THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN MANITOBA: 1880-1980

BY

CATERINA MARIA SOTIRIADIS

A Thesis
Submitted to The Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Education

Department of Educational Administration and Foundations

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ABSTRACT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN MANITOBA: 1880-1980

The purpose of this study was to present an account of the development of French as a second language program in the Province of Manitoba during the hundred year period from 1880 to 1980 and to assess and examine critically the progress which has occurred in this field of education.

As secondary education (grades 9-12) entered the Province of Manitoba in the late 1800's, so did French as a second language. For several decades the field of second language teaching developed extensively in Western Europe and later the United States. The theories and approaches which replaced the grammar-translation method, such as the Direct Method, its variation, the Oral Method and later the Reading Method, had little impact, however, on the average teacher of French in Manitoba. The conditions which existed for several decades for teachers in general, and teachers of French in particular, greatly hindered the progress in this area of education. For many teachers such obstacles as over-sized classes, too little time, outmoded texts, little or no linguistic or methodological training and little financial or governmental support proved almost unsurmountable. The grammar-translation method, or an adaptation of it, was utilized by the majority of teachers of French until the late 1950's.

The 1960's and 1970's, however, with their political occurrences on the national and provincial levels, witnessed changes within the field of French second language teaching. The American Audio-Lingual Method was accompanied by improved conditions, supportive textual material, more time, better prepared teachers, and greater government support for the area of

French as a second language. But the impact of the audio-lingual method and its companion, the audio-visual, was short lived in Manitoba. Developments within the Department of Education provoked a power struggle between the Curriculum Branch and the newly created *Bureau de l'Education Française* resulting in a void in leadership and an imprecision in responsibility in the area of French as a second language.

The recent developments within the field of French as a second language and also within the *Bureau de l'Education Française*, however, attest to the progress that is taking place as this study is being completed.

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This paper owes it existence to the efforts of several people, The writer would first of all like to express her appreciation to Professor Alexander D. Gregor for his academic guidance and advice. She would also like to thank her brother, Vincent, for his helpful criticism and her father for his constant interest in her education. She is obliged to Miss Lynne Dumesnil and Mrs. Joan Stewart for their assistance in typing this paper. She is indebted, most particularly, to her husband, George, for his steadfastness and moral support and for his caring of their young son, Dinos, thereby permitting this study to be completed.

LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to provide a complete and analytical account of the developments in the area of teaching French as a second language (FSL) excluding immersion, over the last one hundred years in Manitoba.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

While the subject of FSL in Manitoba history has been the topic of several articles, the most recent developments in this area have not yet been considered in detail. This study will also serve as an exercise in historical scholarship for the writer, and should enable her to obtain a clearer perspective of both the past and present situation of FSL teaching in Manitoba.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was limited to the developments of French second language teaching where French is generally offered as an optional subject during the school week. The programs of *français*, French as a first language, and immersion are mentioned only incidentally and mainly in their historical context vis-à-vis French program developments in Manitoba. Another limitation of this study is its time frame. When dealing with events in second language teaching in the Western World, only the developments from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the 1970's have been cited. In Manitoba, however, the time period selected has been from circa 1880 to

1980. The study was limited also by the material available to the writer in this area of education. Although the political influences of the last twenty years, beginning in approximately 1961, have accorded French second language learning greater visibility than it had prior to this political awakening, little appears to have been written on this subject in Canada. It should also be noted that this study did not attempt to provide a detailed account of all aspects of French education or of education in general in Manitoba.

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY

The primary sources for this study have mainly derived from such public documents as the Department of Education's Administrative Handbook, Annual Reports, Education Manitoba, BEF reports, documents and letters, Research and Evaluation Branch reports, political speeches, and interviews.

The secondary sources consulted were mainly the Educational Journal of Western Canada, The Western School Journal, (cited extensively as WSJ,) theses, historical and pedagogical texts, and periodicals.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

A history of the development of the theories and approaches of second language teaching is presented in Chapter II to provide the necessary background against which to review this area of education in Manitoba. The second language approaches of Western Europe, and of Germany, France, and England in particular, are analysed before presenting the occurences in this field in the United States, and then in Canada.

Chapter III focuses on the development of French second language (FSL)

teaching in Manitoba from circa 1800 to 1970. Particular attention is drawn in this chapter to the various methodological approaches advocated and those utilized in FSL; to the problems encountered in French classrooms; and to the influence of the provincial government on FSL development during those one hundred years.

Chapter IV relates the political changes which occurred in Canada from 1961 with particular emphasis placed on the impact and implications of the Reports on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The political developments in Manitoba date from approximately 1915 to 1977 with particular attention placed on the amendments to the School Act in 1967 and 1970 and to the structural changes within the Department of Education resulting in the creation of the *Bureau de l'Education française* (BEF).

Chapter V provides an account of the problems related to the optional "Conversational" French course of the 1970's, the research done in the field of FSL across Canada and the results which emanated from this research. This chapter also presents the BEF's attempt to ameliorate the state of FSL in Manitoba and describes BEF's Core French Pilot Project proposal.

Chapter VI relates the recent developments in the Core French Pilot Project, the results of the evaluation and research component attached to the pilot project and then discusses the latest name changes proposed by BEF.

The final chapter summarizes briefly the developments in FSL teaching over the last one hundred years in Manitoba and attempts to analyse whether progress has indeed been made in this field of education.

DEFINITIONS

The following definitions have been used extensively throughout this study:

1. first language - L_1 "mother tongue" - this refers to the first language that is learned; also referred to as "mother tongue"

a) FL_1 - French as a first language - therefore, when French is the first language learned (e.g., for a francophone)

2. second language - L_2 or SL - after the acquisition of the mother tongue, this is the second language learned

a) FL_2 or FSL - French as a second language, when French is learned after the mother tongue has been acquired (e.g., an anglophone learning French.)

3. le français fondamental - is a list of the words most frequently used in French conversation.

4. grammar-translation method - method whereby the SL is learned by doing grammar exercises, and translation from and to the SL.

5. direct method - expounded in Western Europe circa 1800's; the goal of this method is for the student to think in the SL whether speaking, reading, or writing it.

a) mixed method - a composite of methods 4 and 5; term found only in Manitoba.

6. oral method
"compromise method" - adaptation of the direct method whereby the FL and written work were permitted in class.

7. eclectic method
"common sense"
"realistic compromise" - a combination of several methods chosen at the teacher's discretion.

8. reading method - expounded in U.S.A. circa 1930's; because of the little time allotted to SL learning, heavy emphasis was placed on acquiring the reading skill.

9. audio-lingual method (ALM)
   "audio-verbal"
   "aural-oral"
   "mim-mem" (mimicry and memorization)
   "new key approach"
   - offshoots of the U.S.A. Army Method (W.W.II); to communicate in a foreign language by listening - speaking - reading - writing; the two skills of comprehension and speaking were predominantly emphasized; the cue to elicit student response is a sound, or a word.

10. audio-visual method
    "structuro-global method"
    - also emphasizes the two skills, comprehension and speaking; the cue to elicit student response is a visual representation.

11. cognitive code-learning theory
    "cognitive approach"
    "balanced skills approach"
    "4 skills approach"
    - "a modified up-to-date grammar-translation theory"; the four skills: listening, speaking, reading, writing, are to be acquired in a balanced manner.

NOTE: The definitions provided in this section are by no means complete. They serve as a brief introduction and an overview of SL terminology. The complete definitions in their historical context are provided in the appropriate chapters.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES AND APPROACHES IN FRENCH SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

In order to understand the principal theories in the field of French second language teaching in Manitoba, it is helpful to review briefly the developments of the past one hundred years or so in this area of education where traditional ideas linger on even when modern experience and the demands of modern life clearly demonstrate that these ideas must of necessity be modified.

Fascinating as the ideas of Montaigne, Comenius, and Locke may be, for this present study we need go back no farther than the 19th century in order to obtain a clear perspective on developments in the area of second language teaching. A hundred years ago education was so dominated by the teaching of the classics, by the linguistic and literacy disciplines applied to the ancient languages of Greece and Rome, that any study of modern languages was relegated to a place of minor importance. The following observations are based primarily on David H. Harding's work, The New Pattern of Language Teaching.

> The educational value of Latin and Greek was held in such unrivalled esteem that the claims of modern languages could not seriously be considered as an alternative, and the provision for the study of French or German at university level was scanty indeed.[1]

Rendering the situation even more negative was the fact that the methodology utilized in teaching the "dead" languages was in turn applied to the teaching of the "living" languages. Karl Plotz' (1819-81) German

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[1] David H. Harding, The New Pattern of Language Teaching, (London: Longman, 1965), p.4., (henceforth cited The New Pattern).

textbooks of grammar rules in the matter of translation of mother tongue (FL_1) to foreign tongue (FL_2). greatly influenced the textbooks published in other modern languages at that time. The method of teaching reflected the format of his textbook; it was based on grammar and translation. Little or no attention was rendered to the spoken language and to the spontaneity of learning which a living language requires.

> Frequently classics masters taught a little French, and taught it as a secondary subject, but approached it with the same methods as were used in teaching Latin. French nationals were also often used to teach French, and though these men usually tried to do a bit of oral work, they were not respected, failed to keep order, and so the subject came into further disrepute.[2]

Though there were some teachers at the time, particularly phoneticians, who wished to make the spoken language the basis for instruction, no suitable textbooks were available to permit this approach to be practised in the classroom.[3]

About 1880 and shortly thereafter, however, a great change took place in the area of modern language teaching. Wilhelm Viëtor, professor at the University of Marburg in Germany, launched an attack on the grammar-translation method, insisting that "rather than presenting the rules about the language to the student, the student should ascertain the facts for himself by experience in the language."[4] According to Viëtor, language was to be learned through speech first. At approximately the same time, Gouin of France also argued that a foreign language should be learned more or less as a child learns his mother tongue, and advocated such in his book l'Art d'Enseigner et d'Etudier les Langues. With this questionning, the

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[2] Ibid, p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, p. 5.

dawn of the "Direct Method" broke across Europe. Both these two renowned phoneticians rejected the grammar-translation method for a more natural process of acquiring a second language.

At the same time, in England, at the first conference of the "Société Nationale des Professeurs de Français en Angleterre" in 1882, a resolution was passed to the effect that French should be taught as a living language and preferably by Frenchmen. During this awakening to the new method, many notable educators, particularly phoneticians, aided the "reform movement" which was taking place. Such phoneticians as the English Sayce and Sweet, the German Franke, and the French Paul Sassy are among the most noteworthy. It was largely because of their influence that the direct method had phonetics as the basis of language teaching. It should, however, be noted that these phoneticians were academics and, therefore, on the periphery of the school system. The impact of their ideas was not felt in the classroom for many years.

A brief definition of the direct method is needed at this point. Although there were some differences of opinion among the "Direct Methodists", in the main they were united in their outlook on second language teaching. Briefly,

1. they believed in learning in and through the target language; the use of the mother tongue was therefore seen as an intrusion in the classroom.

2. Priority was given to the spoken language, with extensive use of phonetics being used in the language classroom.

3. Grammar was to be learned inductively, by the frequent use of the language, and rules were virtually banned.

4. The word was now replaced by the sentence as the significant unit of language, with the meanings of words to be learned by direct association of the new word to the object or concept designated.

5. Lastly, the reading book was central to the language lesson.[5]

Although dating almost one hundred years ago, these ideas, apart from different emphases in certain aspects, would be almost totally accepted by modern second language educators today.

As time went on, however, it became apparent that the direct method in the hands of a poor teacher could be a dismal failure. "The active methods involved could lead to poor discipline and soon the new ideas earned considerable ill-repute, if not outright scorn."[6] It should be remembered that these innovations did not affect a large number of second language teachers who chose to ignore, if not actively resist, the current theories of second language teaching.

During the earlier years, there was a fair amount of controversy about the direct method among classroom teachers, as well as among the theorists. In 1917, in his book, The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages, H. E. Palmer exposed what he called the "fallacy" of the direct method. He asserted that several of the methods which Direct Methodists used to convey meaning in the foreign language were "more cumbersome and confusing in fact far less 'direct', than a simple translation into the mother tongue."[7]

Thus began the reform movement which helped adapt the Direct Method to the practical demands of work in the classroom. Writing in the English Year Book of Education in 1934, H. F. Collings further expounded "the deficiencies of the full Direct Method: the strain on the teacher, the absurdity of banning all English from the classroom, and the danger of

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[5] Ibid, p. 7.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid, p. 8.

neglecting written work."[8] He proposed rather a "compromise method" which took into account all the points stated above. Similarly in 1949 the handbook The Teaching of Modern Languages,[9] prepared by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters of England, examined the direct method, found it too uncompromising and therefore proposed the "Oral Method".

Accepting many of the principles of the Direct Method, the main divergence of the Oral Method is one of providing for greater classroom flexibility, and freedom for the teacher to adapt the language to the context of his/her class. It must be remembered, however, that if there were many schools which made excellent use of the Oral Method, there were just as many which did not. "Many teachers did not have the capacity, experience and training or the energy to teach in the manner"[10] required by the Oral Method in the early years of second language teaching,[11] there was a gradual lapse into grammar and translation at the secondary level. In other words, there was a wide diversity of approaches and methods in the teaching of second languages in Europe, until the late 1950's and early 1960's. This diversity was partially eliminated by postwar developments in the United States, in the field of second languages.

While the birth of the Direct Method was due in large measure to the growth of the academic study of phonetics, modern developments in second

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[8] Ibid, p.11.

[9] The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters, The Teaching of Modern Languages, (London: University of London Press, 1949), pp.89, 90. (as cited in Harding, The New Pattern, p.13.).

[10] Harding, The New Pattern, p.13.

[11] In the 1918, The Modern Studies Report on the position of modern languages in the educational system of Great Britain, published by the Leathes Committee, advised that the study of a foreign language should begin at age 11. (p.13).

language learning can trace their origin (as will be seen in the discussion of second language learning theories in the United States) to such sources as technology, psychology and linguistics. Technology is seen in the form of electronic equipment such as taperecorders, language laboratories, and visual projection such as slides, films, filmstrips and filmloops. The influence of psychology can be seen in the work done by behaviourist psychologists in the area of word frequency counts. Finally, the academic and scientific study of linguistics has contributed to a greater knowledge of the structure of the foreign language and how it functions; one striking example of the influence of linguistics in French second language learning is the development of *Le Français Fondamental*.[12]

Meanwhile, in the United States, various approaches to modern language teaching were at times parallel to and at times quite divergent from foreign language developments in Europe. As in Europe, the teaching of Latin and Greek, particularly their grammar, was seen as a way of "disciplining the mind". When modern foreign languages became acceptable substitutes for Latin and Greek, the same methods employed by the classicists, that is the grammar-translation approach, were used by teachers of the foreign languages. "The 'old system' of teaching grammar in the United States was deductive or analytical, based on Latin-grammar methods."[13] This system dominated most foreign language teaching in America from

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[12] *Le Français Fondamental* "is simply the essential elements of French lexis and grammar which need to be mastered before the technical or literary language is studied." Harding, The New Pattern, p.18.

[13] J. Wesley Childers, Foreign Language Teaching, (New York: The Center of Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964), p. 31.

colonial days until well into the twentieth century.[14]

The following observations are based primarily on J. Wesley Childer's work, Foreign Language Teaching. In the beginning of the twentieth century the furor which Wilhelm Viëtor of Germany had caused in the field of modern language learning was beginning to have its effect felt in America. In 1911, one of Viëtor's students, Max Walter, brought to America the official modern language teaching method of Germany - the Direct Method. The four basic principles were:

1. Language is made up of sounds, not letters; therefore, speaking should be the first aim. The training of the ear and tongue should precede that of the eye.

2. Connected discourse - not isolated words - should be used, because the expressions given should be full of meaning.

3. Language should be learned in a natural way as a child learns its native language. The grammar-translation method should be discarded.

4. Students should learn grammar inductively.[15]

The idea of teaching the "living language" appealed to the majority of the secondary school teachers who eagerly adopted this new method. Yet, it was soon realized that the procedures utilized for the presentation of the second language required much time. At the college and university level, although some welcomed the new approach, the vast majority retained the grammar-translation method.[16] It was after 1918 with the return of the American troops from Europe, that an increased interest in learning modern languages by the direct method was felt in the

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid, p. 32.

[16] Ibid, p. 33.

high school and college levels. Unfortunately, the amount of time required for modern language learning was not augmented within the school curriculum. Rather ironically, as the swing to more "practical" subjects was becoming apparent in more and more high schools, the time allocated to second language learning was actually decreased.[17]

Whereupon, since the direct method demanded more time than the school system wished to grant it, a new method was created - the "common-sense" approach, known also by its other names, the "realistic compromise" or the "eclectic method". This method was to combine the best of grammar-translation and the direct methods. The teacher had the responsibility of choosing any presentation which best suited the local circumstances. The chief ways in which the eclectic method operated were as follows:

1. Oral practice of sounds, phonetic drills, speaking of language phrases, and reading aloud were put into the beginning stages of the language course.

2. Questions in the language and answers in the same were used to test comprehension of the spoken language.

3. Audio-visual materials were used to aid vocabulary learning and to give information on the culture of the foreign people.

4. Grammar was explained deductively in order to save time in the classroom.

5. Compositions or sentences were assigned to test the learning of grammar.

6. Translation was still used as the acid test to determine if the student really understood what he had read.[18]

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid, p. 34.

Since correction of written exercises and translation in English demanded so much class time, however, the amount of oral work was progressively reduced until it became of little consequence. Thus, with some teachers, the eclectic method reverted back to the grammar-translation approach or to a reading method depending on the interest and/or abilities of the teacher.

The Modern Foreign Language Study, which was launched in 1924 by the United States and Canada[19], resulted by 1931 in eighteen volumes dealing with the various aspects of second language teaching in the two countries. Of consequence to this paper is the Second Language approach which this study encouraged. With the discovery that about 87% of the secondary schools offering second language courses provided these courses only in the last two years of high school, the committee which undertook the Study recommended concentration on an extensive reading program. Thus was born the American "Reading Method". Its characteristics were as follows:

1. Pronunciation was stressed at first, because even in silent reading a person's mind might tend to suggest sounds for the words in the text.

2. Grammar was taught for recognition only.

3. Oral use of the foreign language in the classroom was restricted usually to pronunciation drills and a few questions in the foreign language to test comprehension of materials read.

4. Translation from English to the foreign language was usually omitted.

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[19] The Modern Language Teaching Committee was sponsored by the Modern Language Association of America, the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers and other national language groups. This committee researched the state of second language teaching in the United States and Canada and made recommendations to the sponsoring associations on varied ways of improving the SL conditions.

5. Reading materials introduced words and idioms at a predetermined rate, and were based on the scientifically prepared word and idiom lists.

