorporating that understanding into programming and teaching strategies that will Maximize learning"(Mock,1983,p.88)

Not all teachers are concerned with or prepared to confront the backgrounds of each of their immigrant students choosing to begin the relationship based on how the child arrives at the door and not who the child was before. According to Mock an empathetic and culturally aware teacher will be able to adapt and modify the existing curriculum to enable the program to meet the needs of all the children. Humanistic educators and program developers would to a large degree support this idea by advocating that there are universal needs for all children based for example, on Maslow's hierarchy. Maslow's theory states that children will not learn unless they have acquired a positive sense of self and well being. At the same time a teacher who would advocate such a position would also have to be committed to some notion that each child is unique and as a result attempt to understand the individual backgrounds and capabilities of each child. This will involve an understanding of knowing when to distinguish between I "treat them all the same" or I "treat them all differently"

The teachers at R. D. Usher articulated program development for immigrant children as a multifaceted process, some aspects of which they believed fell within their jurisdiction and some which they believed did not. The term Program was defined at several levels. Teachers would often speak of program as something they owned or was generated by them. In that case they would specifically refer to the class reading program as "my reading

program" or in a more general sense you would hear them relate to "our" school's multicultural program. Less personal terms were used to delineate other educational agendas such as the Language Development Program that was developed by the Resource teacher, to special areas such as the Migrancy Program, the Heritage Language Program and ESL. The day by day planning and implementation of the classroom activities were believed by the teachers, to be their major responsibility, whereas the general, overall responsibility for curriculum development was believed to be the mandate of the Provincial Government and the School Division.

The provincial curriculum is an issue of great importance in R. D. Usher school. It is seen as the most viable means for children to develop their full academic ability and social potential in an equitable manner. When a detailed assessment or language development program was needed for an individual child with special needs, it was considered the responsibility of the resource teachers. Orientation and testing of new students was considered the responsibility of the migrancy teacher. The day by day planning and implementation for the classroom program was seen as the responsibility of the classroom teacher. There was often, however, no distinct boundaries where one responsibility ended and a new one began. This could lead to confusion, duplication of service, or gaps in organization. The welcoming of new immigrants, as described in an earlier chapter, is a case in point.

As stated earlier in the study, R. D. Usher is seen as a multicultural school and teachers invariably referred to multiculturalism while they discussed their overall programs for their classroom. Also referred to were special remedial or diagnostic programs that were designed for individual immigrant children, and in many cases the term was used when discussing

the general program orientation of the whole school. The teachers based their interpretation of multiculturalism on the policies agreed upon by the School Division, and to a large degree on personal experience, preferred expectations and outcomes.

To summarize the Division's approach to multiculturalism, the new policy will be included here. (more information is located in Chapter IV).

School Division Multicultural Policy

In February of 1985 the Division adopted a new multicultural policy which updates the initial document of 1978.

"Within the identified objectives of the curricula established by the Department of Education, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 recognizes that the concept of multiculturalism is integral to the school program. As defined in the Administrative Handbook of the Department of Education, multicultural education is the process of making education more responsive to the cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes our society.

Objectives

- 1) To assist students to develop an awareness of their own cultural and historical heritages.
- 2) To assist students to develop an understanding of and respect for the cultural and historical heritages of others.
- 3) To assist students to function in one or both of Canada's official languages.
- 4) To provide the opportunity for students, where feasible, to be taught other heritage languages.
- 5) To maintain liaison with cultural communities within the Winnipeg School Division.
- 6) To encourage positive attitudes of all Division personnel and students toward multiculturalism.

Commitment

- 1) Provide specific inservice programs for all personnel related to multiculturalism.
- 2) Encourage specific multicultural programs developed by individual schools.
- 3) Provide appropriate materials to foster multiculturalism.
- 4) Encourage staffing practices which reflect the multicultural nature of the Winnipeg School Division.
- 5) Provide the opportunity for input from community groups, where appropriate.

Personal Experiences

One third of the teaching and support staff of R. D. Usher are from an ethnic minority group background. Most of these teachers have an understanding of their role in program development based on reflective personal experience. One of the more experienced of the Filipino teachers spoke of how important it is for immigrants to have their past legitimized and made both intrinsic and extrinsic to program development. Her program is based on this premise and she discusses it as the single most important factor:

"I strongly believe that forgetting their past is denying them an identity ... we should not assimilate right away ... as teachers we should choose when to begin [to assimilate] ... In my program I try to relate things that happen in Guatemala to what goes on here, like Halloween for instance... they come with different expectations of what they will learn ... some of them don't think they are learning unless they have a book in their hands ... they don't understand that games can be part of a real program for learning ... it doesn't fit their past ways of learning so you have to help them make the transition ... slowly ... it is so important not to pretend that they have no connections to their home country ... we forget that ... it's wrong."

Another recent immigrant teacher adopted a more eclectic viewpoint.

She believed that there was no one single issue but a combination of several:

"First of all there are very few good teaching materials... reading for example ... The Expressways series is inappropriate because it has no connection to ethnic people. Immigrant people often don't know about Canadian food so they have poor nutrition because they don't know how to buy Canadian food to get a balanced diet... program should start with that ... no use trying to teach students with little energy ... in my program, especially Social Studies, I try to incorporate the idea of universalities ... how we are more the same than different but that approach is difficult in this school because the emphasis here is on skills, skills, skills... there is no time ... it's not a priority ... there has to be one unified program regarding immigrants for the whole school not just one classroom or two".

In part this response echoes the concerns of many of the immigrant teachers regarding program development. Many see both the Division and the School in general as paying only lip service to the concept of multiculturalism while in fact the real emphasis is on the acquisition of basic skills and the acquisition of values deemed important to the preservation of the dominant society. This fundamental dilemma concerning the role of schools in society is in part, a concern expressed by several teachers such as Lorna:

"sure, I want my kids to score well on the tests...but not at the expense of other things..like what..well their view of themselves and what they see as important...there are more skills to life than adding and subtracting...we're here to do both I think..the academics and the emotional stuff too"

Then there are immigrant teachers who saw the issue linked to cultural differences and the need for professional integrity. These teachers

emphasize the difficulties which concern the inability of teachers from varying backgrounds to share their experiences . At a superficial level this omission could be considered insensitivity, insecurity or indifference and on a deeper level it could be viewed as a form of superiority, or even covert racism.

"I think that there has to be more tactful sharing of information.... I know things that could help other teachers with Filipinos but there is no way to share this.... people keep what they know to themselves ... we [ethnic teachers] would share but nobody asks and we were not brought up to be aggressive ... program suffers ... I don't know what can be done but there has to be some kind of unity."

The frustration expressed here is linked to the theme of teacher autonomy developed in the previous chapter. It is an example of how the need for an overabundance of autonomy or misunderstanding the purposes for it, can lead to a detrimental form of isolation which serves only to hinder powerful teaching by denying unity and as well does nothing to preserve it.

Every teacher that was interviewed expressed some consternation over the fact that each new immigrant arrival created an upheaval to one degree or another in the classroom. These disruptions forced teachers to accept some particular limitations on their teaching style, classroom management routines and overall classroom agendas. This impingement influenced those attitudes and behaviour toward immigrant children who appeared to be the cause of these difficulties. One example is the teacher who did not determine that a child she believed to be Vietnamese was in fact Cambodian until more than half way through the year. This attitude has as its conclusion the dilemma of whether to treat all children the same or whether immigrants warrant special consideration. If it were not for the continual upheaval of children arriving throughout the year; there could be more time

and inclination to look at each newcomer individually. For this same reason teachers sometimes for example, expressed irritation at some of the mannerisms or voice inflections of some immigrant children which under less strenuous circumstances may have appeared inconsequential.

This may be in part due to the fact that all teachers are not able to successfully come to terms with their own conscious or unconscious views of race relations. There does not appear to be many visible provisions or opportunities for teachers to openly challenge and discuss these issues although some of the more recent literature believes this a necessary prerequisite to effective program development. Hall writes:

"The commonsense racism that is part of the ideological air we breath must be allowed to surface in our classrooms, no matter how unpalatable this might be to those listening: it is better to hear it than not to hear it...so we have to consider the problem of how to create an atmosphere in which these questions [of racism] can be openly and honestly discussed" (Hall, 1980, p. 11)

Another teacher was critical of the school's approach to program implementation. She cited as an example:

"Children in this school are expected to adapt to the program and not the other way around ... it seems to me that the attitude is ... 'well they wanted to come here, we didn't force them' ... the program is too much a set of isolated, separate incidents ... policy talks of unity and getting together in diversity but the actions here are directly the opposite."

There were also teachers who recognized their particular version of multiculturalism as not a distinctly separate, or important issue. For them, program development was based on the Provincial curriculum and skill acquisition. Multiculturalism was only an issue of isolated significance; if it happened to seem appropriate to a specific unit of work or a holiday for

example but was not viable or integral to the classroom program. The reasons for this attitude varied with each teacher. Generally there appeared to be a reluctance by teachers to confront the past experience and cultural backgrounds of immigrant children. Several times this negation was seen as a temporary necessity which often seemed to become the norm. Iris has fifteen years experience teaching in R. D. Usher and is from an ethnic minority background:

"I'm not going to make a big deal out of this [issue of multiculturalism] ... I want there to be no hoopla in my program as far as that is concerned ... I can and do sometimes integrate it into my Social Studies program if it's appropriate ... maybe at some point it may be okay to discuss the home country but for sure not at the beginning ... it's too hard on the kid ... it could single her out ... there are more important things ... like clothes, medical care ... no cultural things at first in my room."

One of the immigrant teachers believed that special considerations for program development such as for multiculturalism, or of any kind were unnecessary. He instead developed a program where all immigrant students will learn, and where the cultural issue will take care of itself. Rick was one of the minority of teachers who did not refer to his program as multicultural or not multicultural. He was not adamantly opposed to the entire concept, but dismissed it as "one more bandwagon from the Division" His ideas are developmental by nature, and consider both form and content:

"The issue here for program as you call it, is to find suitable materials for the immigrant child... you must fit their needs ... that is what is important ... if that is multicultural well that's good I suppose ... what I have developed is what I call global methodology ... that's building on a sequential model of learning ... in three months I can put any immigrant child into a regular group in my classroom ... no need for special programs ... Well I do this by teaching concepts not by book or page number ... the way I teach accommodates immigrants ... my

method uses the deductive thinking system ... highly structured program like textbooks won't work ... I work through assimilation, association, discrimination ... analysis and synthesis ... what I do is to look for meaning ... teachers need to have their own plan, a strategy for program ... creates confidence so it will work."