6. Materials written by foreign authors were rewritten, where necessary, to restrict the selections to the graded vocabulary level desired.[20]

"Reading was the 'surrender value' of two years of language study."[21] Yet though both teachers and students were dissatisfied with the limitations of the reading method, the American educational climate was not ready for change and in some schools even by the late 1950's the time had not yet arrived.

"The reading method of the 1930's produced a generation of literate but inarticulate Americans."[22] This situation proved unacceptable to the Armed Services which needed young men and women who could understand and speak fluently the language of their allies and enemies. Out of this urgent wartime need arose the American "Army Method". This method itself will not be dealt with in detail in this paper, but its revitalizing effect upon second language learning in the United States will be. The program's success, publicized widely by American newspapers, excited the general public. It showed that Americans could be quite proficient in language learning if given proper motivation, a longer period of study, well-trained teachers and an intensive approach. Yet, although a few colleges established intensive language programs, "American educators were still hostile to modern languages in the 1940's and many good features of the Army method languished for nearly ten years before they were revived in the

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[20] Ibid, p. 38.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 40.

'new', audio-lingual method."[23]

By the early 1950's such Army method terminology as "aural-oral" and "mim-mem" (mimicry and memorization) was receiving more attention by second language specialists. By the later 1950's a new term, based on the techniques advocated by the "aural-oral and mim-mem" approaches, was coined - "audio-lingual" (the ALM) method.[24] Underlying this new approach is a natural order in teaching the language skills, a progression from listening, to speaking, in which the basic speech patterns of the second language are acquired through memorized dialogues dealing with everyday situations, reading and writing finally follow. In view of the emphasis on the hearing and speaking, electronic devices such as tape-recorders and language laboratories are invaluable to this method. In view of the aim of the audio-lingual method, to make the learner bilingual, English is almost entirely excluded. The audio-lingual method was not "new", however; rather, it is the modern version of the oral method which in turn was a variation of the direct method. The newness lies in the dominant emphasis the audio-lingual method placed on the concept of language for communication.

Adverse reactions to some of the extreme points of view of the ALM were inevitable.[25] Claims that the audio-lingual method would produce bilingual students in a short time did not materialize; time is a key

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[23] Ibid, p. 47.

[24] The appearance of the American behaviourist B. F. Skinner's work 'Verbal Behaviour,' Century Psychology Series, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957) in the field of modern language helped launch the "audio-lingual era".

[25] In 1959 Chomsky had already refuted the Skinnerian habit-formation psychology. Noam Chomsky, A Review of B. F. Skinner's Verbal Behavior, (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965).

factor in the learning of any second language - a lot of time.[26] It has also been discovered that keeping the written word away from the student for too long a time often will work to the detriment of his learning the second language.[27] Most students learn faster through the eye than through the ear. The complete exclusion of the student's mother tongue is also found to be too extreme a practice. English is needed for clarification and to avoid lengthy, time-consuming explanations in the second language.[28] Because all the work was teacher initiated, the memorization of drills in the audio-lingual method placed an even greater strain on the teacher.[29] Furthermore, grammar was not to be taught until a much later date, regardless of the fact that many students do wish to know how the foreign language functions.

The criticisms of the 1960's have resulted in modifications in the methodology used in the audio-lingual approach. The basic theory behind its arrangement of the language skills in the "natural' order of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, however, is still advanced today as the most logical sequence in the presentation of second language skills.[30]

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[26] Ontario Ministry of Education, Teaching and Learning French as a Second Language; a New Program for Ontario Students. (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1977), p.7.

[27] Childers, Foreign Language Teaching, p. 48.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Rivers criticized an over-emphasis on tedious mechanistic processes in which the student is not required to man an active personal contribution. Wilga M. Rivers, Teaching Foreign Language Skills, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 48.

[30] BEF, Manitoba Department of Education, Core French Elementary Curriculum Guide, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printers, 1978), p.26.

The work of the psychologist Jerome Bruner[31] in the field of modern languages, and the reactions of other specialists in the field toward the audio-lingual approach, led to the emergence of the so-called "cognitive, balanced skills or four skills approach." The cognitive or code-learning theory maintains that knowing a language involves not just the performance of language-like behavior, but an underlying competence that makes such performance possible. Miller et al[32] have proposed that our behavior, including language, is controlled by cognitive processes which develop plans which the organism then proceeds to carry out. In this approach, therefore, the emphasis is placed on the mental processes involved in learning rather than the mechanical ones. It is a process of conscious, continued application in developing the skill.

There are then today two opposing psychological views of language learning: the behavorist and the cognitive.[33] Behavorism believes that all learning is the establishment of habits as the result of reinforcement, a stimulus-response sequence. This entails imitation by the pupil of the sounds and structures heard, which are then reinforced by comprehension or approval, and so develop into habits. New combinations occur through a process of generalization or analogy. The cognitive theory does not favor a process of pure imitation but rather involves active selection. The pupil must realize that sounds and objects or situations have some relationship. Correct generalization implies prior understanding of the system at work.

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[31] Jerome Bruner, "The Skill of Relevance and the Relevance of Skills", Saturday Review, 53, (New York: Saturday Review Magazine Corporation, April 18, 1970) pp.66-68.

[32] G. A. Miller, E. Galanter, and K. H. Pribam, Plans and the Structure of Behavior. New York, 1960, as cited in Arthur H. Corriveau, "Current Trends in Second Language Teaching", a report, Winnipeg, 1976, p.3. (mimeographed).

[33] Ibid.

Before a historical overview of the theories and approaches accepted in second language teaching in Canada is presented, two facts should be strongly emphasized. Firstly, it must be remembered that while school curricula in Canada are in the hands of the various provincial departments of education, local school authorities are given considerable freedom both as to which optional features of the approved course of study they may wish to implement and as to when they may wish to do so. This situation makes it exceedingly difficult to present an overall picture of the types of instruction being offered at any one time in Canadian schools. For example, in the field of French second language learning, no agreement has ever been reached on what is the best age at which to introduce French. It has, therefore, been introduced in all grades from one to eight in various areas of Canada, depending on the convictions of the sponsoring group. Secondly, one cannot forget the influences Canada has felt in almost all aspects of education from the United States and Western Europe, and Great Britain in particular. This fact holds most assuredly true in the field of second language learning.

French as a second language was offered in several private schools, academies and in some grammar schools of English-speaking Canada in the early 1800's.

> Since the ability to speak the second language had a special usefulness in this country, the direct method was used in schools for upper classes if an accomplished teacher was available.
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> An advertisement of a boarding and day school for young ladies opened by Miss Brown in Toronto in 1844, announced their intention of having the pupils study the French language "in order that it may be generally spoken in school."[34]

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[34] Charles E. Phillips, Education in Canada, (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957), p. 502, (henceforth cited Education in Canada).

After 1850, however, the composition of secondary schools had changed. The teachers, like most of their pupils, were of middle class backgrounds, and therefore had little or no educational opportunity of acquiring fluency in French conversation. Thus, the study of French when introduced into the school curriculum was grammatical and artificial. From Confederation to World War I, the grammar-translation method demanded strenuous mental exercises and arduous translations from its pupils in the public schools. Attempts made to introduce the direct method so popular in Western Europe and which ten years before had been brought over to the United States proved unsuccessful. In 1924, as a compromise similar to that which took place in the United States during its era of the reading method, Alberta aimed only at an ability to read and write as the product of its high school French second language program. Before World War II, the majority of French language courses "concentrated on the written forms and were analytical in nature with the emphasis on grammar. Taught largely by teachers often lacking in oral fluency, they used translation as a means of imparting a reading and writing knowledge"[35] of French.

The post-war years however, brought an increased emphasis on oral work. In books called "conversation grammars", everyday vocabulary and constructions were introduced in dialogue form. Unfortunately, as a result of the difficulty of assessing oral progress on a province-wide basis, written exams remained the order of the day. Moreover, even in the 1950's and 1960's, "French was being taught in a very large number of

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[35] R. W. Jeanes, "Recent Advances in Modern Language Teaching in Canada", Advance in the Teaching of Modern Languages, ed. B. Libbish, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), p. 37.

one-room schools by teachers whose faulty knowledge had been acquired from three years' instruction in schools of the same type".[36]

It was not until the late 1960's and early 1970's that the American-influenced aural-oral method, or ALM, took root in Canada. With the arrival of this new approach a restatement of objectives took place with priority being given to the teaching of the second language for purposes of oral communication. It was on the high crest of the "conversational" promises that this approach expounded and that words such as bilingualism became associated with this method. All too soon reality set in, revealing the impossibility of such a goal in so limited a time frame as the public school system was then willing to provide. A variation of the audio-lingual approach was the audio-visual, (A/V), or structuro-global method in which filmstrips, filmloops, or films, accompanied by the taperecorder were used as back-up materials for the program being taught. Within the public school system, the audio-lingual approach was generally used in the elementary and junior high years, from grades 1 - 9, and most frequently in urban school systems where necessary funds and qualified personnel were most available. The tendency at the senior high level was to retain the requirement for detailed knowledge of the written language while attempting at the same time to satisfy the new requirement for proficiency in listening and speaking. In practice, however, because of the examination requirements in the senior high grades the grammar-translation method continued almost entirely unchallenged.

> Despite recent emphasis on the speaking and listening skills, matriculation examinations in French as a second language still place a heavy premium on grammar and translation in most provinces. This is particularly true in the Atlantic provinces and in Manitoba and

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[36] Charles E. Phillips, Education in Canada, p. 502.

Saskatchewan.[37]

If the audio-lingual, audio-visual approaches met with little success in the public school system, another factor, apart from the insufficient time given the subject, has been the French teacher's inability to speak French fluently. A reaction, therefore, to the ALM and A/V methods in recent years has been to revert to the "eclectic method", setting aside any particular approach and rather adopting and adapting several methods to the teacher's own manner of teaching. As stated in Volume II of the Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

> The methods employed in Canadian second-language classes are the product of many variables. These include the aims of the course, the competence and training of the teacher, the time available for lesson preparation, the materials to be taught, the teaching aids available, and - by no means least - the nature of the departmental examination. Many of our language teachers lack the desired fluency, and have had no training in the various techniques. For them the problem of methods does not arise: they simply "follow the book" and "do the best they can", and spend most of their time teaching in the vernacular.[38]
>
> Until teachers have special training in the methodology of language instruction and some fluency in the language they are teaching, much of the classroom time will still be spent in talking about the second language rather than in it.[39]

By the early 1970's however, the picture of second language learning in Canada was slowly becoming brighter. With a more "favorable climate of opinion"[40] more Canadians realized the need and advantages of speaking

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[37] A Davidson Dunton and Andre Laurendeau et al., Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II, (Ottawa, Government of Canada, 1968), p.219., (henceforth cited the B and B Report).

[38] Ibid, p. 213.

[39] Ibid, p.210.

[40] Ibid, p. 229.

the second language given the limited time available within the school system. And of utmost importance ". . . teachers [were] being trained in the new approach, and audio-visual aids [were] being developed and used in the classroom."[41] By 1970, there was a general trend across Canada to improve the second language programs at the various levels from the elementary to the senior high grades, to render the second language a means of communication.

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[41] Ibid.

TABLE I.

Theories and developments in French Second-Language

DATES	EUROPE	U.S.A.	CANADA
pre 1800's	-grammar-translation ruled		
1800's		-grammar-translation -disciplining the mind -deductive or analytical method of presenting grammar	(Influenced by occurences in Europe and U.S.A.) -direct method to upper classes
1818-81	-Karl Plötz' influence on grammar & translation		
1847			-first Normal School established in Upper Canada
1850's			-grammar-translation mainly across Canada at the senior high level
1879	-discussion; mental gymnastics		
1880	-Gouin in France proposed new approach		
1882	-Viëtor in Germany attacked grammar-translation method		
	The dawn of the Direct Method		
1886	-Passy, phonetician, in France		
1890	-England - teacher conference resolved phonetics basis of language		
1901	-Methode directe incorporated in France		
1900-20	-Adaption of Direct Method to school conditions and proper material developed -teacher training		

TABLE I - CONT'D.

DATES	EUROPE	U.S.A.	CANADA
1911		-Max Walter brought Direct Method to U.S.A. -grammar inductive	
1918		-increased interest in oral aspect	-W.W. I —attempts at introducing direct method unsuccessful
1928		-"Ecletic Method"	
1929		-Coleman Report lead to the Reading Method from 1933 - late 50's -influence of behaviourist psychology and linguists Sapir and Bloomfield	
1930	-Direct Method successfully adapted		
1934	-Collings in England suggested Compromise Method-Variation of Direct Method		
1941		-Army Method -intense language program -"aural-oral" method "mim-mim "	
1945		-Harvard Report; general language substituted foreign language	(post W. W. II): -conversation grammars -oral work recommended
1949	-Oral Method, variation of Direct Method. Another name for Compromise Method -minority of teachers affected		
late 50's - early 60's	-influence of technology psychology (behaviourist) and linguistics. -Le Français Fondamental	-Audio-Lingual Method (ALM) or "new key" approach, extension of Army Method	-Improved direct method
early 60's	-Audio-lingual method comes from U.S.A.		
1960-70			-later grades, grammar-translation -ALM method -A/V method -

TABLE II$_1$

METHOD	AIDS	TEACHING STRATEGIES	TEACHER/STUDENT INTERACTION	WEAKNESSES
Grammar-Translation	1. to understand grammar of language 2. to write the language accurately 3. to provide wide literary vocabulary 4. to translate into or from the target language	1. detailed grammatical explanations and exercises 2. translation exercises (oral and written) 3. limited discussion of texts in native language 4. writing paradigms and applying rules	teacher → student active role textbook oriented passive role highly intelligent capable of abstract reasoning	1. geared toward highly intellectual student 2. little stress on active use of language in either oral or written form. 3. language learned on literary level 4. monotonously repetitive methodology
Direct	1. to think in the target language, whether speaking, reading, or writing it	1. no use of native language in classroom 2. sound system taught first 3. useful vocabulary (concrete to abstract) learned through association with objects or pictures or actions 4. grammar functional and learned through practice 5. speaking — reading — writing	teacher ↔ student active role resourceful fluent energetic active role highly intelligent powers of induction	1. lacks planned sequence 2. students expected to exhibit native fluency too soon 3. discouraging for less talented
Eclectic (modified direct)	1. balanced development of all skills with emphasis on oral presentation	1. some grammatical explanation 2. systematic practice of grammatical structures 3. limited use of native language in structure 4. occasional translation of words or phrases	teacher ↔ student active role imaginative energetic innovative active role	
Reading	1. to develop reading ability without conscious effort to translate	1. initiation into sound system 2. reading with oral practice 3. intensive reading for grammar, vocabulary and comprehension, teacher supervised 4. extensive reading by student for passive vocabulary 5. class projects on culture	teacher → student individual progress good reader in native languages	1. a burden to students with reading difficulties in native language 2. could stress quantity rather than quality 3. graded material necessary
Audio-Lingual	1. to communicate in a foreign language by listening - speaking - reading - writing 2. to develop understanding of foreign culture and people through their language	1. learning based on dialogues learned by mimicry-memorization 2. dialogue personalized 3. pattern drills based on dialogue lead to generalization about grammatical structures 4. reading and writing dialogue, then personalized accounts	teacher ↔ student active role fluent energetic imaginative enterprising prepared organized active role	1. student's responses tend to be mechanical 2. methodology can be boring 3. students don't understand the potential of the process 4. lengthy time span between oral and written forms
Audio-Visual (Global & Structural Method)	1. to speak the language first 2. to read and write through spoken language 3. to develop understanding of culture language.	1. meaning is learned through pictures and tape: dialogues. 2. Pronunciation (intonation, rythm, and whole phonological system) is learned through sentence unit in dialogues. 3. grammar is learned through structure of sentences in the dialogue 4. writing and reading after pronunciation has been mastered.	Same as above (Based on Wilga River, Teaching Foreign Language Skills, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 14-50, as presented by Stephania Yurkiwska at a "Training Workshop for teachers of Ukranian", in Gilbert Plains, March 15-18, 1978.	1. successful use of this method depends too much on teacher expertise. 2. students don't always understand the potential of the process 3. lengthy time span between oral and written forms of language.

CHAPTER III

FRENCH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN MANITOBA: 1870-1980

The main thrust of the third chapter will be the development of programs in French as a second language, with the exception of immersion, during the one hundred year period from 1870 until 1970. This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section is an historical overview of the educational system in Manitoba from 1870 until 1970. The second section will deal with the significant influences on the Manitoba school system during the same period. The final section will explore developments in FSL methodology and implementation during the years 1870-1970 in Manitoba.

FRENCH EDUCATION IN MANITOBA: 1870's - 1970's

In order to obtain a clearer perspective of the educational developments that occurred with respect to French second language teaching in Manitoba during the last one hundred or so years, a brief overview of the historical and political context within which these educational developments arose is needed.

Prior to 1870, the year the province of Manitoba was admitted to the Canadian Confederation, 33 schools were already in operation: 17 operated by the Roman Catholic Church, 14 by the Church of England, and 2 by the Presbyterian Church. The total enrolment was 817 children.[1]

The Manitoba Act of 1870 and the amendment to the British North America Act of the following year provided equal linguistic and school

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[1] Keith Wilson, The Development of Education in Manitoba, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967, pp.84-89, (henceforth cited Education in Manitoba).

rights at the denominational level to both Anglophone and Francophone groups. In 1871, therefore, the first legislature proceeded to create a board of education with two sections, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

Within 20 years, however, a major change had occurred within the province's population. As a direct result of the influx of immigration from Ontario, the community increased and the ethnic and religious balance altered. By 1890, the total student enrolment was over 23,000 pupils, with 719 schools in operation.[2] Now, however, there were only 91 Roman Catholic schools in comparison to the 628 Protestant schools. Demands for a single system of public schools were met in the adoption of the Public Schools Act of 1890, which provided for the withdrawal of support for denominational schools and the establishment of a single public school system.

> Meanwhile, the period from 1870 to 1890 witnessed a widespread growth in elementary education; the beginnings of public secondary education; the founding of the University of Manitoba (1877); the commencement of teacher training, (1882); more regular school inspections; and initiatives in special education for the handicapped.[3]

Appeals were made, as provided under the constitution, to the federal parliament and to the Privy Council in London, and the "Manitoba School Question" became an international issue. While attempts to secure remedial measures failed, the 1896 federal election did result in the Laurier-Greenway agreements, later called a "compromise", which amended the Public Schools Act to allow for bilingual teaching when ten or more

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Vincent J. Bueti, The Educational Policies of the New Democratic Party Government of Manitoba, 1969-75, Unpublished thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1980, p. 1.

pupils spoke French or another language other than English. Meanwhile the population of Manitoba had continued to grow and many new immigrants from outside Canada poured into the province. These newly arrived ethnic groups, according to the Laurier-Greenway compromise, also acquired the right to bilingual instruction in their own native language, such as Ruthenian, German and Polish.