Another opponent to the concept of multiculturalism came from Bob. His response to the concept of multiculturalism was to avoid it as irrelevant "showy things like songs and dances, high profile and out of context". He did, however advocate that he fosters a true spirit of individual differences by helping children develop a positive self image and then teaching them to accept people for what they really are. His concern was that multicultural programs as he saw them, were artificial because situations are created and inflicted upon children, and do not emerge from their own actual experience. In this way multicultural program has got to be more than show and tell but a genuine commitment to people. Bob believed that his energy was better spent of what he called the "front line "issues of establishing a communication network between children, parents, and teachers, acquiring badly needed resources, and dealing with individual children with severe learning and emotional problems. Multicultural program will not solve what Bob sees as the root of so many difficulties children face in the Inner City: "Solve the family crisis and there will be less racism and reduce the class size so we can do something more than play around with language development." He talked about his program development in this way:

"oh yeah ... the program ... well it's based fundamentally on the idea of conflict resolution and maybe assertiveness training I'm going to teach these kids to accept responsibility so I'm giving them the tools so they can do it.... the means for doing this is by using Centres ...

I have a Science Centre, a math one, computer ... one for almost each subject area ... this provides the field where kids have to work both independently and cooperatively with their peers ... create their own limits within a set of expectations ... the whole idea is to learn to get what you want and need within a set of rules ... I can live with this because it can coexist with the existing Manitoba curriculum ... I want to see kids grow completely into whole persons not just disembodied skill types ... This I do by developing a healthy attitude towards school because if they don't have that all the teaching skills in the world are going to do nothing... making a big, special deal about an immigrant kid coming to the room is not a good idea If you have a good, working program there is no need ... okay ... maybe with some adaptation ... my room is already a safe environment so an insecure immigrant can get what he needs ... it's already there ... If somebody wants to do something really useful they could find a way where kids who have been here awhile could get some sort of training so they could act as skilled interpreters for their peers... each school could have some."

The ESL teacher realized that her emphasis was linguistic by nature. Although not as comprehensively, its importance was accepted or dismissed by several other teachers and brings into focus the argument that is based on how quickly children must be exposed to rigorous language acquisition in order to experience a successful program in their new environment. The argument forms on the one hand as "children need the acquisition of language immediately as no learning can occur until there is a basic understanding of the language" or on the other hand "children need a period of adjustment, without the pressures of learning a new language before the acquisition of language begins, or no learning can take place"

"Program development for immigrant children has got to pay more attention as to how they acquire language ... if we don't understand that much, the rest of it is worth very little ... too much is left to chance ... there needs to be training or some other method of all teachers, not just ESL ones to help children acquire language quickly

and effectively ... until then I don't think it is of any use to plan program for them to learn."

There were a small group of teachers who related to multiculturalism and program development in a more general humanistic way. It was believed commendable by some teachers to achieve some expression of multiculturalism because it could build recognition and awareness of the school and the city's diverse population. These teachers spoke of multiculturalism and program development as being difficult to be formalized programmatically as in the instance of the Family Life Program. They expressed the issue more as an approach to life, or a philosophical ideology. Mavis has taught grade four for twenty years and is one teacher who viewed the issue as part of the human condition:

"You can point to any successful immigrant adult today and he will show you one teacher, in one school, who made him believe that he could learn English... this teacher would have had faith in him and helped him when he needed it ... I'll bet you that 90% of the time it was not a great program or a carefully thought out assessment and placement that did it, or any laid out multicultural policy either ... it was the person ... that's who did it ... no program development will work if the right person is not there to apply it."

A small number of teachers saw program development as having an overt psychological emphasis:

"So many of the immigrants come from unbelievable situations... you hear the stories of young children having to push their parent overboard because they died on the boat ... how can you expect anyone to learn after that right away ... maybe for a year or two they will keep things inside but then once in awhile you begin to hear the horror stories ... this is going to affect their academic performance ... They become preoccupied emotionally which takes away all their energy for learning... in shock is what they are ... often times they are hiding their family origin because their parents died

and they were adopted on the spot by another family ... a big fear of authority of being found out ... we don't even discuss these things when we are planning program ... we've got to deal with the trauma first before anything else happens ... some would disagree but I think it's our responsibility because we're with them every day."

R D Usher has a student population of almost two thirds that speak a first language other than English, yet when you walk through the school you would not know it. Except for Multicultural Week and the odd activity, there is little overt physical or material evidence that explains why the school is considered by the teachers, administration and community to be a "multicultural" school. On the whole the school, guided by the principal, does not place a heavy emphasis on a multicultural curriculum and related activities. The focus at R.D. Usher is on academic achievement and skill development and multiculturalism is considered as a special event or treated in an incidental manner programmatically.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

Throughout, this study has been concerned with meaning, more specifically with why teachers do what they do in relationship to a particular issue. The assumption is made that the process of identifying concerns that teachers have, along with why they do what they do, and why it is important to them, belongs in the same analytical breath. Human beings in general seem to make sense out of their lives by deriving meaning from the things around them they believe are important, and teachers as a collective are no exception.

At the beginning there were interpretations that appeared to be common to all three issues of placement, assessment, and program. The semantic interpretations (Tables 2 & 3) organized themselves around two general categories. A semantic interpretation is a "translation or paraphrase, a set of words having a meaning equivalent to those being explained but more easily understood." (Kaplan, 1964, p. 327) (also see Methodology Chapter) (Tables 2&3) The philosophical themes that were common in the majority of teachers were related to humanist education and to the egalitarian argument of whether immigrant children should be treated in the same way as others. A methodological concern that appeared in all three areas of reception and placement, assessment, and program development for immigrant children, was that of the relative importance and implications of how children acquire language.

Teachers did not see the issues of reception and placement, assessment, and program development for immigrant children as discrete issues but

continually discussed them as being interrelated and interdependent. Both the literature and the School Administration tended to view each issue as an individual one ; but the school does in practice compartmentalize and separate the issues into different roles and responsibilities. The secretary will process the paper, the Principal will place the child, the Migrancy teacher will initially test and orient the child and so on. Teachers tended to integrate the issues of placement, assessment, and most aspects of program planning , for the most part, as "what happens out there before the kids come to my door." To this end previous records or documentation was most often seen as unimportant or delegated to the realm of "reading it when I have time." With some exceptions most teachers focused on what happened when the child arrived at the classroom door and not what happened before or after.

The data showed that there were primarily three basic categories of teaching behaviour. The first category was coined as the "hug them and love them" approach which could be equated in the literature as Humanistic and was characterized by a sensitive perspective to the whole child, backgrounds and individual needs. The second category was seen as the "school of hard knocks" approach or "we are here to teach not do social work." This approach was characterized by the emphasis on rapid skill development, acquisition of appropriate social behaviour, and upward mobility. The third category was seen as the "I treat them all the same" approach which was characterized by the attitude that no matter what happened before a child came to the classroom door, the most important thought is that each child must and will receive the same standard education as defined by the Province of Manitoba. It would be overly simplistic to state that each teacher fitted neatly into one of these

categories. For example one teacher who was seen to take a general "hard knocks" approach to expectations for immigrant education, took a more Humanistic stance to incidental classroom routines.

There are in fact many layers of thought and behaviour attributable to each individual teacher relative to "I do my job", "I think about my job" and "I think and do my job." Teachers cannot simply be labelled as "thinkers" preoccupied only with philosophical concerns, or as "doers" concerned only with methodological matters. One such example comes to mind with one informant's response to the placement questions. This particular response began with an almost passionate declaration that she treated all her children the same even to the extent of not bothering to find out whether a new child brought to her room was Cambodian or Vietnamese. After what could appear to some to be a rather alarming statement she went on to relate a very interesting, carefully articulated design for curriculum that would take into account how we are the same and different.

In the final distillation of the data two recognizable sub-patterns began to develop: "I have no control over what happens outside my classroom" and "I have no control over what happens outside my classroom and therefore I do my own thing". These categories do not account for all aspects of the interviews but were identified as similar within a majority of responses; enough evidence to see a recognizable pattern. "I have no control over what happens outside my classroom" was considered to be a direct or indirect result of powerlessness felt by teachers beyond the domain of their classrooms. This was characterized in general by teachers not being interested in the assessments of others or rationalizing standardized testing against their better judgement. "I have no control over what happens outside my classroom and therefore I do my own thing" may

be the result of a sense of powerlessness, the difference being that "I may have no control over what happens outside my classroom door but I can counteract this by developing alternative methods within my own domain of the classroom".

"I have no control over what happens outside my classroom", manifested itself with the issues of placement, assessment and program development by being linked with factors outside the jurisdiction of the classroom and even the school. Placement, as one example, was seen as being part of a societal problem, not only within the perimeter of the School or Division. In one example one teacher exclaimed that all the good and proper orientation that was done in the school would amount to naught if the child felt insecure and abandoned at home. An example of the holistic elements of "I have no control over what happens outside my classroom" was most articulate with the account of the one teacher who said outright that you can not teach a child anything after he has recently buried his mother at sea. Those teachers who felt they had no control over what happened outside their classroom and therefore did their own thing tended to stress program development as a means of establishing some sense of control inside their individual classrooms.

It was anticipated that the semantic interpretations would organize themselves around the concepts of theory and practice (methodology and philosophy) because the literature and the experience of the researcher during participant observation anticipated that it might. The literature spoke of teachers relating what should, could or ought to be done in classrooms as one thing (theoretical, methodological) and how teachers actually cope with day by day classroom situations as another (philosophical). Several contradictory interpretations began to appear in the data collected

during the study. For example, teachers made damning statements about standardized testing and then in the next breath exclaimed how proud they were that R. D. Usher had some of the highest test scores in the Inner City. In part, this is a simple act of taking pride in some recognition of the fact that teachers are doing a good job. It is also an expression of frustration because the pressure is there to produce academic excellence but with no other viable means to evaluate it other than the sanctioned standardized tests.