The influx of immigrants and thereby the doubling of the province's population after 1896 created the fear of a "tower of Babel" situation in Manitoba. This fear as well as other political factors prompted in 1916 the adoption of the Thornton law which was, in substance, an amendment to the Public Schools Act abolishing bilingual instruction. This same year marked the founding of "l'Association d'Education des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba." There followed a period, covering almost forty years, that has been called one of "educational stagnation."[4] From 1921 to 1928, for instance, despite an increase of fifteen thousand students in the public schools, the provincial appropriation for education remained constant and declined in relation to the total budget.[5] During the depression of the 1930's, fiscal restraint continued. Only during and after the Second World War was the earlier commitment to progress to some degree restored.

By the 1940's teacher training was well established in Winnipeg and Brandon. On the negative side, however, many rural schools remained poorly financed, with teacher recruitment being inadequate. There was a reluctance on the part of successive provincial governments to initiate

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[4]Wilson, "Education in Manitoba," p.329.

[5]David Munroe, The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), p.99.

extensive educational reforms. As one educator explains, this reluctance was due to a "rural conservatism".

> Rural apathy and rural conservatism tended to retard educational programs not only in the rural areas, but also in the Province as a whole; for rural attitudes dominated the provincial legislature and directly influenced educational legislation. The failure of the movements towards consolidation meant, in effect, that educational progress was confined largely to the urban areas.[6]

Changes did however occur in 1957 when the Liberal-Progressive government of Douglas Campbell appointed a Royal Commission to examine all aspects of Manitoba's school system. The chairman, Dr. R. O. MacFarlane, who was a former professor of history at the University of Manitoba and a former deputy minister of education, conducted hearings throughout the province and issued an interim report in 1958. Briefly, the report recommended substantial increases in provincial grants related to teacher qualifications, consolidation and improvement of secondary schools, an equalization levy to assist poorer school divisions, and for FSL to be started in elementary schools from grade 1.[7]

In the same year, the newly elected Progressive Conservative government of Duff Roblin began the implementation of these recommendations. Between 1959 and 1969, the number of school districts was reduced from 1,777 to forty-one which were responsible for both elementary and secondary education.[8] An extensive school construction program was designed to

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[6]Wilson, "Education in Manitoba", p. 426.

[7]Manitoba, Interim Report, Manitoba Royal Commission on Education (1958), pp.38, 45, 89, cited by Wilson, "Education in Manitoba", p.339.

[8]Manitoba, Department of Education, Annual Report 1959-60 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1960), p.21 (hereafter cited as Manitoba, Annual Report); Idem, Annual Report 1962-63, p. 18; Idem, Annual Report 1968-69, p.11.

accommodate the increasing school enrolment which from 1959 to 1969 rose by more than 30 percent to a total of 239,834 public school students.[9]

> The increase in student enrolment was particularly dramatic at the secondary level. This was primarily due to the post-war "baby boom", "stay in school" campaigns and the raising of the school attendance age to sixteen.[10]

The status of the teaching profession improved with the increase in the new government grants for teachers' salaries.

> Better salary scales and working conditions induced more people, particularly men, into teacher training programs and encouraged existing teachers to improve their qualifications. In 1962 the government, desirous of reducing the number of poorly qualified "permit" teachers, made grade twelve standing the minimum entrance requirement to Teachers' College.[11]

It also offered attractive bursaries, loans and scholarships, and launched a teacher recruitment campaign in other countries, particularly the United Kingdom.[12] Partly as a result of these policies, "over the period from 1958 to 1964, the total number of teachers rose by almost 30 percent while the number holding university degrees increased by 88 percent."[13]

During the decade from 1959 to 1969, major curriculum changes occurred. The old program of studies for secondary schools with its "General", "High School Leaving" and "Vocational" streams, was replaced

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[9] Idem, Annual Report 1958-59, p.10; Idem, Annual Report '69-70, p.108.

[10] Idem, Annual Report 1964-65, p.19; Idem, Annual Report '63-64, p. 27.

[11] Bueti, op.cit., p.6.

[12] Manitoba, Annual Report 1967-68, p.31.

[13] Bueti, op.cit., pp.6-7.

by a broader program offering a "University Entrance Course", a "General Course", a "Business Education Course", and an "Occupational Entrance Course",[14] thereby providing more business and vocational training for students not continuing on to university. In addition, beginning in the mid-sixties, the government began to reappraise traditional teaching methods and to consider introducing more flexibility in the form of wider subject and option choices for secondary students.

As for French education,

> the period extending from 1916 to 1967 was a protracted 'twilight zone' for the Franco-Manitoban community as far as school education was concerned. A strategy of implicit cooperation between l'Association d'Education and the Department of Education allowed for ongoing French education without interventions in spite of the obvious illegality of this action.[15]

It was not until 1967 and then later in 1970 that the French language was permitted to be used as the language of instruction within the school system.

By 1969 many problems which had long beset Manitoba's school system appeared to have been resolved. In fact, the removal of some of the system's structural deficiencies permitted and facilitated the growing notion of "equality of opportunity for all" which accompanied the dynamic growth of mass education in the sixties. By consolidating school districts and by replacing small schools with larger and better-equipped "regional" schools the government enabled school divisions to introduce more diverse programs, ostensibly to meet the various needs of

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[14] Manitoba, Department of Education, Administrative Handbook Grades 9-12, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1968-69), pp.2-3.

[15] Raymond Hébert, "The Evolution of French Education in Manitoba." Speech delivered in Edmonton, Alberta, Sept.8, 1977, p.4. (mimeographed).

the enlarged school population, with the broad range of curriculum shifting from subject-oriented to interest-oriented learning.[16]

INFLUENCES ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN MANITOBA

Before discussing FSL theories and methods in Manitoba an overview of the educational setting of the past 100 years or so should be briefly considered and some of the obstacles and problems which directly influenced FSL teaching reviewed.

As mentioned in Chapter II when FSL theories and methods in Canada were presented, it was revealed how strong was the influence of American thought upon Canadian practice in general and on practice in the western provinces in particular.

> Although Canadians have clung with smug self-satisfaction to many traditional beginnings of pioneer days, they have not been able to evade the vigour of American educational research and experimentation. This may be seen in western Canadian cities where local initiative has had wider range and in recent provincial regulations governing programmes of study, textbooks and provincial examinations.[17]

Another factor to consider is, as D. S. Woods maintains, the character of the early Manitoban. The pioneer life bred "a self-reliant, aggressive individualism"[18] which remained in the Manitoban.

> Isolation bred a conservatism which has persistently clung to old forms and beliefs because deep down in our hearts we still worship at the traditional shrines. Under these conditions former ruling values give way by slowly and until a crisis arises do not experience the shock of sharp challenge.[19]

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[16] Canadian Education Association, Education in Transition: A Capsule View 1960 to 1975 (Toronto: CEA, 1975), pp.18-20 cited by Bueti, op.cit., p.8.

[17] D. S. Woods, Education in Manitoba, (Winnipeg, Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938), p.39.

[18] Ibid. p.41.

[19] Ibid.

The reticent changes in FSL learning in Manitoba reflect the conservative slow moving, traditionalistic sentiments of the early Manitoban. It will be seen that this reticence to change was particularly felt in the field of textbooks and methodology as they both applied to FSL teaching. "School traditions in Manitoba are bedded deep in the educational beginnings of the old regime and in those of the first thirty years of its organization as a province."[20]

The cultural group which had the greatest influence on Manitoban education was the large Anglo-Celtic immigrant population from Ontario which entered Manitoba between 1871 and 1911. This English-speaking group from Ontario was soon in the majority and sought to impose its cultural and educational standards on Manitoba. In fact, shortly after the Anglo-Celtic group's arrival, the Protestant section of the Board of Education adopted the Ontarian elementary school curriculum for the province of Manitoba.

It is not surprising that much of the teaching in Manitoba throughout the last 100 years was traditionalistic in nature and very textbook oriented. From its very origin, first under the guise of the Advisory Board then later as the Department of Education, the Manitoba government controlled schooling by administering final examinations and prescribing the textbooks. This, coupled with the generally poor academic and professional preparation of teachers and the deplorable wages and work conditions of teachers, governed the educational milieu within which the Manitoba student was expected to function.

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[20] *Ibid.*

Another factor which indirectly affected FSL expansion is that school attendance did not become compulsory in Manitoba until 1916 at which time the age limit was from 7 - 14 years of age. A fourteen year old would normally reach grade 8 or 9, thereby having little or no exposure to French, since French was almost exclusively taught at that time in the secondary system, grades 9-11. School attendance until the age of 16 did not become compulsory until 1959.

It is an accepted fact that "the quality of any educational system depends to a considerable extent on the quality of the teachers, and in this regard improvement was very slow in Manitoba." [21] Only in 1962 was grade 12 considered the minimum standing for admission to Teachers' College. Previously, teachers equipped with as little as eight years of formal education and little or no professional training were permitted to teach in Manitoba schools. To compound this problem was the ever-present difficulty of teacher recruitment and retention. Salaries of rural teachers in particular were abominally low and remained fairly static for over half a century. For this reason women teachers dominated the profession for many years. The "vicious circle" syndrome was created in the teaching profession of Manitoba since the quality of student attracted to a profession is directly proportional to the level of consideration given it by the populace. Until recently, teaching has been considered a lowly profession in many Manitobans' eyes and for many years the poor working conditions and salaries reflected this viewpoint.

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21 Wilson, "Education in Manitoba", p. 258.

In the early and middle 1970's one factor which played a major role in the administration of the educational system of Manitoba was the decentralization policy introduced by the NDP government of Premier Ed Schreyer. "In accordance with its philosophy of education, the Manitoba New Democratic Party once in power in 1969 instituted a number of legislative and administrative changes to decentralize the public school system."[22] By 1970 several of the Department of Education's functions were altered to harmonize with the concept that, "the strength of our educational system must be in the local school systems and from them to the schools and to the teachers and to an increasing degree to the students and to the community."[23] Specifically, the Department of Education adopted what was intended to be a supportive and facilitative role and abandoned many of its directive, regulatory functions. This shift in direction was most noticeable in the Curriculum and Inspection Branches. One year after the NDP came into power, all Departmental curricular guidelines and publications became a "broad frame of reference rather than a narrow prescription" for teachers to follow.[24]

In terms of curriculum responsibility, Saul Miller, then Minister of Education, announced that as of 1970 there would exist an "effective three-way partnership" between the province, the school divisions and the teachers.[25] Teachers were now encouraged to "adapt courses to local conditions" and were assisted by Departmental committees and consultants in

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[22] Bueti, op.cit., p.31.

[23] Manitoba, Annual Report 1971-72, p.4. (as cited by Bueti, op.cit., p.41).

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p.42.

developing their own curriculum.[26]

The NDP government's policy of decentralization was at first favourably received by such educational associations as the MTS and MAST. The government's efforts to modify its role and structure were seen as needed changes for reform by the MTS. This association also praised the transfer of curriculum responsibility to teachers. By 1974, however, the MTS was alarmed at the "lack of clear lines of authority and responsibility which seems to prevail within the Department" which made it difficult to obtain "statements of Departmental direction in education."[27]

By 1975, MAST also was expressing dissatisfaction with the execution of the government's decentralization policy. That year MAST submitted a confidential brief in conjunction with the MTS on the "Role and Operation of the Department of Education". In this brief MAST expressed an appreciation of the government's "enlightened attitude. . . towards flexibility," but the Association was dismayed at the Department's organizational disarray and lack of delineation of responsibility. There appeared to be "duplication, overlapping, competition and general confusion regarding various function"[28] within the Department of Education. Moreover, the Department's attempts to decentralize by assisting school divisions to develop their own goals, methods and evaluation, "unfortunately. . . sometimes results in more confusion than logical planning." The government's

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[26] Ibid.

[27] MTS, "Brief to The Honorable Edward Schreyer, Premier of Manitoba, The Honorable Ben Hanuschak, Minister of Education and The Cabinet," Winnipeg, Fall 1974, p.2. (Mimeographed) (as cited by Bueti, op.cit., p.142)

[28] Manitoba Teachers' Society and Manitoba Association of School Trustees, "Brief on the Role and Operation of the Department of Education", Winnipeg, February 1975, pp.2,5. (as cited in Bueti, op.cit., p.156).

practice of planning programs unilaterally, and then encouraging their adoption with financial incentives, was criticized by MAST because these funds were usually temporary and the programs were not sold on their own merits. The public image of the Department of Education, according to the Association, had also suffered. Due to the lack of direction, the existence of internal disorganization, and the deterioration of civil service morale, the Department's "credibility" had shrunk.[29]

The changing attitudes of these two educational associations from 1969 to 1975 emphasizes the disorganization and lack of credible leadership within the Department of Education during this period. As will be seen in Chapter IV, the repercussions of this internal confusion and the lack of clarity in responsibility were felt strongly within the Curriculum Services Branch in regards to French. For it was within this period that the internal structural changes saw the creation then the abandonment of the *Section française* within the Curriculum Branch and the birth of the *Bureau de l'Education française* as an independent body.

FRENCH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN MANITOBA: 1870-1970

Considering all the obstacles that were to be found in the Manitoban educational system in the past 100 or so years, one sometimes wonders how any learning of French as a second language took place. Although one can hardly say that FSL flourished greatly within its century of existence, one may be amazed at how French as a second language "held its own". Although Europe and later the United States were in the forefront in the field of second language thinking, many FSL educators of this province

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[29] Ibid.

kept remarkable pace.

No record of FSL teaching is available for the first years after Manitoba joined Confederation. This is understandable when one realizes that the first Manitoban schools were primarily concerned with offering the rudimentary basics of education during the one to eight years of schooling that were available to their students.

> In Canada, the elementary school has always been considered the common school of the people emphasizing reading, writing and arithmetic. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, composition, history, geography, grammar and more recently elementary science have been given a place of increasing importance.[30]

Considering that school attendance was not compulsory until 1916 and that the province was undergoing growing pains, it could be claimed that it was not seen as the role of the elementary school to provide a subject considered by many as of little practical use.[31] French as a second language was slowly introduced, however, when the secondary schools were established in the province circa 1890. It should be remembered that only larger centres, such as Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage la Prairie and Dauphin for example, had the population and the financial ability to accommodate secondary schooling. By the turn of the century, however, French as a second language was listed on school registers.

It appears quite ironic, however, that in 1900, although there was a scarcity of teachers, especially qualified teachers of French, the

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[30] D. S. Woods, Education in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938), p.45.

[31] See "Classification of Pupils", Appendix I, p. 111

regulations of the Advisory Board[32] as to Teachers' Certificates of that year specified that only candidates presenting "sufficient evidence of being able to read French or German and to speak either of these languages fluently and correctly, were able to receive a temporary certificate, entitling them to teach in a Collegiate or High School as specialists of such language."[33] Doubly ironic is the fact that although the oral/aural skill was required by the Department of Education for its teachers, these skills were neither utilized in the classroom extensively nor required of the students for final examination. In the Departmental Report for 1908, the high school commissioner states,

> In a few instances due attention is paid to pronunciation in the study of French, but in too many cases the appeal is made to sight alone. The teachers frankly recognize the importance of the matter, but say usually that they find no opportunity for it owing to press of time preparing for those phases of the work that are examined upon.[34]

The irony continues further when one realizes that examination of future teachers of French was based on their knowledge of French grammar, literature and rhetoric.

Before continuing further, it should be noted that throughout its history, FSL has been influenced by several organizations. Until 1960 the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education had little or no personnel and offered no assistance in the area of professional development.

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[32] Advisory Board - a body established by the Greenway administration of 1890, having wide ranging powers. It was responsible for the academic side of education while answering to the Department of Education which had control of the administrative side of education. Wilson, "Education in Manitoba, p.108.

[33] Annual Report 1900, p. 14.

[34] Annual Report 1908, pp.33-34.

For many years this branch consisted of only one or two people. Prior to its existence, the inspectors served as the principal link between the Department of Education and the classroom teacher, offering advice from their personal teaching experience. The Department of Education did, however, establish committees to review textual material for the various subjects and to set up and later mark the provincial final exams. The result of the work of these committees was published in The Western School Journal and later The Manitoba School Journal and the governmental Annual Reports. The Western School Journal, like its follower The Manitoba School Journal, featured articles concerning French, which were written mainly by the classroom teachers of French and other educators such as inspectors, and university professors. These journals also published the Manitoba Educational Association's (M.E.A.) annual spring conference and later the work of the Manitoba Teachers Federation (from 1942, the Manitoba Teachers' Society, MTS) before this association produced its own publication, The Manitoba Teacher. The M.E.A. did establish a committee, called the Moderns' Section, which organized the FSL contribution to the annual conference. This committee and other teachers of French often gathered to discuss texts, methodology and the latest developments in this field. This committee voiced its concerns in the form of recommendations to the M.E.A., which like the MTS today, could present these opinions to the Department of Education. The Manitoba Teachers' Federation, later MTS, did not have a sub-section for curricular activities until 1960.

As has been mentioned for many years, teachers in general were very poorly trained for their profession, some receiving as little as six weeks

of training. Moreover, while at Normal School, future teachers of French learned to teach by learning how to use the texts approved by the Department of Education. As will be seen later in this study, few opportunities were available to the teachers of French to improve their competence in the language and methodology.

Around the turn of the century, the method utilized by the majority of teachers of FSL at the high school level was the grammar-translation method, the method by which many of them as students had learned either their French, Latin, and Greek. Students were taught to meet the requirements of the final examination, which were reading, writing, and translation. "The Advisory Board administered final examinations, and this fact, coupled with its control of textbooks and the generally poor academic and professional preparation of teachers, led to a situation wherein most of the teaching in Manitoba centered around the textbooks."[35]

Yearly the Department of Education published the results of the final examinations, followed by a frank discussion of the worthiness of the examination papers set that year.

> The French authors paper shows clearly that there was too much reading to be covered, . . . There was a large percentage of failure in French grammar . . .
> All papers show a deplorable lack of knowledge of verb forms, especially of the past definite, . . .[36]

At the same time, lists upon lists of nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and pronouns, etc., were included in the monthly issues of The Western School Journal as "a basis" for the three

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[35] Keith Wilson, "Education in Manitoba", p. 151.