Teachers would state that they were opposed to the concept of Multiculturalism yet joined in the festivities as willing as any of the advocates. This may be in part because teachers have different versions of Multiculturalism than that of the Division or as interpreted by the school or because teachers come from many differing cultural backgrounds and experiences. It is also in part the understanding that in order to survive and be successful in a varied school setting theory will sometimes give way to practice, principles sacrificed for practicality for the sake of being able to coexist with others. The need for survival developed as a very strong motive among the teachers at R.D. Usher. Although survival is a highly complex concept it could explain why the teachers collectively measured their success on culturally biased tests. The need to feel and look successful and competent in this case rationalizing their motives.

The primary data collection for this study was through interviewing twelve teachers which seems like a relatively straight forward process in theory. In practice, however, it was not. In order to have the opportunity to have a single time slot of one hour, interviews were often cancelled and rescheduled a half a dozen times. This speaks to the level of time demands and restraints placed on Inner City teachers who are under constant stress

from both the physical demands placed on them in terms of constant interruptions, continual crisis management, the inability to plan ahead, the severing of routine and often complete lack of predictability and consistency. These factors coupled with the high migrancy rate, the apparent poverty and alienation of many of the parents and children, create a high pressure situation. All this leads to the need for the development of some coping and survival mechanism that might explain the need for rationalization, and the need to impose some sense of order, at least, behind individual classroom doors. This particular attitude does little to promote collective solidarity but rather one of isolation. In part the idea of isolation could be seen as an act of survival and self preservation for teachers. If you are part of a larger collective problems may surface more readily. Even if you hear of a new problem and by so doing acknowledge its existence, then you are expected to act upon it, even if the solution is a monumental task. Behind the closed door expectations can be more manageable as defined by the individual teacher. As an example, if the children are clean, happy and involved in whatever has been deemed as worthwhile by the teacher, and the test scores are adequate, the classroom qualifies as a success.

One of the fundamental reasons why teachers do what they do is connected to their relative ability or inability to make decisions regarding their teaching behaviours. The classroom is not often viewed as part of a much larger context and in a sense teachers often inherit only parts of the big problems or just one small piece of a much larger issue. In addition the nature of the school dictates that there are many people involved in its environment who have more control over the decisions that affect teaching behaviours than teachers do themselves. The level of autonomy that teachers experience is one of the most crucial aspects to affect teaching

behaviour both inside and outside the classroom. It determines how teachers perceive issues and problems and as a result what actions they will take and how effective they will be. Goodlad (1984) supports Common's (1983) view which says that according to his data that teachers do perceive themselves to be quite autonomous. He saw teachers believing that they were in control of what they taught and how they did so. However, beyond their own preparation and experience, as well as students' interests, all other influences were seen as relatively insignificant. In R D Usher this was not true of all the teachers as there were those who saw that the larger society along with its problems had a powerful influence on the classroom and there were those teachers who believed that they had no autonomy whatsoever. Finally, the majority of the R.D. Usher teachers believed that their only autonomy lay behind closed classroom doors. Goodlad goes on to say that teachers saw themselves generally as having less consistent control in areas beyond their classrooms in relation to fiscal management and personnel decisions which in fact proved to be true for the majority of teachers at R.D.Usher. In contrast Goodlad states that teachers felt potent in the areas of curriculum, instruction, student behaviours, and parental communication. This appeared to be relatively true of the teachers at R D Usher. At R.D. Usher the principal did not perceive his staff as a collective but strictly as individuals or small groups of individuals. Although the Principal has a very strong leadership presence throughout the entire school, many teachers exercised strict autonomy behind closed classroom doors.

Many factors contribute to the quality of the school environment and teacher behaviour is only one of these. Influences such as the school's administrative policies, philosophy, parental and community involvement,

stability of the teaching staff, the nature of the school and population (in the case of R.D.Usher its Inner City characteristics and Multicultural nature) all play a significant role. It is simplistic to believe that teachers carry with them the total responsibility for effective education but it is not simplistic to believe that why teachers do what they do (whether it be immigrant education or some other area) is an important aspect of a complex issue .

In part teacher's behaviour is a reaction to the oppressive institution which they seek to serve. Even though education may seek fundamental values of liberation and freedom from oppression it is constantly directed to other interests and priorities. Teachers either consciously or unconsciously are caught in a dangerously deceptive paradox. On one hand they are charged with the responsibility of educating children to enable the advancement of knowledge necessary to build a principled and democratic society, while on the other hand teachers represent a system for perpetuating and legitimizing a society characterized to a large degree of social and economic inequality in which they are powerless to affect any significant change or control.

Much of what constitutes teaching is often a discussion of behavioral management, often at the expense of how such an approach covertly prepares children to become initiates of the dominant society. In fact the classroom itself is characteristic of other agencies who exercise social control for the purpose of domination. Teachers behaviour is either developing this attitude or resisting it: both in one form or another and to a more or less degree. Given the opportunity teachers may be willing to examine their behaviour in a more critical manner and develop a reconstruction of educational pedagogy to establish a methodology that goes

beyond reaction and survival, to one of human communication, the creation of praxis, critical assessment of the relative worth of knowledge and child development. This attitude is advocating that teachers must first want , understand, and know how to develop and use a level of personal and collective autonomy. This demands an element of risk and the need for teachers to decide for themselves why they do what they do.

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Participation Consent

The purpose of this research study is to examine the ways in which selected teachers in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 respond to the issues related to the reception, assessment, and ongoing educational needs of immigrant children. The study will explore this question at both the governmental and division levels but will recognize the influence of the teacher as the primary focus of the research. The data will be collected through a series of interviews and will be directed to two general categories. The first being how the classroom teacher adjusts her/his behaviour to accommodate the initial assessment and orientation of the new child. The second being how the teacher adapts the program to meet the needs of the new child.

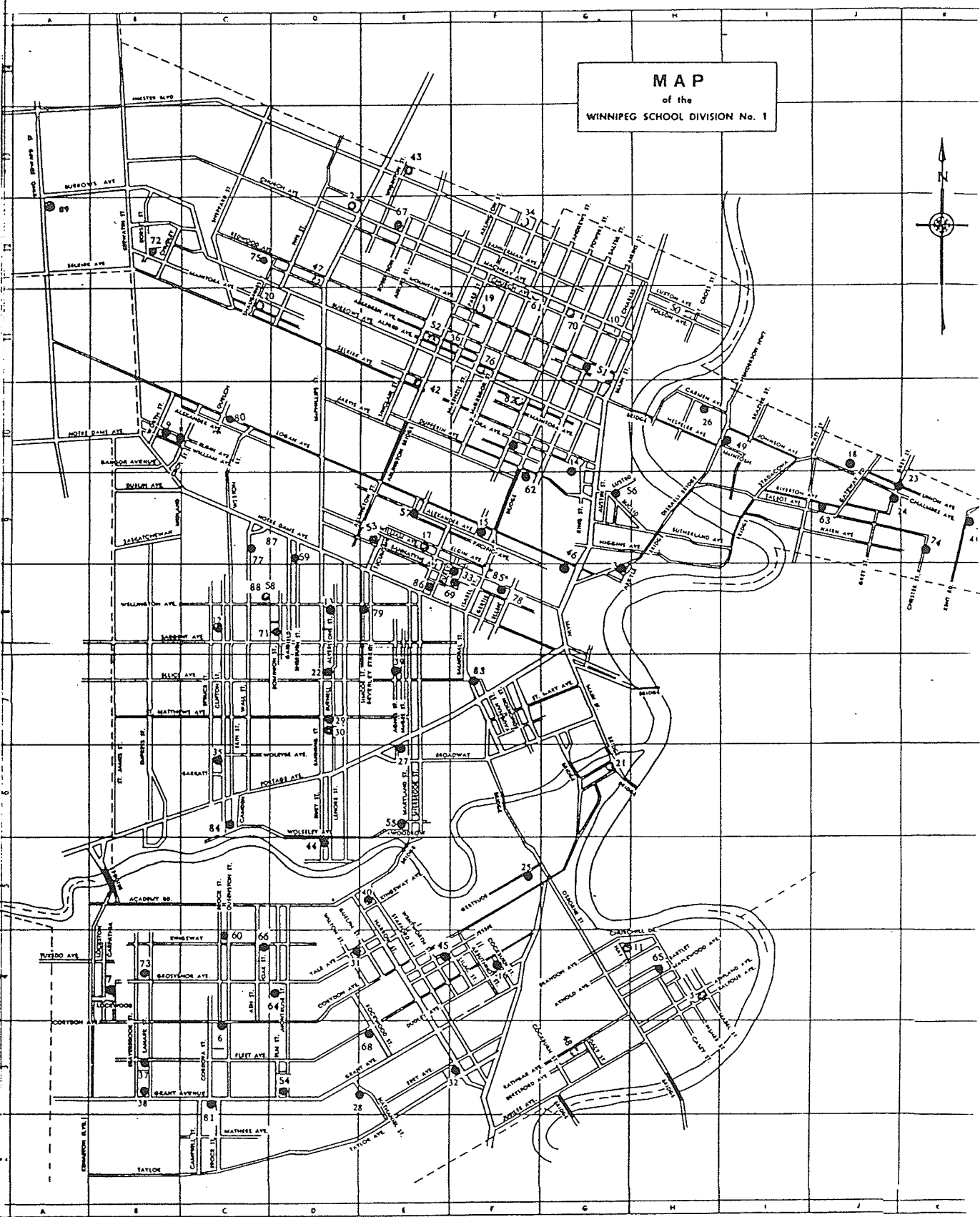
This is to indicate that I, _____ understand the nature of my involvement in this research project. I realize that the results of the research will be included in the researcher's Master of Education thesis. I have been assured that my participation will be kept confidential and that no names will be used in the presentation of the results. I understand that I have the right to withdraw at anytime and that after the completion of each interview, I have the right to forbid the use of any information I have given during the course of the interview. By signing this form below, I give consent to be interviewed four times over a period of one month and have the material included in the research project. I understand that I will sign an individual consent form for each of the four interviews to be conducted. I also understand that the results of this study will be shared with me and that I am free to contact the researcher whenever it may be necessary.