[36] The Western School Journal, XIII (8), 1918, p.326. (henceforth WSJ)

year's high school program in French. These lists were drawn up "in accordance with the recommendation of the committee[37] appointed to consider the requirements of matriculation French."[38]

These lists might well have intimidated both the teacher and the student of French. One must also remember the formidable task set before both student and teacher in the early 20th century. Only three hours per week were allocated within the three year period (grades 9 - 11) for FSL; French was available in classes averaging over forty pupils per class. Supplied only with antiquated grammar books and literary novels, the teacher of French was ill-equipped at the best of times to teach the language as a means of communication. In 1919, the examiners of the Moderns' Section themselves submitted the following statement: "A criticism of the text seems also in order - l'Histoire de l'éducation dans la Société - seems to have been written between 1750-1800 and is therefore rather out of date, behind the times."[39] It was unrealistic within these conditions for the Department of Education to express "a desire to have the pupils in our High Schools able to speak French at the end of the course."[40] And yet throughout the history of FSL in Manitoba, the various presiding governments have expressed this desire of French fluency for the public school pupil. Until recently, however, no provincial government has really provided the conditions within which this

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[37] This committee was established by the Department of Education to draw up the final examinations in the French option.

[38] WSJ, XIII (7), 1918, p. 276.

[39] WSJ, XIV (11), 1919, p. 351.

[40] WSJ, XIII (5), 1918, p. 215.

desire may be fulfilled within the public school system. It appears characteristic for the provincial government throughout the development of education Manitoba until the middle 1950's to be reluctant to provide money for the school system. Although many governments expressed the desire to have the best education possible, the priorities which they established unfortunately did not reflect this desire.

Towards the beginning of the First World War, several articles began to appear in pedagogoical journals such as The Western School Journal in which educators, mainly secondary teachers and/or Normal School instructors, began to express publicly their views on the actual situation of FSL teaching in the province, and on ways of improving it. Some writers were quite frank and forceful in their opinion for a need to change. Miss Lily M. Grove, a secondary teacher, admonished that "as far as modern language methods are concerned, you have a very great deal to learn,"[41] for she continued, "the old translation method [leads] to nothing but infinite boredom and weariness of the flesh."[42] Other educators, many of whom were of the same opinion, stated more subtly the status of FSL during their day; for example in F. Rivoire's article one reads, "while good work has been done, so far, . . . it must be at once realized that much remains to be done to place the study of French on the plane toward which every good teacher is no doubt striving."[43]

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[41] Lily M. Grove, "The Teaching of French on the Direct Method," WSJ, IX (8), 1914-15, p.215.

[42] Ibid., p. 216.

[43] F. Rivoire, "The Teaching of French in the Junior Grades of Public School", WSJ, XX (8), 1924, p. 475.

For he states there was a great need "in the improvement of teaching methods supported by better textbooks."[44] Yet the textbook governed the French classroom; for years secondary students learned French in order to "prepare for examination purposes, New Elementary French Grammar (Fraser and Squair) Lesson I - XII and Mes premiers pas en français"[45] were the books started in grade 9, with the Fraser and Squair continued and finished in grades 10 and 11.

It will be seen that in theory, and in a small degree in practice, new developments in FSL teaching were followed and supported by several innovators in the teaching community. As mentioned previously, several FSL educators questioned the effectiveness of the grammar-translation method of teaching and shifted their attention and energies to the newest second language theory of that era - the Direct Method. As can be seen, the interest of some Manitoba educators in this method did not lag considerably behind the interest expressed by their counterparts in the rest of Canada, even though it was tardy in comparison to the interest and work accomplished in this field in Western Europe.

Several innovative Manitoba FSL teachers lauded the merits of the Direct Method of teaching French. As numerous articles in The Western School Journal testify, several teachers argued that "a modern language, or as the French has it better, *une langue vivante* (a living language), should not be taught as the dead languages, Latin and Greek are taught,

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[44] Ibid.

[45] A. Fyles, "The Necessity of Acquiring a Large Workable Vocabulary in the Junior Grades of a French Course", WSJ, XX(6), 1924, p.410.

but should be made ALIVE."[46] A few educators openly questionned the current aim of high school French and the methods used: "our aim in learning a foreign language is not merely to acquire a new vocabulary and cram our minds with grammatical rule for purposes of examination."[47]

> It is a simple truth which today appears obvious, but like many simple truths, it takes a very long time before it is fully grasped and properly handled. Germany was among the first to revolt from the old translation method, with the famous cry: "Wir mussen um kehren," that is to say we must turn around - back to nature's methods, teach a foreign language as we should teach the mother tongue - directly, not through the indirect medium of translation.[48]

It should be noted, however, that the concerns expressed by several individuals may not necessarily have reflected the opinions of the majority of the FSL teachers of the time. In 1914-15, the provincial government established a committee to present recommendations for possible changes in the secondary school curriculum in Manitoba. Their report stated: "A number of letters dealing with French were received, which are of great value as a criticism of the aims, methods and results of the study of the French language in our high schools."[49] The committee recommended and it was so accepted that French be taught three hours per week for three years, grades 9 to 11, to university destined students, and girls taking practical arts, but not to future elementary school teachers (grades 1 - 8). The state of FSL teaching was not very encouraging, with

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[46] Lily M. Grove, WSJ, IX (8), 1914-15, p.215.

[47] Ibid., p.217.

[48] Ibid., p. 215.

[49] Secretary's Report, WSJ, 1914-15, p. 171.

too little time, archaic teaching methods, irrelevant texts and poorly prepared teachers.

And yet there were dedicated FSL educators who wished to change the teaching situation in Manitoba for themselves and for their colleagues. These educators saw the Direct Method or an adaptation of this method as the solution to several of the problems of FSL teaching. For the number of educators crying out for an improvement for both students and teachers, and for implementation of the Direct Method, however, a fair number of conservative, traditionalistic educators was denegrating its theory and use, while insisting on a continuation of the old style of teaching, the grammar-translation method. The Committee of Modern Language, a sub-section of the Manitoba Educational Association (M.E.A.) composed of French teachers, refused to listen to proponents of the Direct Method such as Miss Lily Grove; rather they concluded "that the speaking of the language is not the primary aim in the High School or even in the University [;] . . . [t]he Knowledge of the reading and writing of the language is the primary aim."[50] Such statements and thoughts were printed in The Western School Journal as principles for French teachers to follow. ". . . the oral work must be limited on account of the size of our class . . ."[51] "Every lesson after the first year should be made a reading lesson."[52] And the reason for not encouraging the students to learn to speak French? ". . . as very few

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[50] "Committee on Modern Language", WSJ, X (5), 1914-15, p.173.

[51] Ibid., p. 174.

[52] Ibid.

of the pupils ever come in contact with foreign people, or go abroad, the first importance [should] be given to create interpretation through thorough teaching of grammar."[53] One wonders where all the "foreign" Manitoban francophones had disappeared.[54]

And yet amidst all this controversy some FSL teachers did hear the call of the Direct Method, and as best they could, did utilize the phonetics, giving "infinite care to pronunciation",[55] articulation and intonation while introducing more conversation. Throughout the history of FSL in Manitoba, however, and no matter what method the teachers were utilizing, all bemoaned the difficulty of meeting any objectives whether written or oral, because of the limitations imposed by the second language teaching environment. In fact, over and over again one reads variations of the following recommendation in the minutes of the provincial Modern Language meetings:

> Whereas the Department of Education has expressed a desire to have the pupils in our High Schools able to speak French at the end of the course, and whereas the teachers of French sympathize warmly with this idea. Whereas, however, they recognize the impossibility of accomplishing such desire if the time of the study is confined to three years of high school and to classes of over forty pupils, therefore be it resolved that we recommend that the study of French be begun early in the grades, and that twenty-five should be the maximum number of pupils in a French class.[56]

This same request was made in an open letter written by Professor Squair of Toronto University in that same year, addressed to the people of Ontario on the teaching of French in the Ontario schools. The letter

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[53] Ibid.

[54] In 1911, 6.8% of the total population, that is 30,944 Francophones lived in Manitoba. Wilson, "Education in Manitoba," Appendix I, p.439.

[55] "Committee on Modern Language", WSJ, X (5), 1914-15, p.174.

[56] Modern Language minutes, WSJ, XIV (11), 1918-19, p.351.

was felt to be of such consequence to the Manitoba context that it was reprinted in The Western School Journal:

> The hour has come for two great changes without which progress is impossible: French must have more time devoted to it in our secondary schools, and there must be an elevation of the standard of teaching. Extra time should be got by beginning the subject at least a couple of years sooner, by securing more frequent lessons during the week and by teaching smaller classes.[57]

As of 1916, FSL was authorized by the Manitoba government to extend from grades 7 to 12. Although French was permitted at the junior years, few schools offered French at this level for several years. By 1922, however, the Department of Education, wishing to encourage both the Direct Method and the teaching of French in the junior high grades was prepared to offer a course to teachers of French during the summer months provided a sufficient number enrolled. The course took place from July 4th to August 12th for French, for grades 9, 10 and 11. The following year, as a result of lack of numbers, the French methods course was not offered.

By 1923, another term appeared on the FSL scene in Manitoba. In keeping with modern FSL trends in the Western World, some Manitoba French secondary teachers when "asked to use the Direct Method",[58] interpreted it to mean the "Oral Method", with pronunciation practice, phonetics, reading and memorization. As previously mentioned, a wide gap existed for many years, between what the Department of Education encouraged in the teaching

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[57] Professor Squair, "The Teaching of French - An Open Letter", WSJ, XIV (5), 1919, p.188.

[58] Florence M. LeNevin, "Grade IX French", WSJ, XVIII (6), 1923, p.624.

of FSL and what actually did occur in the classroom. Modern textbooks supporting the Direct Method were either not available in Manitoba or not approved.[59] Fraser and Squair's book New Elementary French Grammar was not suitable for the Direct Method. Rather, as the title suggests, it encouraged the old grammar-translation method. This discrepancy was well established during an M.E.A. address by Mr. A. Fyles in 1924, on the topic of French at the junior grades.

> According to the Programme of Studies. . . . As much emphasis as possible in classroom work should be put upon the conversational use of language. . . [yet] There is no test on conversational French and dictation. . . no systematic, graded practice in speaking French and no texts.[60]

In summary, then, after nearly thirty-five years of FSL teaching in the province, Manitoba teachers were still teaching with antiquated, unsuitable texts mainly grammar and literature books used for translation practice. All this French knowledge was tested through reading and writing exams, with no tests available for the aural comprehension and speaking skills; this situation produced students who could pronounce certain words, translate several literary passages, conjugate several verb forms, but could by no means speak French.

By the end of the 1920's, then, there were two methods employed in Manitoba and known to all teachers of language, and grouped thus: "-- (1) Direct Methods; (2) Translational Methods; (3) Methods that are a blend of (1) and (2). . . . Now, of these two methods, the more popular

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[59] The reticence of the provincial government to spend money for education was particularly evident during the "stagnant years" of 1916-1956.

[60] A. Fyles, WSJ, XX (6), 1924, pp.410-11. The absence of suitable texts was not particular solely to FSL teaching, it was a general phenomenon during this period.

one [was] the Translational Method."[61] This statement is of little surprise when one remembers the obstacles encountered by FSL teachers. There is, however, another dimension to this problem and it is the very nature of the Direct Method itself.

> The Direct Method is an ideal. . . in theory, it is impeccable. But its one serious limitation is that it demands too much time and an organization into small classes in the well equipped schools, staffed by several (not just one) language experts, having a thorough command of the language and (what is most important) of the technique of teaching the same.[62]

Briefly stated, the lack of success of the Direct Method in Manitoba was due to two factors: first, the misapplication of the method by unskilled teachers; and second, the impractibility of the method, which led to discipline problems in Manitoba schools. These two factors resulted therefore, in the utilisation by the majority of the FSL teachers of a blend of the Direct and Translational Methods - in other words, the Mixed Method, a compromise. In the eyes of its supporters, the main difference between the Direct Method and the Mixed Method was, briefly, "the exclusion of translation from the practising stages."[63]

As elsewhere in education, there were few new developments in FSL teaching during "the 40 years of stagnation" which marked the province from approximately 1914 until 1955. The only developments worthy of mentioning with regards to French are firstly, the month long summer immersion course sponsored by the Department of Education and held at the University of Manitoba 1940 and 1941 where "students actually tried to live, to work and to amuse themselves for a whole month without using any language but

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[61] Mary Sheldon, "French in the Senior High School", WSJ, XXVIII (3), 1927, p. 105.

[62] Ibid., p.107.

[63] Ibid., p.108.

French."[64] This very practical course was seen by the Department of Education as one means of improving the ability of some teachers of French to speak French.

> Teachers of French will find the facilities and training offered by the course of distinct value in enlarging their range of progressive teaching methods, in heightening their appreciation of the contribution of French to Canada's romantic heritage and is moving towards that degree of fluency in French, which alone brings conviction and reality to the French classroom.[65]

The second development worthy of note during the 1940's is the interest generated by the "Reading Method" propounded by the American and Canadian Committee on Modern Language. Under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation, this Committee made from 1924 to 1930 a study of the whole field of language teaching in Canada and the United States. In reacting to the findings of this study, Manitoba educators felt that school conditions were not conducive to producing French-speaking students at the end of their course of studies. Therefore, they recommended that the aim of FSL teaching in Manitoba be restricted to "the development of the ability to read with understanding. . . ease and rapidity."[66] In many ways this method would have functioned well and might have solved many of the problems to be found in Manitoba schools during that era in regards to FSL. The Department of Education, however, paid the Reading Method little heed and despite the lack of

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[64] Meredith Jones, "Ici on parle français!", The Manitoba School Journal, (henceforth cited as MSJ), Sept. 1940, p.16. The course was attended by seventeen "enthusiastic" teachers of French.

[65] "Course in Oral French", MSJ, May 1941, p. 15.

[66] Marcelle A. Abell, "The 'Reading Method' of Teaching Languages", MSJ, February, 1942, p. 15.

competent teachers of French during the 1940's, the Department still specified that students should be able to speak French upon completion of high school, as the goal of FSL teaching.

Other minor developments, from 1946-1955, worthy of mention, are the fact that the time allotment for French in Grades 7, 8, and 9 was four periods of 35 minutes each per six day cycle.[67] There were newer texts now being used with Cours primaire de français or Junior French for the junior high grades and Cours moyen de français or Senior French as the continuation in the senior high school. With the junior high texts, a "conversational" approach was encouraged. Although both texts contain elementary phonetics and some prepared dialogues and oral question-answer exercises, as in the case of their senior counterparts, a fair amount of grammar memorization and translation exercises were asked of the students. Again, the texts encouraged by the Department dictated the methods used by the FSL teacher.

In 1951, a radio broadcast, "Le quart d'heure français", sponsored by the Department of Education was established, providing much needed oral French exposure to both FSL students and teachers. Scripts were sent weekly to teachers who requested them. The broadcasts were originally destined for grades IX and X students but all teachers could incorporate them in their own program.

The year 1955 was a turning point in education in Manitoba in general and in FSL teaching in particular. For the first time school boards could

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[67] The six day cycle was piloted in one or two schools before becoming popular in the larger school divisions. Winnipeg School Division No.1 began the six day cycle in its secondary schools in September, 1959.

request permission from the Director of Curricula to offer French as a second language in the elementary grades from 4 to 6.[68] The same year the French Curriculum Committee under the direction of the Department of Education[69]

> was asked to draw up suggestions and a plan for a French program in Grades IV, V, and VI. . . little came of it, primarily because very few schools were ready to offer French in these grades, and perhaps, too, because there was yet very little demand for conversational French. /However,/ there is a clear indication that from 1958 onward there was a growing interest in oral French and in devices and techniques for improving the teaching of French.[70]

The result of the growing interest in FSL teaching at the elementary level manifests itself most clearly in the recommendations put forth by the Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education prepared by Dr. R. O. MacFarlane et al., in 1959. The "MacFarlane Report" recommended "that permission be granted for the teaching of French or German as a subject of instruction from Grade 1 in all schools in which a duly qualified instructor was available."[71] It was not until 1963, however, under Duff Roblin, that French was authorized from grade 1 onwards.

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[68] Annual Report 1955, p.15. FSL was authorized from grades 4-6 by the Minister of Education upon recommendation from the French Curriculum Committee.

[69] French Curriculum Committee - was established to maintain a continuous review of the effectiveness of the French program. This committee of teachers and departmental officials reported to the general Curriculum Committee which in turn made recommendations on overall curriculum policy.

[70] Arthur H. Corriveau, "Current Developments in Manitoba's French Curriculum", Curriculum Bulletin, Department of Education of Manitoba, (henceforth cited CB), Feb.,1967, p.23. Note: It was after the French course was available at the elementary level that the title "conversational" or "oral" French made its appearance.

[71] Dr. R. O. MacFarlane, et al., Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printers, 1959), p. 128.

Other developments occurred in FSL teaching at the junior high level as well at this time. It was a recognized fact that although French as a second language had been available

> on an optional basis for well over twenty years. . . over the years, however, reading, grammar, and translation became the accepted hallmark of French in schools. [Yet,] certain voices must have been raised against this state of affairs because in March, 1958, the French Curriculum Committee met for the purpose of modifying the course for Grades VII and VIII in order 'to make more time available for oral French'.[72]

Thus the era of the "audio-lingual", "aural-oral", "audio-verbal" methods began in Manitoba.

It was in the beginning of 1960 that a series of three summer seminars in education were established by the Department of Education to put forward recommendations on curriculum policies. These seminars provided the impetus and established the guidelines which served to launch the Department of Education in the direction of a fullscale upgrading and updating of second language courses and programs generally.[73] "Some of the recommendations put forward by these seminars brought about major

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[72] A. H. Corriveau, "Current Developments in Manitoba's French Curriculum", CB, February, 1967, p. 22.

[73] These three seminars occurred during the summers of 1960, 1963, and 1964 lasting from two to three weeks. The seminars of the summer of 1960 had as its responsibility, the "General Curriculum Program"; the summer of 1963 was the "University Entrance Program" and the "Occupational Entrance Program"; and the summer of 1964 it was the "Elementary Curriculum Seminar". Committees of teachers and departmental personnel were entrusted by the Department of Education to examine the school system in the light of recommending possible changes to the Minister. Manitoba, Department of Education, "Elementary Curriculum Seminar", Manitoba Teachers' College, July 6 - 17, 1964, p.1. (Mimeographed).

changes in the very nature of modern language learning and teaching. . . . In reference to second languages, The General Course Seminar Report, (French "01") of 1960 stated that (1) the audio-lingual approach must be stressed at all times, . . . Also it underlined the imperative need for evaluating listening comprehension and speech."[74] In the same year

> a committee of teachers[75] was hard at work producing an elementary French program to meet the growing demands for French in Grades 4 to 6. However, because no suitable audio-lingual sequence was yet available for these levels, the committee recommended to the Department that teachers use a semi-traditional conversational course which they enriched and improved by means of songs and games on tape.[76]

The University Seminar Report, (French 100, 200, and 300) of 1963, reiterated the view of the General Course Report and insisted that there "be substantially greater requirements in the use of oral language,"[77] and that "a program of pre-service and in-service training for language teachers be 'instituted'."[78]

That same year, 1963, the Elementary French Curriculum Committee consisting of teachers of French and departmental officials, designed a program for grades 1, 2, and 3. The following year the Junior High French Curriculum Committee was set up to revise, and update the French courses for grades 7, 8 and 9, in keeping with audio-lingual principles. Meanwhile,

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[74] Arthur H. Corriveau, "Manitoba's Recent Progress in Teaching Modern Languages", 1970, p.1. (henceforth cited "Modern Languages") (mimeographed).