Signature of participant _____

Date _____

Signature of researcher _____

MAP
of the
WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION No. 1



HOW TO LOCATE ART SCHOOL

Use the grid system on this map and the accompanying list to find the school you want. For example, Aberdeen School is F-15. Look across the top or bottom of the map for F, then look on the right or left margin for 15. Where these lines meet is square F-15. Aberdeen is number 1 in this square.

1. Aberdeen F-10	16. East Over F-4	31. Greenwood D-4	46. Little Over Memory C-2	61. Ralph Brown F-11	76. Swinburns F-1
2. Andrew McFarland D-12	17. Elton Douglas E-6	32. Harrow F-3	47. Lord Nelson D-12	62. R. B. Russell F-8	77. Ten Vics High F-1
3. Anrtle G-8	18. Elmwood High J-10	33. Hugh John Macdonald F-8	48. Lord Roberts G-2	63. Rhos Elm J-9	78. Victoria Albert F-1
4. Ashland H-4	19. Foreday F-11	34. Inceby F-12	49. Lord Selkirk I-10	64. Rhos Heights D-4	79. Wellington F-1
5. Birch Canyon C-2	20. Flornus Highways C-11	35. Isaac Brock C-6	50. Lanyon H-11	65. Riverside H-4	80. Thomas C-1
7. Caspelle B-4	21. Fort Rourke G-6	36. Isaac Newton F-11	51. Mathews G-11	66. Robert H. Smith C-4	81. William Oiler C-1
6. Cecil Rhodes No. 1 B-10	22. General Wolfe D-7	37. J. B. McLaughlin G-3	52. Margaret Scott E-11	67. Robertson E-12	82. William Whyte F-1
8. Cecil Rhodes No. 2 B-10	23. George V No. 1 J-8	38. John Debes G-3	53. Manitoba E-8	68. Rockwood G-3	83. Wm. Adam E. Carter F-1
10. Chatham G-11	24. George V No. 2 J-8	39. John M. King E-7	54. Manitoba D-3	69. Ross Court No. 1 F-8	84. Waterloo F-4
11. Churchill High G-4	25. Gladstone F-6	40. Kelvin High E-6	55. Murray E-8	70. St. John's High G-11	85. Liberty Square Centre F-4
12. Chthon C-6	26. Gladstone F-6	41. Kent Road E-8	56. Murray G-8	71. Ernest Park D-8	86. Sars Court No. 2 E-1
13. Daniel McIntyre High D-6	27. Gordon Sault High E-4	42. King Edward E-10	57. Pasham E-8	72. Shogomony Park E-12	87. School Board Office C-1
14. David Livingstone G-8	28. Grant Park High D-3	43. Lansdowne E-13	58. Prince Charles C-4	73. Sir John Franklin H-4	88. Stron F-1
15. Duffins F-9	29. Greenwood No. 1 D-7	44. Laura Secord D-8	59. Princess Margaret O-8	74. Sir Sam Steele E-8	89. Tondal Park A-1
	30. Greenwood No. 2 D-7	45. La Verendrye E-4	60. Quinman C-4	75. St. John's High C-12	

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CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

AVIS

SCHOOL,

1987

JUNE STATEMENT OF PLACEMENT COMMENTS

1. _____
is promoted to grade _____.
2. _____
is placed in grade _____ but will be completing the previous
year's skills early in the new year.
3. _____
has not completed many of the skills required to proceed to
grade _____. He/She will remain at the same grade level
and be assessed in January for a mid-year promotion.
4. _____
must repeat grade _____. His/Her skill level is very low.

*** CLASS LISTS WILL BE POSTED IN THE SCHOOL WINDOWS ON AUGUST 26, 1987,
TELLING STUDENTS THE ROOM TO WHICH THEY REPORT.

THE WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 1
STUDENT DESCRIPTION FORM

Form 5-54(86)

OFFICE USE ONLY

School No. School Name

Grade/Year Homeroom Program Resident

	R
	N

 Nurse's Use Only

To Be Completed by Parent/Guardian

Last Name

STUDENT First Name

Check Known by second name

Yes
No

 Second Name

Sex

M
F

STUDENT Address Street

City (if not Wpg.)

Postal-Code

Place of Birth

Date of Birth

--	--	--	--	--	--

 Day Mon. Year

School attended last year

Parent/Guardian Information

Mother/Female Guardian Last Name First Name Home Phone

Home Address Postal Code

Place of Employment Bus. Phone

Father/Male Guardian Last Name First Name Home Phone

Home Address Postal Code

Place of Employment Bus. Phone

Languages spoken at home

IN CASE OF EMERGENCY, if the parent(s) cannot be reached the school must be able to contact another person. Please give two emergency contacts, if possible.

Name Last Name First Name Home Address

Relationship to student Home Phone Bus. Phone

Name Last Name First Name Home Address

Relationship to student Home Phone Bus. Phone

Student's Dentist Telephone

Student's Doctor Telephone

Manitoba Health Services Registration No.

School Insurance Coverage Yes No

Special Health Concerns or Instructions for Emergency Situations

BROTHERS AND SISTERS ATTENDING WINNIPEG SCHOOL(S)

Name	Age	School	Grade
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

PLEASE NOTIFY THE SCHOOL IF THERE IS ANY CHANGE IN THE ABOVE INFORMATION.

SCHOOL INVENTORY

NAME _____ RM NO. _____

TEACHER'S NAME _____ DATE _____

REMARKS

1. a) Can say own name. FIRST _____ LAST _____
b) Can print own name. FIRST _____ LAST _____
2. Knows address _____
3. Knows telephone No. _____
4. Can say name of teacher. _____
5. Knows colors: red _____, yellow _____, blue _____,
green _____, brown _____, black _____, orange _____,
purple _____, white _____.
6. Can print on line(s). _____
7. Can rote count to _____.
8. Can count objects to 10 using 1-1 correspondence. _____
9. Knows prepositions: in _____, out _____, up _____,
down _____, over _____, under _____, on _____,
beside _____, behind _____, in front _____, around _____,
between _____.
10. Can name classroom objects (see list).
11. Knows parts of body (see list).
12. Knows clothing (see list).
13. Knows common foods and food items (see list).
14. Recognizes / names shapes: circle _____, square _____,
triangle _____, rectangle _____.
15. Can carry a routine conversation such as:
 - A. "Good Morning (Afternoon).
How are you today?
I'm fine thank you." _____

SCHOOL INVENTORY (Page 2)

REMARKS

15. B. Can follow directions using known objects as directed to the following tasks:
1. Close the _____.
 2. Bring the _____ to me.
 3. Sit on that _____.
 4. Run to the _____.
 5. Touch the _____.
 6. Look at _____.
 7. Push the _____.
 8. Pull the _____.
 9. Lift the _____.
 10. Draw a _____.
16. A. Can use common vocabulary in casual conversation. _____
- B. Speaks in sentences appropriate for age level. _____
17. Recognizes alphabet. _____
18. Recognizes numbers to 20. _____
19. Recognizes words. (Use graded word list, pp, p & l) _____

November Check List

Name: _____

1. Recognition of Letters.
Upper Case - A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
Lower Case - a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
2. Recites Alphabet
3. Initial Consonants:
baby car fox dog swing road table gate
4. Rhyming:
hat cake box rain car fire
5. Counting to 100 (with help on 50, 60 etc.)
6. Recognition of Numbers:
5 7 12 1 4 3 8 2 13 10 9 6 18 20 24 57 83 49 76
7. Recognition of Colours:
red green white yellow purple blue black orange brown
8. Recognition of Shapes: Triangle Circle Square Rectangle Diamond
9. Prints Name:
10. Knows Address: _____
 Phone Number: _____
 Age: _____
 Birthday: _____
 Last name: _____
11. Can Tie Shoes: _____
12. Cutting Skills: _____
13. Social Development :

(Classroom Teacher)

Gibson's Typology

Table 1

Category	Characteristics	Objectives	Critiqué
I Education of culturally different or benevolent multiculturalism.	Equalizing educational opportunity for children not of the dominant capital Anglo culture - children are considered to have unique learning handicaps.	To increase home and school compatibility and in turn improve children's academic success, self image, and motivation.	No empirical evidence that achievement is in fact improved - paternalistic.
II Education about cultural differences or cultural understanding.	Directed at all students - teachers and children will value cultural differences in order to understand meaning - Schools will enrich cultures.	Will decrease racism and prejudice	Danger of teachers becoming cultural relativists - over emphasis of cultural differences - not evident in texts and materials.
III Education for cultural pluralism.	Based on rejection of cultural assimilation and melting pot - programs are to serve needs of ethnic community.	Maintain cultural diversity - decrease the power of the majority to oppress the majority.	For cultural pluralism to exist so much structural pluralism
IV Bicultural education	To produce learners who have competencies in two different cultures - fostering of biculturalism with emphasis on reciprocity	Learners who are equally comfortable and committed to two cultures without rejection of original culture	Tendency for elitism - white anglo culture still dominant
V Multicultural education as the normal human experience.	Anthropological base - a process whereby a learner develops competencies in multiple systems of standards for perceiving, evaluating, believing and doing.	To develop a mixed bag of cultural tools which can be used in appropriate situations.	Who will decide which tools are in fact useful and for what reason.

Table 2

Placement: Semantic Interpretation Chart

ResponseSemantic Interpretation

#1	Procedure is disruptive
#2	Process is conducted too quickly
#3	Immigrant children need no special treatment
#4	Can't do much for them at the beginning
#5	I'm going to make up my own mind, do my own process
#6	I'm interested in now, not what has happened before
#7	I identify with Immigrant kids
#8	Placement is part of larger concerns- home
#9	I treat them all the same

Table #3