[75] A committee - the Elementary French Curriculum Committee established by the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education to review and/or create material for grades 4 to 6.

[76] Corriveau, "Modern Languages", p. 2.

[77] Ibid., p. 1.

[78] Ibid.

the Elementary Seminar Report of 1964 called for "the audio-lingual approach. . . to promote the development of conversational skills,"[79] and emphasized that

> a second language program be so structured as to be sequential and continuous from its inception. . . all three reports suggested a departure from the traditional grammar-translation method of teaching modern languages and painted the way to the aural-oral approach through the grades.[80]

This statement indicates not only the latest methodological trends encouraged by the Department of Education but also the state of events in FSL in Manitoba in the middle 1960's. Despite the repeated attempts made by the Department of Education, and the efforts of informed second language teachers throughout the history of FSL in Manitoba, the majority of FSL teachers in the province still were unwilling to abandon the old grammar-translation method.

To provide the audio-lingual method with a stronger foothold in the province, the Department of Education in 1965, 1966, established 47 Grade VII pilot classes in different schools, using the audio-lingual text, Le Francais , Ecouter et Parler. "During this period of transition, the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education, the Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba, the Manitoba Teachers' Society, and indeed, some of the publishers"[81] cooperated in assisting the teachers of modern languages. "This help took the form of orientation sessions, regional workshops, intensive one-week institutes, summer courses, credit giving

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[79] Ibid., p. 1.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

university courses, and even television demonstration lessons."[82] Shortly afterwards the entire ALM series of "Ecouter et Parler", "Parler et Lire", "Lire, Parler et Ecrire", was approved by the Department of Education for grades 7 to 12 inclusively.

The arrival of the audio-lingual approach in Manitoba caused much stirring and enthusiasm in the FSL community. For years the majority of the FSL teachers had plodded on teaching in the same traditional manner, despite the innovations in FSL teaching occurring all around them. Some teachers had kept abreast of second language theories but there remained some who were unwilling to put these theories into practice in the classroom.

One should remember the strict control of the Department of Education on school texts at this time. For many teachers the text was the program. Therefore, the "ALM wind" which blew across the province in the early 1960's brought with it a time of reflection and a much needed change in FSL teaching in Manitoba.

The School Broadcast Branch of the Department of Education played an important role in the promotion of the new approach of FSL teaching. It designed and broadcast a host of programs in French to enrich the new aural-oral "conversational" method.

The year 1968 marked a turning point in FSL teaching in Manitoba. Although the Department of Education had strongly and repeatedly insisted that the aural-oral skills be emphasized in the FSL program, until the present time it had never required that these skills be evaluated.

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[82] Ibid.

And while departmental exams have been a historical fact in Manitoban education, never had anything but the reading, and writing skills and literary knowledge of students been examined. Finally, in 1968-69, the Examination Board undertook the construction of an oral French test for Grade 12, the French 300 and 301 courses. The following year, an oral exam became part of the provincial testing of FSL language acquisition for grade 12 students. The following statement briefly summarizes the developments which occurred in Manitoba in the late 1960's and early 1970's in regard to the accepted methodology and the quality of teaching available in FSL.

> Manitoba can in truth claim to have taken bold steps forward in the teaching and learning of second languages. To move on a province-wide basis from the well-entrenched traditional method to the audio-lingual is indeed a major challenge. Fortunately most teachers rallied to the call and measured up to the occasion. Many worked tirelessly to make this transition possible. Not only did teachers have to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the philosophy and techniques of the new approach, but, in many instances, had to make special efforts to acquire the aural-oral skills which they lacked. Furthermore they also had to adjust to new concepts and changes occurring at the same time in educational thinking. While it is true that all is not perfect with modern language teaching in the schools of Manitoba, there is reason to believe that good progress has been made, and that second languages are now being experienced as living languages. Admittedly, there is still a long way to go before a satisfactory situation can be attained, before the particular needs of Manitoba can be adequately satisfied in this area. If the situation reached to date is not allowed to become static, then there is hope that progress and improvement will continue to take place.[83]

As will be seen in the following chapter this statement proved overly optimistic. The initial enthusiasm for the "conversational", audio-lingual texts such as Le Francais, Ecouter et Parler soon dwindled as teachers continued to labour under difficult classroom conditions and with little direction from the Department of Education.

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[83] Arthur J. Corriveau, "Modern Languages", p. 4.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MANITOBA: AN OVERVIEW

Dates	Educational Events	FSL
1870	- Manitoba joins Confederation	No record of FSL in Manitoba
1877	- founding of the University of Manitoba	
1882	- schools grade 1-8 (elementary) - secondary education (9-11) in major centers - founding of the Normal School	grammar-translation (grades 9-12)
1890	- Advisory Board Department of Education formed	
1898		examination of teachers with third class certificate examined on grammar and literature and rhetoric
1914		direct method urged--criticism thereof
1916	- school compulsory (7-14 year olds)	
1921-28	- Education budget reduced	
1935	- Faculty of Education at University of Manitoba organized	
1940's		French in grades 7 & 8: grammar-translation Reading method suggested
1955	- French down to 4 allowed - School boards could request permission to offer FSL from 4-6	French Curr.Committee asked to draw up program grades 4-6.
1958	- MacFarlane Report recommends French in Grade 1	
1959	- reducing # school districts	Growing interest in "oral" French
1961	- school attendance 16 yrs.old	elementary French Committee formed (4-6)
1962	- grade 12 minimum standing for Teachers' College	
1963		Elementary French Committee drew up program grades 1 - 3.
1968		Piloting ALM at junior high level.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL CHANGES IN CANADA AND MANITOBA AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON FSL: 1967 - 1976

The year 1970 marked an important event for French language education in Manitoba. The Public School Act was amended to restore to the French language the status which it had not enjoyed since 1916.[1] This development did not, however, occur overnight and without some assistance external to the province. The social, ethic or racial unrest which marked the 1960's was not solely confined to Western Europe and the United States. Slogans such as "le fait français" and "time for change" were being reiterated in the political halls of Quebec with ever increasing fervour. The separatist movement in Quebec was already gathering momentum and strength through such notables as Pierre Bourgault and René Levesque. In 1962 at the second Canadian Conference on Education[2] held in Montreal, six hundred of the two thousand participants were French-speaking delegates. The state of second language instruction in Canada was a topic of considerable discussion. In 1963 more and more political pressure was felt

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[1] In 1970, Bill 113 gave French education a status equal to English as an official language of instruction.

[2] Canadian Conference on Education: A conference sponsored by the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) held approximately every four years dealing with educational topics of national interest. The reason for sponsoring the 1958 and 1962 conferences was the CTF's belief "that wider public understanding of Canadian educational needs and problems would be a major step toward their solution." Fred W. Price, ed., Second Canadian Conference on Education Report (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), foreword.

by federal government from the Union Nationale party and such vocal Quebecois as Jean-Jacques Bertrand, M. Gérin-Lajoie, and Pierre Laporte all demanding a committee to study the state of the French Canadian people. This increasing unrest in Quebec and its vociferous manifestations laid the foundations for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (referred to hereafter as the "B and B Commission").

On May 20, 1963, Prime Minister Pearson forwarded a letter to every provincial premier asking whether his province would favor "an inquiry by a Royal Commission on the problems posed, and the opportunities offered, in Canada by the duality of the language and culture established by Confederation. . ."[3] Several authors suggest that the atmosphere of the 1960's was particularly favorable to a Royal Commission. John Saywell remarks that although "readiness to expound on education was not peculiar to 1963, there was a sustained interest on the part of the public as well as on the part of the educators."[4] Royce Frith, one of the commissioners for the B and B Commission, further advanced: "The time was right for our Report and our Report was right for the time."[5]

So that in May 1965 during one of its meetings in Manitoba, the Royal Commission was told by Rev. W. G. Lockhart, principal of United Collete and spokesman for the United Church that "the time may be ripe to allow instruction in French in the public schools."[6] The year 1967, the

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[3] See Appendix II, page 112 of this study.

[4] John Saywell, Canadian Annual Review for 1965, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 63. (Henceforth cited CAR, 1965).

[5] Royce Frith, "Foreword", Bilingualism and Biculturalism: An Abridged Version, by H. B. Innis (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1972).

[6] John Saywell, CAR 1965, pp.469-470.

year of publication of volume I of the B and B Commission report marked an important period in particular.

It had been in reaction to the Thornton Law of 1916 that Franco-Manitobans had formed *L'Association d'Education des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba.*

> The same year, [1916] Franco-Manitobans, numbering approximately thirty-five thousand, rallied to the challenge of their Bishop, Monseigneur Arthur Beliveau: "Si nous voulons du français c'est à nous d'en mettre!" In response, the Franco-Manitobans founded "l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-français du Manitoba" to safeguard and promote their language and culture.[7]

For approximately fifty years, l'Association, as it was popularly called, succeeded in keeping "français" alive in Manitoba. A well-known language educator purports that *l'Association's* success was due mainly to the following factors: the leadership role of the clergy in the well-established parish structures, the presence of religious teaching orders, the relative stability of close-knit, almost homogeneous rural communities, and the common will to survive.[8]

With financial support from its community and a ready supply of francophone volunteers consisting of bilingual lay teachers and teaching orders, *l'Association* was able for nearly fifty years to look after the teaching of "français" which took place mostly after regular school hours.[9] From 1916 to 1966, *l'Association* maintained and controlled "the quality of français instruction by the use of examinations and by regular visits

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[7] Arthur H. Corriveau, "The Struggle for Français in Manitoba," Multiculturalism, Vol.II, No.3, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 19.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

of inspectors [visiteurs d'écoles] which it appointed."[10]

After the Second World War in the higher grades "*français* was accepted, at least semi-officially, on a par with French as a second language option."[11] It was not, however, until 1958 that *français* was officially approved as an option in grades 4 to 6. Finally in 1963 under the Conservative government of Duff Roblin, both the options of French as a second language and *français* were permitted from grade 1 to grade 12. At this time "Department of Education school inspectors became responsible for the supervision of the *français* program"[12] and a *Français* Curriculum Committee of teachers was established and entrusted by the Department of Education with the preparation of the *français* program of study;[13] the amount of elementary *français* increased from twenty minutes to an hour a day.[14]

L'Association, taking advantage of the momentum created, continued to press for more *français* in the schools. "The timing was considered appropriate and *l'Association* asked that *français* be used as a language of instruction along with English."[15] Finally, on April 20, 1967, the Conservative government amended the Public Schools' Act by passing Bill 59. Under the new Bill, French was permitted for a period not exceeding 50% of the school day. French was now permitted as a language of instruction in social studies, including history and geography, from grades 1 to 12

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[10] Manitoba Teachers' Society (MTS), "Le Français Aujourd-hui", Winnipeg, November, 1980, p.2.

[11] Corriveau, "The Struggle for Français in Manitoba", p. 10.

[12] MTS, "Le Français Aujourd-hui", p.2.

[13] The *français* language option was designed as a French first (FL_1) language course whereby francophones, possessing through their family and upbringing knowledge of French would receive a more intense French language course.

[14] Corriveau, "The Struggle for Français in Manitoba", p. 20.

[15] Ibid.

with approval from the Minister of Education.[16]

Although the *français* question was not a matter of high profile for the Conservative party, the caucus decision to augment the amount of French instruction allowed in the public schools did reflect the party position on this concern. Premier Duff Roblin, a bilingual himself, has been perceived by some as the protagonist in the Conservative Party for extending the "français" program.[17] Some NDP politicians, however, voiced their belief that still more time should be placed on its use. In response to the Manitoba government's Speech from the Throne which spoke of French language instruction only under "certain conditions", Russ Paulley admonished the Conservatives that:

> In the national interest it is as well for us to have French as a universal language with English, but if the objective is just within certain communities and certain areas to the exclusion of others, we will be doing an injustice to Canada.[18]

The moment for the granting of equal status to French arrived in 1970 under Premier Ed Schreyer, a man very understanding of "le fait français" in Manitoba. In accordance with its beliefs, the NDP government during the period 1969-75 adopted a policy of increasing minority language rights within the public school system, particularly for French. In terms of statutory reform, the NDP government introduced two major bills which amended the Public Schools' Act to enhance language rights. Bill 113, which came into effect in 1970 gave French language education

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[16] The Minister of Education was to be consulted before a school could offer this program. This proved a mere formality, however.

[17] Graham Hague, member of the Progressive Conservative Party, telephone interview, Winnipeg, July 9, 1981.

[18] Manitoba, Debates, Paulley, December 8, 1967, p. 61.

a status equal to English as an official language of instruction in Manitoba Schools as it had been prior to 1916. With regard to French, Bill 113 amended section 258 (as of November 1980, section 79) of The Public Schools' Act to read:

> 258(1) Subject as otherwise provided in this section, English and French being the two languages to which reference is made in the British North America Act, 1867, are the languages of instruction in public schools.[19]

To advise the minister, upon his request, on matters pertaining to French instruction, a French Language Advisory Committee of nine members was established:

> 258(5) The minister shall establish a committee (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "French Language Advisory Committee") composed of nine persons to which he may refer matters pertaining to the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools.[20]

French instruction could be established in any school division or district where parents requested it and a sufficient number of parents desired such instruction for their children. Exceptions were to be made, however, in cases where a smaller number of interested students were available and the parents petitioned for French education for their children.

> 258(8) Where there are in any school district, school division or school area (a) twenty-eight or more pupils, in an elementary grade who may be grouped in a class for instruction; or (b) twenty-three or more pupils in a secondary grade who may be grouped in a class for instruction; and whose parents desire them to be instructed in a class in which English or French, as the case may be,

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[19] Manitoba, The Public Schools Act, En. S. M. 1970, C.66, S.1.

[20] Ibid.

> is used as the language of instruction, the board of the school district, school division or school area may, and upon petition of the parents of those pupils requesting the use of English or French, as the case may be, as the language of instruction in respect of those pupils, shall group those pupils in a class for instruction and provide for the use of English or French, as the case may be, as the language of instruction in class.
>
> 258(9) Where the number of pupils concerned is less than the numbers mentioned in subsection (8) as requirements for the application of that subsection, the minister, where he considers it practical and upon the advice of the English Language Advisory Committee or the French Language Advisory Committee, as the case may be, may require the board of a school district, school division or school area to make arrangements for the use of English or French as the language of instruction in any class.[21]

The Act also made reference to the language of administration within the schools offering French instruction.

> 258(10) The administration and operation of a public school shall be carried out in the English language or the French languate as the minister may, by regulation, provide.[22]

The amendment 258 to The Manitoba Schools Act provided French as a language of instruction to both francophone students whose first language was French and to non-francophone students wishing to pursue the study of French in an immersion setting.

Parallel to the developments occurring at the provincial government level regarding French language instruction were the internal changes which took place within the Department of Education. Until 1970, all instruction of and in French was directed from the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education. As of April, 1971, a French Section, *Section française*, under the direction of Arthur Corriveau was created within the Department's Curriculum Branch.

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

The *Section française* was assigned the responsibility of extending the existing French as a second language program to the elementary level and developing a new *français* as a first language program for children whose mother tongue was French. To realize this latter task, the Section initiated the establishment of teacher committees to produce French programs for Mathematics, Science and other subjects and to provide in-service training for French teachers.[23] There was, however, little movement on the part of school divisions to establish French schools in Manitoba because, as Raymond Hébert, assistant deputy minister at BEF later stated: "Bill 113 was itself an initiative of the Manitoba government and not the outcome of obvious popular pressuring."[24] By 1972, a number of French school trustees and superintendents alarmed at the apathy of the French community published a report entitled the "Frechette Report" which indicated that forty percent of Manitoba's francophone pupils in 1969 were not enrolled in a single French course.[25] "Assimilation into the dominant English community [had had] its debilitating effect on the culture and the society of the Franco-Manitobans."[26] Representation was made by the French community through *Les Educateurs Franco Manitobains*[27] to the Department of Education and Premier Schreyer to accelerate the development of French education. As a result, Assistant Deputy Minister Orlikow invited Olivier Tremblay, from the Quebec's

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[23] Manitoba, Annual Report, 1970-71, pp.34, 39

[24] Raymond Hebert, "The Evolution of French Education in Manitoba", Speech delivered in Edmonton, Alberta, Sept.8, 1977, p. 4.

[25] Ibid., p. 8.

[26] Corriveau, "The Struggle for Francais in Manitoba," p. 20.

[27] The Société Franco-Manitobaine (SFM) founded in 1968 to replace "l'Association" acts as the mathpiece and political arm of Franco-Manitobans.

Education Ministry, to join the Planning and Research Branch of the Department of Education in order to conduct a one-year study on the application of Bill 113.

In 1973, the "Tremblay Report", "Teaching in French in Manitoba, 1972-73, Report Synthesis" made several recommendations. This report recommended that a "coordinator" be immediately appointed with far-reaching authority to implement all aspects of the legislation. On July 9, 1974, in response to the "Tremblay Report" the Manitoba government approved the creation of the *Bureau de l'Education française* within the Department of Education and adopted "a five year plan for the development of both the quality and quantity of French education in Manitoba."[28] Named Coordinator of French education that same year, Mr. Tremblay worked at developing the organizational structure that became *Bureau de l'Education française*. (BEF).

The creation of BEF was a fulfilment of the NDP government's promise to establish a "permanent administrative structure within the Department for the promotion, implementation and administration of each and every provision of the act which authorizes French as a language of instruction in Manitoba."[29] The following year, as an added assignment, "realizing the two-dimensional aspect of Bill 113 and the necessity to provide anglophones with an opportunity to become truly bilingual,"[30] the Minister of

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[28] Bueti, op.cit., p.115.

[29] Raymond Hebert, "The Evolution of French Education in Manitoba", p.11.

[30] Honorable Ben Hanuschak, "Promotion, Implementation and Administration of Bill 113," a speech presented at the federal-provincial press conference of May 30, 1975, p. 3.

Education, Ben Hanuschak, requested that the Bureau de l'Education française prepare a further five year plan for the development of French immersion programs. Olivier Tremblay remained coordinator of the BEF for two years after which the position was designated that of an assistant deputy minister to reflect the importance of the Branch.

By 1975, BEF had grown considerably from a small branch agency of three people with a total budget of about $230,000.00 to a new branch of sixteen people with a budget of $500,000.00, excluding federal grants.[31] BEF continued the work of its predecessor, the *Section française* and it produced a document entitled "Towards a Network of *École Française* in Manitoba" in which it outlined its long-term goals for the period 1974-79. This document suggested the formation of three types of schools: all English schools, "immersion" schools, and all-French or *français* schools. In the all-English schools, instruction would be in English, except for the teaching of second languages, and the language of administration would be in English.[32] In immersion schools the program would be 75% percent in French and 25% percent in English; the language of administration would be English but the classroom language of communication would be French. In all-French schools, all subjects would be taught in French including English[33]

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[31] Vincent J. Bueti, op.cit, p.116. Federal grants: Since 1970-71 the Secretary of State has provided each province with "incentive grants" to help defray the costs of the minority language within the respective provincial school systems. The provincial governments administer these funds according to grant formulas established by the Secretary of State. In Manitoba as of 1980, four grants have become available: *français*, immersion, Conversational French and Core French Pilot Project grants.

[32] Ibid.

[33] In a *français* school, English is taught as a second language (ESL) and not as the English language arts course of English schools.

which would be taught as a mandatory second language of communcation; administration would be French and the total school staff would be fully French speaking. The school climate, through curricular and extra-curricular activities, would be French in order to promote the franco-phone culture.[34] The ultimate goal of BEF was the establishment of a network of French-language schools and French immersion schools or programs throughout the province.[35]

It was not until June 1976, however, that the Cabinet granted official status to the Bureau de l'éducation française. The general mandate of the Bureau de l'éducation française in June 1976 affected French as a first language for francophones and French as a second language in the form of immersion programs for anglophones. All other French second language programs were still the responsibility of the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education under the direction of Arthur H. Corriveau. BEF's mandate was set forth as follows:

1. That the Bureau de l'Éducation française be headed by an Assistant Deputy Minister, whose responsibilities will be as follows:

   a) Responsible for the implementation of all aspects of Section 258 of the Public Schools Act;

   b) Responsible for the preparation and administration of the budget appropriation of the Bureau;

   c) Give advice to the Minister pertaining to the recommendations from the French Language Advisory Committee and the Languages of Instruction Advisory Council;

   d) Assure the proper and efficient undertaking of the functions of the B.E.F. as described below.

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[34] Bueti, op.cit., p.114.

[35] Manitoba, BEF, "Towards a Network of Écoles françaises in Manitoba, 1974, pp.4, 5, 9.

2. That the Bureau de l'Éducation française, as part of the Department of Education, will:

   a) Examine, develop and recommend policies and priorities to the Minister of Education concerning all educational services in the official minority language.

   b) Plan, implement and administer the programs and services relating to all French-language education in Manitoba.

   c) Upon request, assist school divisions to assess educational services necessary to meet skill and informational needs reflecting community and individual requirements, and to determine required educational input related to cultural interest and heritage.

   d) Conduct an ongoing evaluation of activities, programs and services which pertain to education in the official minority language.

   e) Integrate all basic services essential to the development of a program for French-language education, i.e., curriculum, teacher training and development, and library and audio-visual materials.

   f) Ensure proper liaison and coordination with all other branches of the Department of Education for ancillary services which relate to the Bureau's terms of reference.

   g) As directed by the Minister, assist in the negotiation for and provide administration of all federal support programs received from the Secretary of State for the promotion of bilingualism in education.

3. That the French-language and English-language Advisory Committees to the Minister and the Languages of Instruction Advisory Council continue to perform the consultative role set out for them in Section 258 of the Public Schools Act.[36]

This official mandate was put into effect by the establishment of an administrative structure as shown in Appendix III, page 113

Effective July, 1976, the coordinator of the Bureau de l'Éducation

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[36] Honourable Ben Hanuschak, "Submission to Cabinet: Department of Education, the Bureau de l'Education française, Appendix 4", Winnipeg, May 20, 1976.

française was replaced by an assistant deputy minister in the person of Raymond Hébert. Shortly after, on July 29, 1976, Dr. Lionel Orlikow, then Deputy Minister of Education, directed the transfer of the program called "French" or "Conversational French" from the Program Development and Support Services (formerly Curriculum Branch) to the BEF. In February 1977, a civil servant position was announced for the "French" curriculum consultant and in July 1977 the consultant assumed the position at the BEF.

Within the decade from 1967 to 1977, much occurred to further education in French in Manitoba: from one course in "français" to 50% of the instruction during the school day in French, to equal status for French and English. Paralleling these educational and political developments were the adminstrative changes which occurred within the Department of Education: from one person within the Curriculum Branch prior to 1970 to twenty-five in the Bureau l'Éducation française by 1977. French as a first language made considerable progress in a short period of time. The immersion phenomenon got a strong foothold within the BEF as greater interest was accorded it all across Canada. Its position was secure with The Public Schools Act and thereby within the mandate of the Bureau de l'Éducation française. Conversational French, however, was not mentioned within The Public Schools' Act. It had not received legal recognition. As it had been for nearly one hundred years within Manitoba's history, it continued to be offered as an optional course where included in the school program.

CHAPTER V

THE "CORE" FRENCH PROGRAM IN MANITOBA

As mentioned in chapter three of this paper, the decentralization which occurred in the Department of Education after the year 1969 had repercussions in the educational milieu in Manitoba in general and in FSL teaching in particular. The structural changes initiated by the NDP government in the early 1970's within the Department of Education with respect to French both as a first and as a second language resulted in a void in leadership with no firm guidelines available for teachers of FSL. With the creation of the Bureau de l'Éducation française at the Department of Education, the former director of French both as a first and as a second language, Mr. Arthur H. Corriveau was no longer responsible for these sectors. This transference of responsibility left only the French or "Conversational" French as it soon became called, programs under the Curriculum Services Branch. These structural changes over a period of two or three years created an imprecision of authority and jurisdiction between the Bureau de l'Éducation française and the Curriculum Branch.

In October 1977 in his speech to the Manitoba Modern Language Association (MMLA), then assistant deputy minister of BEF, Raymond Hébert, referred to the difficulties encountered by Conversational French teachers and the apparent lack of communication which had arisen between the Department of Education and teachers of this subject.

> . . . our Bureau wishes. . . to recognize the work that is being done by the teachers of French as a second language in the province, often under very difficult conditions, . . . We encourage you, moreover, to assist us in better serving you by making us aware of the

> problems you may be encountering in your school division or district, your school or your classroom. We wish to create greater communication between our Bureau and the teachers of French.[1]

Upon accepting Conversational French in 1977 as part of its mandate, the Bureau de l'Éducation française also acquired the responsibility of serving 83,000 students and approximately 1,000 teachers of the subject. The Bureau also inherited the problems which accompanied Conversational French.

In order to comprehend better the FSL situation of the middle 1970's, it would be advantageous at this point to discuss in greater detail various problems which plague second language instruction in Manitoba. Although certain benefits occurred from this initiative, the decentralization which occurred at the Department of Education is generally cited as one of the chief factors for the difficulties Conversational French has encountered.[2] During the "period of transition" of programs and services from the Curriculum Services Branch to the Bureau de l'Éducation française, no clear pedagogical direction for teachers of French grades 1 - 12 was available. Having transferred its responsibility for the selection of curriculum material over to teachers, the Department of Education provided few meaningful directives to assist teachers of French in maintaining sequential,instructive continuity in their program. Decentralization, therefore, resulted in a lack of cohesion; it became possible for teaching materials to be used out of order or at inappropriate grade levels.

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[1] Raymond Hebert, "Objectives in the Teaching of French as a Second Language", speech to the MMLA (S.A.G. group of MTS), S.A.G. Conference Winnipeg, October 21, 1977, p. 13.

[2] BEF, Manitoba Department of Education, "An Improved Program: Core French grades 4 - 12, document, 1979, p.1. (Henceforth cited Core French document 4-12).

In 1975, the Curriculum Services Branch conducted a survey of 46 schools, 19 elementary (1-6) and 27 secondary (7-9) in 23 school divisions, 7 urban and 16 rural, with 78 administrators, 27 superintendents, 51 principals, 94 teachers and 100 pupils participating. The data were obtained through the form of questionnaires administered to all participants and "on-the-spot observations and incidental interviews"[3] with the administrators and teachers. Two purposes for the survey were cited:

> 1) it focused attention on French in quite a number of schools and created a renewed awareness of this subject;
>
> 2) it confirmed certain opinions and views concerning trends, problems and needs relative to French which until now had been mostly speculative.[4]

Several problems and needs were identified.

Students progressing from one grade to another were sometimes exposed to French material which they may have already covered or which may have been beyond their capacity for their age. Student boredom or frustration thus became inherent, unnecessary pitfalls of the Conversational French program. Provincial statistics, in fact, indicate that the greatest loss of students studying Conversational French, occurred at the transition points from grades 6 to 7 and from grades 9 to 10.[5] The lack of proper communication between grade levels and between schools was even more aggravated by the lack of communication from the leaders of FSL at the Department of Education. As Mr. Corriveau wrote:

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[3]Arthur H. Corriveau, "Survey re French as a Second Language in Manitoba", Report, Manitoba, Department of Education, 1975, foreword. (Mimeographed) (henceforth cited "Survey re FSL in Manitoba".)

[4]Ibid.

[5]"Core French Document 4 - 12", p. 2.

1) There is an urgent need for coordination from K to 12 and more communication between levels (elementary, junior high and senior high).

2) There is a need for more effective communication between administrators and teachers, between teachers and parents, between the Department of Education and the schools.[6]

Another major problem attached to Conversational French has been a magnified expectation by the general public and some educators as to the scope of the program.

> Perhaps the most insidious problem with [Conversational] French has been a lack of realistic objectives. There has long been an unwarranted expectation that a student who was diligent in his studies would be able to attain a degree of bilingualism. Parents, students, and even teachers are consistently discouraged by a seeming lack of progress toward fluency.[7]

Raymond Hébert had mentioned the same objections in his speech to the MMLA at the S.A.G. Conference in 1977:

> There is a tendency to perpetuate this myth that "mastery" "proficiency", or "fluency" is a possible result of our elementary and secondary classroom experience in French . . . If we are honest we will admit that none of the terms "mastery", "proficiency", "fluency", reflect the performance of the average student in our classes.
>
> Language teaching has come under attack in the past for holding the promise of high levels of proficiency and then not meeting expectations; this has often created disappointment and even anger among both parents and students. There has been widespread misunderstanding of the aims of French instructional programs, not only in the mind of the public, but also in the minds of teachers of French.[8]

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[6] Corriveau, "Survey re FSL in Manitoba", p. 24.

[7] Judy Gibson, What About Core? (Ottawa, Canadian Parents for French, 1979), p. 75.

[8] Raymond Hébert, speech to the MMLA, pp. 1 - 2.

In Manitoba the misconception in the ultimate goal of Conversational French originates in its very name.

> False expectations have been created by inaccurate or ill-defined terminology; one of the words that has been misused and even abused is the word "bilingual". Some of the difficulties that have arisen around the . . . French program, particularly since 1970, has been due to the often facile use of this word.[9]

Empirical evidence has illustrated that it is unrealistic to expect a student with a mere 600 hours of French exposure to be able to "speak French" as one commonly understands the term.

In 1959, the MacFarlane Report recommended that French be taught as early as grade 1. When the French option became available for the primary grades 1 to 3 in 1964-65 it was offered in a small number of classes on an experimental basis. The Department of Education had strict control of this option at that time. Schools wishing to take part in the experiment were to seek permission from the Director of Curricula and were to provide evidence of the special competence of the teacher of French.[10] Once permission was granted, a guide was provided for the teacher by the Curriculum Branch. This control was removed, however, by May 1965, and school boards were no longer required to obtain permission for their Conversational French program in grades 1 to 3.[11] The Department of Education did, however, strongly encourage that "school boards wishing to introduce French in the elementary grades. . . favour Grades I and IV as the most logical starting points".[12]

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[9] Ibid., p. 2.

[10] Manitoba, Department of Education, "French for Elementary Grades: Optional for Grades I to VI", Programmes of Studies, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1964), p. 5.

[11] Manitoba, Department of Education, Bulletin, Vol.III, No. 9 May, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 1.

[12] Ibid.

In 1977, when Conversational French was the responsibility of BEF, however, there were as many as nine entry points from grades 1 to 9 at which students could begin the study of Conversational French.[13] To complicate the issue more, the points of entry varied not only from division to division but from school to school within one division. Generally speaking, however, relatively few schools outside Winnipeg offered elementary Conversational French. In Winnipeg, of those that did, this instruction usually began either at the grade 1 to grade 4 level, although many exceptions were noted. The majority of the divisions outside of Winnipeg offering Conversational French, initiated the program generally at the grade 7 level. The only exception was Swan Valley which began Conversational French at grade 9.

Another problem in the Conversational French program was the lack of clear uniformity, at any school level, in the frequency of French instruction. At the elementary level, those schools which did offer Conversational French often provided three or four periods per cycle or "whenever the homeroom teacher had time."[14] As the grade level increased, generally speaking the number of periods per cycle increased; so that by grade 9, French was usually taught everyday.[15] One also finds that great variations existed in the amount of time allotted to the study of Conversational French even within the same school division. Generally, at the elementary level, 15-20 minutes daily were provided where the program was seriously offered. In a few cases 30 minutes were granted;

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[13] Corriveau, "Survey re FSL in Manitoba", p. 19.

[14] Corriveau, "Survey re FSL in Manitoba", p. 19.

[15] Ibid.

but it was common to hear "charges of tokenism in cases where courses were being taught only 15 minutes once or twice a week."[16]

Since 1971, Manitoba has been receiving between $350,000.00 and $400,000.00 of federal monies for the purpose of supporting the Conversational French program. This grant provided $50.00 per Full Time Equivalence (F.T.E.)[17] which in the Conversational French program implied approximately $3.33 per student for a class of 30 students having 20 minutes of French instruction daily.

> The objective of these grants [was] to provide an incentive to promote French as a second language in Manitoba schools. The grants [were] meant to supplement, not supplant, expenses normally incurred by school divisions in providing the programs.[18]

Despite the fact, however, that these monies existed over and above general provincial support, indications were that these special federal funds were often not used for Conversational French as meant.[19] Often they were placed in the divisional coffers labelled "General Funds". This occurrence was partially attributable to the lack of monitoring on the part of the Department of Education which was responsible for the administration of these federal monies.[20] As Mr. Corriveau had also

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[16] Ibid., p. 26.

[17] Conversational French Grants calculations:
a) $\frac{\text{No. of student X \# of minutes/period X \# of periods/week}}{\text{1,500 (minutes available per week)}} = \text{F.T.E.}$
b) 1 F.T.E. = $50.00.
c) No. of F.T.E. x $50.00 = Conversational French Grant for that school.

[18] Manitoba, Department of Education, "French Incentive Grant Approved", Education Manitoba, September, 1976, p. 10.

[19] BEF, "Core French document 4-12", p. 4.

[20] Ibid.

discovered during his survey: "The dollar sign appears to play a significant role in determining the extent or lack of French offerings in the schools."[21]

Manitoba's Conversational French program was also influenced by a number of other factors. It appears that there was a lack of priority placed upon Conversational French by many school divisions. In some school divisions no French whatsoever was being offered and in others less than 25% of their student population studied Conversational French (See Appendix IV, page 114). Similarly, the Department of Education itself had given less than complete support to the Conversational French program. At the elementary school level French had been placed in the same category of minor subjects such as Health and Art which receive from three to six percent of school time. In fact, whereas the teaching of Health and Art was mandatory, French was optional.[22] Many teachers believed that this implied that the government was placing a lesser importance on its instruction.

Other problems which were particular to a few schools but not generally widespread were: the lack of material for the students, and the lack of a proper classroom, which obliged the teacher of French to instruct in a corner of the library or, for example, the home economics room.[23]

The largest problem confronting Conversational French, however, was one that has often appeared in the history of French as a second language in Manitoba. That is the lack of teachers competent in French. The early seventies saw a greater number of schools offering French at the

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[21] Corriveau, "Survey re FSL in Manitoba", p. 26.

[22] See "Recommended Time Allotments", Appendix V, p. 115

[23] BEF, "Core French document 4-12", p. 4.

elementary level. Among the teachers who had been assigned the task of teaching French, there was a wide diversity in teaching qualifications for the subject. In the survey conducted in 1975 by the Curriculum Services Branch, of the 94 teachers interviewed, 61 or 65% admitted to speaking little or no French.[24] Of these 94 teachers, 68 or 72% had taken only grade 12 standing in French or less.[25] Although the survey was "not entirely conducted in a strictly formal or scientific manner,"[26] the sample used is considered sufficiently adequate for interpretive purposes. In 1977, therefore, when BEF assumed responsibility for Conversational French, approximately one half of all teachers of Conversational French were estimated to be competent in the French language and had training in second language methodology. These teachers are generally classified as "specialists". Empirical evidence has shown, however, that regular classroom teachers generally had from little to no university training for the teaching of French as a second language.

In regard to French second language methodology, the attempts made by the Department of Education in the late 1960's early 1970's to improve FSL teachers' pedagogical techniques (for example, the numerous in-service sessions, workshops, etc.) had questionable impact on the FSL teaching personnel of Manitoba. This phenomenon, however, was not particular to Manitoba. It appeared to be an unfortunate occurrence across Canada.

> French teachers are scarce throughout the country, and the qualifications required of those hired can vary greatly. Some have several years of university instruction in French; some are native-French speakers

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[24] Corriveau, "Survey re FSL in Manitoba", p. 16.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., foreword.

> and others have no more than "high-school French". Many have had little formal training in second-language teaching methodology.
>
> In many areas, elementary French is taught by itinerant teachers who travel from school to school every day. In such cases, the classroom teacher often regards the French period as a break, and the students regard it as an interruption to the regular curriculum. The itinerant finds it difficult to know the students well, to have French integrated with other subjects being taught, and to be accepted as a member of the school's staff. Other elementary French programs are taught by the regular classroom teachers, or by teachers on staff who are willing to instruct both their own and other classes.[27]
>
> . . .
>
> Judging from remarks made by teachers, attempts to standardize classroom activities in the field of French teaching by insisting on a particular approach (e.g., the audio-lingual) have been successful only to a degree. Some teachers have refused to be diverted from the security of their "traditional" method. Many others have adapted and modified classroom procedures to the point where an acceptable definition of the approach is almost impossible.[28]
>
> . . .
>
> A surprising number of teachers are endeavoring to introduce more formal grammar. Some are referring back to "Cours Moyen" or "Senior French" and other traditional texts for this purpose.[29]

According to John Carroll, the strongest proponent of the cognitive approach to SL learning in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the cognitive code-learning theory was "a modified up-to-date grammar translation theory".[30] This latest theory was to be as Carroll proposed, "a meaningful synthesis between habit-formation [audio-lingual, inductive learning] and cognitive-code learning theory, [grammar-translation,

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[27] Gibson, What About Core?, p. 76.

[28] Corriveau, "A Survey re FSL in Manitoba", p. 28.

[29] Ibid, p. 25.

[30] Wilga M. Rivers, Teaching Foreign-Language Skills, Second Edition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 49. (henceforth cited Foreign-Language Skills).

deductive learning/."[31] The return to traditional order was welcomed by teachers who had felt apprehensive about their ability to cope with the amount of oral required in the audio-lingual method. These teachers enjoyed using such texts as the Gage series Son et Sens, Scènes et Séjours which advocated the use of the four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. In the hands of a teacher not competent in French, however, the cognitive approach reverted almost entirely to the grammar-translation method.

Empirical evidence seems to indicate that FSL teaching in Manitoba can be divided into two categories consisting of teachers competent to teach French and those lacking this competency. Those teachers with some formation either linguistically or methodologically usually tend to be eclectic in approach taking the best from several methods. As Rivers states:

> Teachers faced with the daily task of helping students to learn a new language cannot afford the luxury of complete dedication to each new method or approach that comes into vogue. They need techniques that work in their particular situation with the specific objectives that are meaningful for the kinds of students they have in their classes. On the other hand, teachers need the stimulation of a new approach from time to time to encourage them in reading, discussions with colleagues, and classroom experimentation. Trying out new ideas in class is exciting and challenging. It is for these reasons that many experienced teachers are eclectic in their teaching: they like to retain what they know from experience to be effective, while experimenting with novel techniques and activities which hold promise for even more successful teaching.[32]

Several reasons have been propounded as to the "lack of prestige" accorded the Conversational French program.

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[31] Ibid., p. 51.

[32] Ibid., p. 54.

> . . . while there were as many as 101,044 pupils in [Conversational] French province-wide in 1970-71, according to statistics obtained from the Department of Education today there are only about eighty thousand in [Conversational] French. This decline is attributable to many factors: the drop in the overall school population, the increasing number of attractive options in the high-school grades, the removal of the language requirement for admission to the university, the growing availability of other second-language courses in the schools, the ready support given to immersion by BEF. Many dedicated teachers of French deplore this state of affairs, and would like to see optional. . . French regain some of its former importance and prestige in the scheme of things.[33]

In her article "What About Core?" Judy Gibson of the association of Canadian Parents for French (CPF)[34] mentions the lack of priority accorded to Conversational ("core" in Mrs. Gibsons's article) French. Although the following statement may paint a fairly black picture of the state of FSL in Canada, unfortunately, in many regions the following comments are all too true.

> In too many cases attempts to teach French are half-hearted. Ministries of education are reluctant to change present minimal requirements, relying on persuasion to convince boards of education of the importance of more and earlier instruction. School boards are afraid to take time from other subjects, or are afraid to make French compulsory for fear of a backlash from some voters. Universities are ambivalent in their entrance requirements. Teacher certification often requires no knowledge of a second language. Students and parents alike are given the strong impression that learning French is too difficult or too time-consuming or too expensive to be worth the effort. A survey of Ontario high

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[33] Arthur H. Corriveau, "French-language issues in Manitoba" Multiculturalism: Vol.IV, No.2, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980, p.9.

[34] CPF defines itself as "a group of concerned parents from across Canada dedicated to the extension and improvement of French second-language instruction in Canadian schools," Coverleaf of Judy Gibson's "What About Core?".

> school principals recently showed that 'French would be the subject most likely to be cut - even before swimming - by principals faced with declining enrolments'. French is a second-class subject.[35]

The preceding statement described closely the situation which existed in Manitoba when the BEF accepted the responsibility for Conversational French in the summer of 1977.

That same fall and winter, substantial research was conducted by the French second language sector of the BEF in an attempt to ameliorate the unsatisfactory condition in which it found Conversational French. Since the state of Conversational French was not unique to Manitoba, work had already been commenced in this area in other parts of Canada.

In 1974, the Ontario Ministry of Education made public the results of the Report of the Ministerial Committee on the Teaching of French (also known as the Gillin Report), which defined three levels of language competency and the program which could be expected to lead to each.[36] While the Gillin Report first introduced such concepts as "Core French" and "basic level" competency, subsequent research from Ontario and other provinces has expanded upon these notions. In 1977, in response to the Gillin Report, Ontario's Education Ministry produced a policy booklet entitled Teaching and Learning French as a Second Language: a New Program for Ontario Students. This policy outline was followed in 1979 by an implementation scheme called Preliminary Draft of Guideline French Core Program K-13 which provided the mechanics of their new Core program.

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[35] Judy Gibson, What About Core?, p. 78.

[36] Ontario, Ministry of Education, Report of the Ministerial Committee on the Teaching of French. (Toronto: Queen's Printers, 1974), p.22-25.

According to these reports it is not the aim of Ontario schools to make all students fully "bilingual". The Ontario Ministry, however, acknowledges that while it is important that opportunities be provided for English speaking students who want to speak French fluently, "at the same time, it is equally important that opportunities be provided for all or most English-speaking pupils to achieve a basic knowledge of French."[37] Ontario's Ministry of Education took cognizance of the many factors which contribute to the effectiveness of French instructional programs. While the quality of teaching and the curriculum, for example, are of paramount importance, it was considered however, that the key factor is the number of hours of instruction in French. The more hours a pupil spends in the language it is argued, the higher the level of achievement is likely to be.[38] This belief has been propounded by such eminent language researchers as Clare Burstall. After a ten-year study (1964-74) of the teaching of French in primary schools in England and Wales she concluded:

> The most conservative interpretation which the available evidence would appear to permit is that the achievement of skill in a foreign language is primarily a function of the amount of time spent learning that language. . . .[39]

The advancement of Core French was similarly supported in the province of Nova Scotia. In 1977, Nova Scotia's Department of Education produced a series of comprehensive Core French curriculum guides. These guides

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[37] Ontario, Ministry of Education, Teaching and Learning French as a Second Language: A New Program for Ontario Students. (Toronto: Queen's Printers, 1977), p. 7.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Clare Burstall et al, Primary French in the Balance, (Windsor, U.K.: NFER Publishing Company, 1974), p.78.

reflected objectives parallel to Ontario's and can be summarized in the following statement:

> Students will have the opportunity to learn to participate in a simple conversation, to use basic sentence patterns in speaking, reading, and writing, to use resource materials such as dictionaries and to be made aware of the culture and social customs of people who are French. . .
> Other factors being equal, the greater the number of actual hours spent studying the language, the higher will be the level of overall achievement. . .
> Approximately 1,200 hours provide the very basic level.[40]

Ontario and Nova Scotia were not alone in advocating the improvement and invigoration of the Core French option. Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick and even the Yukon were also at the forefront in 1977-78 in the Canadian movement to improve their respective French second language programs.

The general objectives of the Core French program developed in 1978 by the Bureau de l'Éducation française reflected the research and subsequent development of Core French proposals current across Canada, and particularly with the initiatives of the Ontario ministry. These general objectives delineated Core French from other French programs by proposing a "basic level" of language with at least 1,200 hours of French instruction from grades 4-12.[41] In its general objectives, the Core French program endeavors to impart to students:

1. the capacity to participate in simple French conversations;
2. the acquisition of a fundamental knowledge of the language (its grammar, its pronunciation and idioms, a vocabulary of 3,000- 5,000 words, and a familiarity with approximately 100 sentence patterns);

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[40] Nova Scotia, Department of Education, French Core Program, (Halifax: Queen's Printers, 1977), pp.22-23.

[41] Manitoba, Department of Education, Elementary Core French Curriculum Guide, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printers, 1978), pp.1-2.

3. the ability to read, with the aid of a dictionary, standard texts on subjects of interest;

4. the provision of sufficient skills enabling the resumption of the study of French in later life if the need or desire arises;

5. the development of a basic knowledge and appreciation of the culture of French-speaking Canadians.[42]

The achievement of these general objectives by the end of Grade 12 are contingent upon specific instructional goals being met. Thus Manitoba's Core French program seeks to provide students with learning opportunities that will enable them within the limits of their command of French structure and vocabulary:

a) to listen to and comprehend a French speaking person who is making a conscious effort to be understood;

b) to distinguish audibly and reproduce vocally, the nuances generic to the French language;

c) to express orally their experiences, ideas, and queries within the parameters of their basic French;

d) to read with relative satisfaction at the level of comprehension appropriate to their individual stage of development;

e) to write with a certain amount of competence and an acceptable degree of correctness;

f) to develop an awareness of basic French language skills, such that students will have the confidence to approach a situation where dealing in French is a necessity (asking for directions, etc.);

g) to become acquainted with the customs, geography, history, institutions, and culture of French Canada and other French-speaking regions.[43]

The overriding aim of Manitoba's Core French program is to develop communication skills appropriate to the command of the language achieveable

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[42] Ibid.

[43] BEF, "Core French document 4-9", p. 10.

after exposure to 1,200 hours of instruction. Bilingualism, as it is commonly understood, is not the expected outcome. Rather, Core French attempts to provide students with a solid foundation in French through the instruction of both the receptive and expressive components of the language.[44] The skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing within the scope of the student's command of French structure and vocabulary are to be developed in stages. However, unlike the other more intensive French programs[45] provided by the Department of Education the sequential learning phases with Core French demand a lower level of competency. For example, more than français or Immersion students, Core French students need to use contextual, structural, phonemic, and graphic clues to gain meaning rather than depending upon precise knowledge of every word in their acquisition of the language.[46]

In the latest edition of her book Teaching Foreign-Language Skills, Wilga Rivers, proliferous writer and eminent researcher in second language acquisition, states the long-range objectives which should be identified before teaching a second language:

- to increase the students' understanding of how language functions and to bring them, through the study of another language, to a greater awareness of the functioning of their own language;
- to teach students to read another language with comprehension so that they may keep abreast of modern writing, research, and information;
- to give students the experience of expressing themselves within another framework, linguistically, kinesically, and culturally;

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44 Ibid.

45 The français (FL_1) and the immersion programs provide between 5,000 to 7,000 hours of exposure to French during the student's scholastic life.

46 BEF, "Core French document 4-12", p. 7

- to bring students to a greater understanding of people across national barriers, by giving them a sympathetic insight into the ways of life and ways of thinking of the people who speak the language they are learning;

- to provide students with the skills that will enable them to communicate orally, and to some degree in writing, in personal or career contexts, with the speakers of another language and with people of other nationalities who have also learned this language.[47]

With slight modifications, these long-range objectives resemble closely the objectives established by BEF for the Core French program. The major difference in these two sets of objectives is the degree of language competence that they prescribe as the goal of SL learning by the student. The BEF's Core French program only requests that a "basic level" of language competency be expected as the final outcome of its program.

The general objectives of the Core French program as proposed by the Bureau de l'Éducation française of the Department of Education do not differ in principle from the general objectives of the Conversational French program. Throughout the history of the optional FSL program, the Department of Education has always desired that the students taking this course be able to "converse in French" upon completing grade 12. The Department of Education had never, however, until 1980, provided the services and setting within which this goal could be attainable. At the same time, however, one of the major differences existing between the optional French "Conversational" course and the Core French program lies in the first objective as stated in the Core French program: upon completion of the Core program the student "can participate in a simple

[47]Rivers, Foreign-Language Skills, p. 8.

conversation" (underlining by the author). The objectives of the Core French program do not promise bilingualism, as it is commonly understood, as its ultimate goal as the Conversational French did during the audio-lingual era. Rather, the Core French program accepts the scholastic time constraints within which the student and teacher must function and encourages that a solid base in the second language be formed upon which bilingualism may be later established.

CHAPTER VI

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In January 1980, the minister of education, Keith Cosens, consented to the establishment of a Core French Pilot Project, in which any interested school divisions which met the criteria established by the Bureau de l'Éducation française would be encouraged to participate. Conditions for involvement in the project were as follows:

1) Interested divisions would have to commit themselves to pursue the program to the end of grade 12 - a 9 year period.

2) The program requires a forty (40) minute a day period of instruction.

3) The school embarking upon the program must have teaching personnel who are proficient in the French language with knowledge of second language methodology.

4) The Core French class must have its own locale.

5) The teachers involved must follow the Department's pedgogical guidelines and approved material, for example:
   - curriculum developed by B.E.F.
   -"R.S.V.P. - Allons-Y", etc.[1]

The Core French Pilot Project was implemented as of September 1980 commencing in grade 4 under control by the Department of Education.[2] Just as there were conditions to be met on the part of the participating school divisions and their FSL personnel, so too the Bureau de l'Éducation française accepted greater responsbility and offered several

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[1] Ronald J. Duhamel, letter to all district and divisional superintendents, Province of Manitoba, February 20, 1981, p. 2.

[2] It should be remembered that these stringent requirements were established in order to improve the conditions that existed in the Conversational French program.

services exclusively to the school divisions in the pilot project. For example, the Full Time Equivalency (F.T.E.) grant for the pilot classes was raised to $190/F.T.E. instead of $50.00 as was the case for the Conversational French program.[3] "In short for every 7.5 students in the grade 4 pilot project, a school division would receive $190.00"[4]. In other words, a class of 25 students receiving 40 minutes of instruction daily, five times a week at $190.00/F.T.E. would generate $633.00. Unlike the Conversational French grants, the Core French grants are monitored closely by BEF. "As well, the Bureau [offered] services in the area of professional development, material selection and acquisition, and program evaluations."[5]

In June 1980, a one week intensive in-service session was organized by BEF for the teachers in the grade 4 Core French project. This intensive preparation session was followed by several one day in-services held at intervals during the year, and conducted by the BEF second language consultants. During the first year of the pilot project, eleven school divisions, six urban and five rural, participated in the project; this included some thirty-seven schools, 1,300 students and thirty-five teachers.[6]

The pilot program was accompanied by a research component consisting of three projects. The data arising from all three assessment projects

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[3]Caterina Sotiriadis, letter to all district and divisional superintendents, Province of Manitoba, February 22, 1980, p. 2. (henceforth cited Sotiriadis letter).

[4]Paul Bourassa, "Core French Pilot", Education Manitoba, November, 1980, p. 12.

[5]Sotiriadis, letter, February 22, 1980, p. 2.

[6]The school divisions involved in the pilot project as of 1980 were: Winnipeg School Division No. 1, St. James-Assiniboia S. D. #2, St. Boniface S. D. #4, St. Vital S. D. #6, River East S. D. #9, Transcona-Springfield S. D. #12, Boundary S. D. #16, White Horse Plains S. D. #20, Lakeshore S. D. #23, Birdtail River S. D. #38 and Western S. D. #47.

was "for use in future policy and program decisions."[7] In April, 1981, approximately 1,300 grade four Core French students comprising 55 classes in 37 schools were involved in the assessment of the linguistic skills that form part of the Core French program of study. A comparative group of 550 Conversational French grade four students, comprising of 26 classes in 18 schools, was also assessed. The study was designed to provide a general indication of the differences in the students' ability as measured in the four skill areas (listening, speaking, reading and writing) between the Core French program and the Conversational French program.

The cognitive assessment began with the formation by the Department of Education of an instrumentation committee composed of French teachers and specialists in testing. The function of this committee was to develop tests to measure the students' performance in the following skill areas:

1) listening skill - one test was prepared and administered
2) speaking skill - two tests were prepared and administered
3) reading skill - one test was prepared and administered
4) writing skill - one test was prepared and administered

The administration of these tests was completed by the BEF in one month, April, 1981. Approximately 1800 students in both Core French and Conversational French were tested.

Upon analysing the results of the cognitive assessment tests, it was discovered that compared to the students in the Conversational French

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[7] Research Branch, Manitoba Department of Education, "Core French Pilot Project: Implementation Assessment", a provisional report, June, 1981, p. 1. (henceforth cited "Implementation Assessment").

group, students in the Core French Pilot Project performed significantly better in all skill areas (See diagram #1, p. 100).

The second evaluation project undertaken was the affective and connative component (the attitudinal views) prepared and administered by the Research Branch in collaboration with the BEF. This assessment was "to focus on the attitudes of the Grade 4 students towards various aspects of French culture and language."[8] The sample selected was composed of Grade 4 Core French, Conversational French and non-French students. The experimental group consisted of all students involved in the Core French Pilot Project, approximately 1,200. The control groups consisted of both selected Conversational and non-French students, approximately 350 and 150 students respectively.[9] The control group was chosen to be as similar to the Core French students as possible; as much as possible the following conditions were respected: rural-urban balance, class size, school size, geographic area, etc.[10] Being in English, the test instruments were administered to the students by their grade 4 classroom (homeroom) teacher; the cognitive tests which were all in French were administered by the French teacher or BEF specialists. Briefly stated, the major finding of the attitudinal tests was that children in both Core French and Conversational French had more positive attitudes towards learning French than students not enrolled in any French program.[11]

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[8] Research Branch, Manitoba Department of Education, "Core French Pilot Project: Affective/Connative Assessment", a provisional report, May, 1981, p. 1.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

The third research assessment which accompanied the Core French Pilot Project was to deal with the implementation process of the project itself and was undertaken by the Research Branch again in collaboration with BEF. The participants in the implementation evaluation were "the superintendents, principals, grade 4 classroom teachers of Core students, as well as the Core French teachers involved in the Program."[12] The attitudes of these participants towards various aspects of the Core French Pilot Year would form the basis of the Implementation Assessment, (for example, "satisfaction with the Program; administrative, concerns; selection of schools and students; staffing; support; inservicing and class size."[13]). The assessment instrument was also in the form of questionnaires in English. In brief, all participants in the pilot project reported satisfaction with the implementation process and a number of constructive suggestions for improving the program were also noted.[14]

As of September 1981, the program will have expanded to include fourteen school divisions, fifty-three schools, fifty-three teachers and approximately three thousand students. The interest in the project evidenced in the number of school divisions and students participating reflects the success of and the enthusiasm for this second language project undertaken by the Manitoba Department of Education.

As had been the case with the misnomer "Conversational French", problems had arisen in the meantime regarding the name "Core" French. It should be remembered that the name Core French was adopted by the

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[12] Research Branch, "Implementation Assessment", p. 1.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 6.

majority of provinces across Canada after its appearance in the 1974 Ministerial Report (Gillin Report) of Ontario to describe a French second language program which has the "basic level" of language competency as its objective. In Manitoba the word "core" lead to confusion, however, because this same word also designates the compulsory subjects required for high school graduation.[15] This appelation could understandably lead to the belief, that the FSL program was also a compulsory subject, which it is not in Manitoba, unless a particular school wishes to make it so for its students.

Other appelations such as "Foundation French" and "Basic French", had been selected for the French second language courses in some provinces across Canada. Of these two names the latter appeared on the Manitoba scene in early 1980 in its French version *Français de Base*. Its English equivalent Basic French appeared in print in June 1981 in an Education Manitoba article on the Bureau de l'Éducation française.[16] It should be noted, however, that the title Basic French (*Français de Base*) does not replace the title Core French. Rather, *Français de Base* is the "covering" title which designates the FSL section in the BEF in contrast to the FSL immersion section. This new name, therefore, encompasses two distinct programs, the "Conversational" French and the "Core" French Pilot Project. There is indication that this French optional course whose early beginnings date back to the late 1800's may in the near future be awarded yet another nomenclature.

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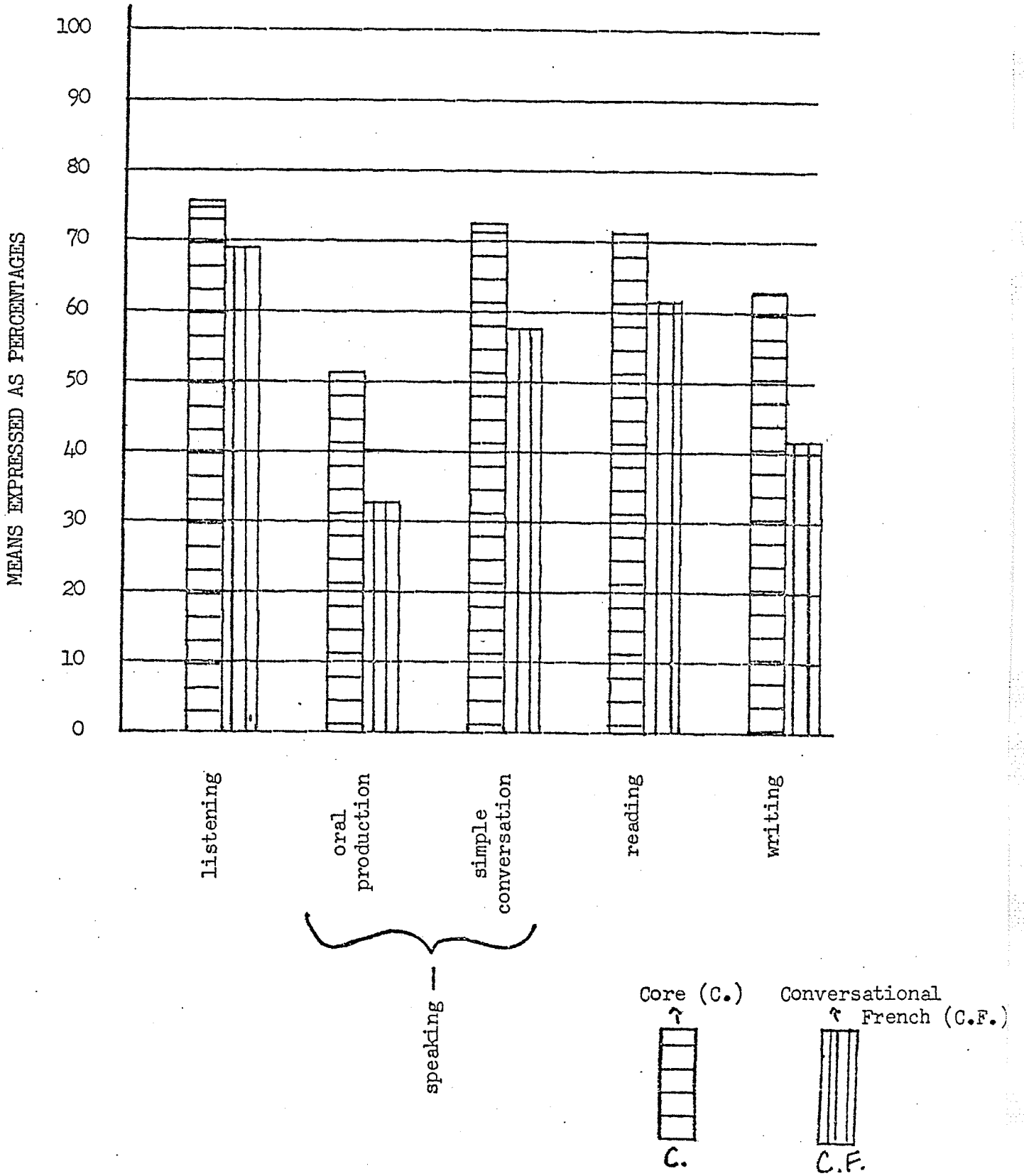
[15] Manitoba, Department of Education, "Core Requirement of High School Graduation", Administrative Handbook, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1980), Section 8, p. 1.

[16] "The Challenge of the 80's in French Language Education", Education Manitoba, June 1981, p. 16. Appendix VI, p.116

CORE FRENCH vs. CONVERSATIONAL FRENCH

Diagram #1

INSTRUMENT SKILL AREAS: listening, speaking reading, writing



CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

A general statement is a difficult matter in a topic as broad as second language teaching, but one observation does seem particularly appropriate. It may be claimed that throughout its history in Western Europe, the United States, Canada, and as close to home as Manitoba, the practical application of the theories advocated by the phoneticians, linguists, behavioural psychologists and academics lagged sorely behind the innovations these intellectuals expounded. Thoughts are not enclosed by classroom walls, nor hampered by lack of money nor governmental priorities. They are mental callisthenics which often prove difficult to transform and to adapt to the conditions reality presents.

From the early 1800's until the 1950's, the greatest innovations and change advocated in the area of second language teaching occurred in Western Europe. Almost concurrently in Germany, France and Great Britain phoneticians, linguists, and academics refuted the methods of the day in an attempt to render the second language "alive". They questioned the validity of teaching a modern language by the grammar-translation method in which Latin and ancient Greek, "dead" languages, had long been taught. These intellectuals over the years proposed other approaches; the older theories were questioned, found wanting, and abandoned for more promising models. The field of language progressed because of the insatiable desire of these intellectuals to improve upon the practices of the day.

It was, however, the classroom teacher who translated, then adapted and sometimes perfected the abstract ideas of the academics. It was

within the classroom that the theories were attempted and often times found unrealistic and uncompromising. It was the classroom teacher of French who discovered the extreme and at times unmanageable elements of the Direct Method. The Compromise Method was a result of the classroom teacher's experience with the Direct Method and like may be said of the other theories and approaches advertised by the intellectual as the solution to the acquisition of a second language. Throughout the history of FSL teaching, one discovers that the evolution of the theories of SL may have derived from the academic but the practical content of these theories was provided by the teacher of French.

This perception may be easily understood if one remembers the conditions within which teachers, and in particular teachers of French, were asked to work. Conscious of the lack of progress their students were making to communicate in the second language through such methods as the grammar-translation, many FSL teachers attempted to adapt the more modern approaches of their era. Too often, however, their attempts were greeted by almost unsurmountable obstacles such as over-sized classes, too little time, outmoded texts, little or no linguistic and methodological training, and little financial, or governmental support. For many teachers of FSL these impediments proved too difficult to overcome and as a result they did nothing to improve their teaching techniques, preferring to continue teaching in the manner in which they had been taught.

Although the theories advanced in Western Europe were somewhat tardy in arriving to Canada, and more particularly to Manitoba, there were some welcoming ears to greet them upon their arrival. Their impact, however, was little felt outside the small group of progressive thinking educators of the day; and although these teachers and professors advocated the

adoption of the latest occurrences in FSL thinking, very few classrooms felt the effects of the "Direct Method" or the "Oral Method" or the "Reading Method". Until the 1960's the educational conditions were such in Manitoba that few FSL teachers utilized any method other than the grammar-translation, or a mild adaptation of it.

The slow development of FSL teaching in Manitoba until the early 1960's appears to reflect the lack of priority placed on education in general and FSL teaching in particular by the various provincial governments. Until the 1960's, the "ambiance" necessary to focus attention on the importance of a second language had not existed. As the rumblings of *le fait français* made themselves heard outside of Quebec, however, the importance of French as a first and as a second language became more and more recognized. The B and B Report did much to promote the cause of FL_1 and FL_2. And as priorities and attitudes were changing on the national scene, so too in Manitoba such political actions as Bill 59 (1967) and Bill 113 (1970) revealed the change in attitude of the governmental representatives of the day.

These political changes were complemented by new developments in the area of SL thinking. When the American audio-lingual, behaviourist approach appeared in Manitoba in the 1960's, it was welcomed by the majority of the teachers and educators of the time as the "new broom which would sweep clean", ridding them of a method which had too long outlived its usefulness, that is, the grammar-translation method. As the audio-lingual method, and its companion the audio-visual, took hold in Manitoba conditions began to improve for the teachers of FSL; supportive textual material became available, more time was allocated to language learning, teachers were graduating better prepared linguistically and methodologically, and the

government became more supportive in providing greater professional services.

The resounding success foreseen for the audio-lingual, audio-visual methods did not, however, materialize in Manitoba. Although many conditions had improved for the teaching of FSL, other factors contributed to the lack of success of these two methods. The de-centralization policy and restructuring of the Department of Education caused a void in leadership in the area of French second language teaching. Few teachers of French were academically prepared to elaborate a program of studies for their classes. Wanting to turn to the Department of Education for direction and guidance as they had been able to do for many years, they were greeted by an internal power struggle between the Curriculum Branch and the newly created *Bureau de l'Education française* By the middle 1970's, the Manitoba FSL corps was on the whole a frustrated group of teachers looking for direction.

The responsibility placed on BEF for the nearly one thousand[1] teachers of French in Manitoba was, however, seriously accepted by the curriculum consultant named to the position in 1977. As the writer terminates this study recent developments confirm her belief that progress has been made in the area of French second language teaching in Manitoba. For one month this summer, seventy-five teachers of French are improving their linguistic and methodological skills in an immersion setting at St. Boniface College. Federal bursaries are available for teachers and students to perfect their French in immersion situations. Other examples may be cited as proof of the optimism which the writer feels for the future of FSL in Manitoba.

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[1] BEF statistics as of November, 1978.

More and more school divisions throughout Manitoba are establishing a policy of hiring teachers competent in French language and methodology to teach French. School boards, schools, students and parents are being informed of the limited goals and objectives of the optional French course. But the best example the writer can cite is the initiative the Department of Education has demonstrated in creating a project whose specific goal is to improve, if not rectify, the problems evidenced in the "Conversational" French program. The Core French Pilot Project is not a total solution to the situation facing FSL in Manitoba. It is believed, however, that with the continued support and direction the Bureau de l'Éducation française is prepared to provide, French second language teaching in Manitoba can only improve.

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APPENDICES

Appendix F

Classification of Pupils

YEAR	Reading	Spelling	Composition	Grammar	Arithmetic	Book-keeping	Writing	Geography	History, English	History, Canadian	Physiology	Literature	Algebra	Physics	Botany	Euclid	Music	Agriculture	Temperance	Drawing
1886	16205	14474	13140	10303	15258	2779	15851	11217	5658		2263									
1889	20489	19014	17854	10522	20349	2649	20289	15774	6922		13907									
1890	20898	20080	18785	11625	21376	3616	21621	15717	7842		15259									
1891	23871	21680	21291	9844	23454	7417	23517	18027	8359		14368	6182	652	276						
1892	24625	23957	23685	14376	24625	6576	23896	19376	6957		8623	5891	372	973						
1893	28706	25275	16569	16569	25269	4720	26643	17876	7510	7623	4317	7021	2961	2928	1648	1368	10096			
1894	31667	29415	22575	22575	32053	4119	31415	21325	8202	7707	9357	7107	3303	2016	2484	2637	19032	647	3951	14677
1895	34592	29145	24948	13226	34592	5393	31552	25203	10256	10238	11878	9766	5012		6871	4788	21445	6974	15130	17751
1896	36005	34942	27975	15228	35490	4460	35485	24849	10469	11300	12094	9954	4370		14106	4180	23503	13132	19024	23511
1897	39702	37086	32508	12169	39040	3696	39702	26849	11331	12602	14293	12204	4477		16505	4252	29216	12674	19397	28734

Manitoba, Department of Education, "Report of the Department of Education", Department of Educational Annual Report 1897, p. 13.

Appendix II

Ottawa, May 15, 1963

My dear Premier:

In a speech I made in the House of Commons on December 17, 1962, on the problems posed, and the opportunities offered, in Canada by the duality of language and culture established by Confederation, I suggested that a broad and comprehensive inquiry should be conducted, in consultation with the provinces, on bilingualism and biculturalism. That proposal received widespread support in Parliament and, I believe, in the country.

I am now writing to ask whether your government would favour such an inquiry by a Royal Commission with terms of reference such as those annexed to this letter.

Any recommendations from the proposed Commission would, of course, not be binding on governments; nor would approval by your government of such a Commission with these terms of reference imply any commitment to accept any recommendations that it might make.

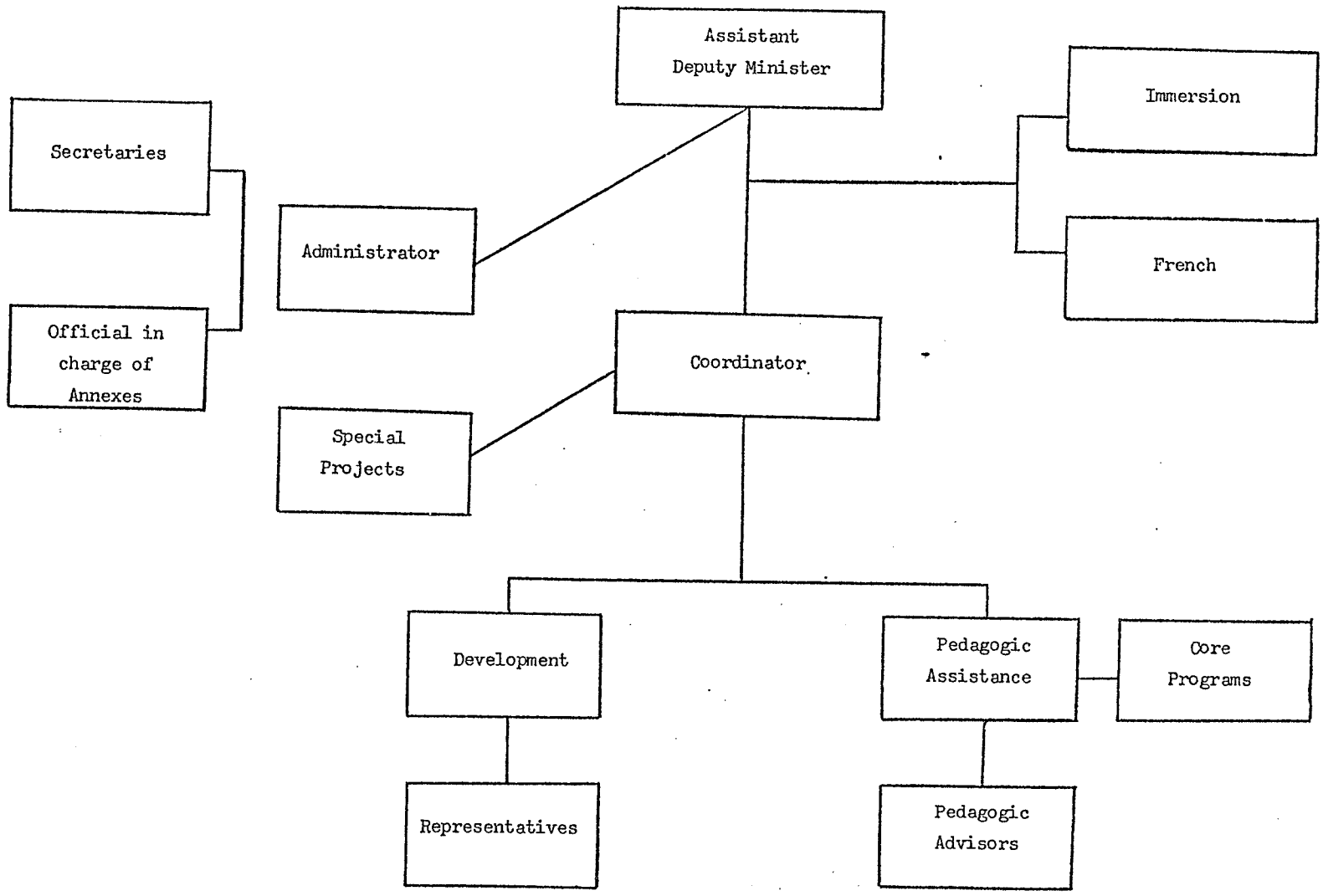
I would be most grateful for your early consideration of this matter.

Yours sincerely,
LESTER B. PEARSON

A.D. Dunton and A. Laurendeau, et al, A Preliminary Report of The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1965), p. 163.

APPENDIX III

Internal Structure, Bureau de l'Education Française (1976)



APPENDIX IV - REFERENCES

Up-to-date Provincial statistics based upon the French grant F.T.E. indicate that "Conversational French" enrolments vary significantly throughout Manitoba. Four categories can be deliniated:

1. Where No French is Taught

Two school divisions fall under this category - Rhineland S.D. 18 and Garden Valley S.D. 26. Both of these school divisions offer German as a second language to their respective students.

2. Where 25% or Less of the Student Population Study Conversational French

Eleven school divisions fall under this category - Lord Selkirk S.D. 11, Hanover S.D. 15, Portage la Prairie S.D. 24, Beautiful Plains S.D. 31, Dauphin-Ochre S.D. 33, Duck Mountain S.D. 34, Swan Valley S.D. 35, Intermountain S.D. 36, Brandon S.D. 40, Western S.D. 47, and Frontier S.D. 48.

3. Where 25% - 50% of the Student Population Study Conversational French

Nineteen school divisions and all districts fall into this category - Winnipeg S.D. 1, River East S.D. 9, Seven Oaks S.D. 10, Morris-MacDonald S.D. 19, Interlake S.D. 21, Evergreen S.D. 22, Lakeshore S.D. 23, Midland S.D. 25, Tiger Hills S.D. 29, Pine Creek S.D. 30, Pelly Trail S.D. 37, Birdtail River S.D. 38, Rolling River S.D. 39, Fort La Bosse S.D. 41, Souris Valley S.D. 42, Antler River S.D. 43, Turtle Mountain S.D. 44, Kelsey S.D. 45, Flin Flon S.D. 46.

4. Where 50% or More of the Student Population Study Conversational French

Fourteen school divisions and special revenue schools fall into this category - St. James Assiniboia S.D. 2, Assiniboine South S.D. 3, St. Boniface S.D. 4, Fort Garry S.D. 5, St. Vital S.D. 6, Norwood S.D. 8, Transcona-Springfield S.D. 12, Agassiz S.D. 13, Seine River S.D. 14, Boundary S.D. 16, Red River S.D. 17, White Horse Plain S.D. 20, Pembina Valley S.D. 27, Mountain S.D. 28.

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APPENDIX V -RECOMMENDED TIME ALLOTMENTS

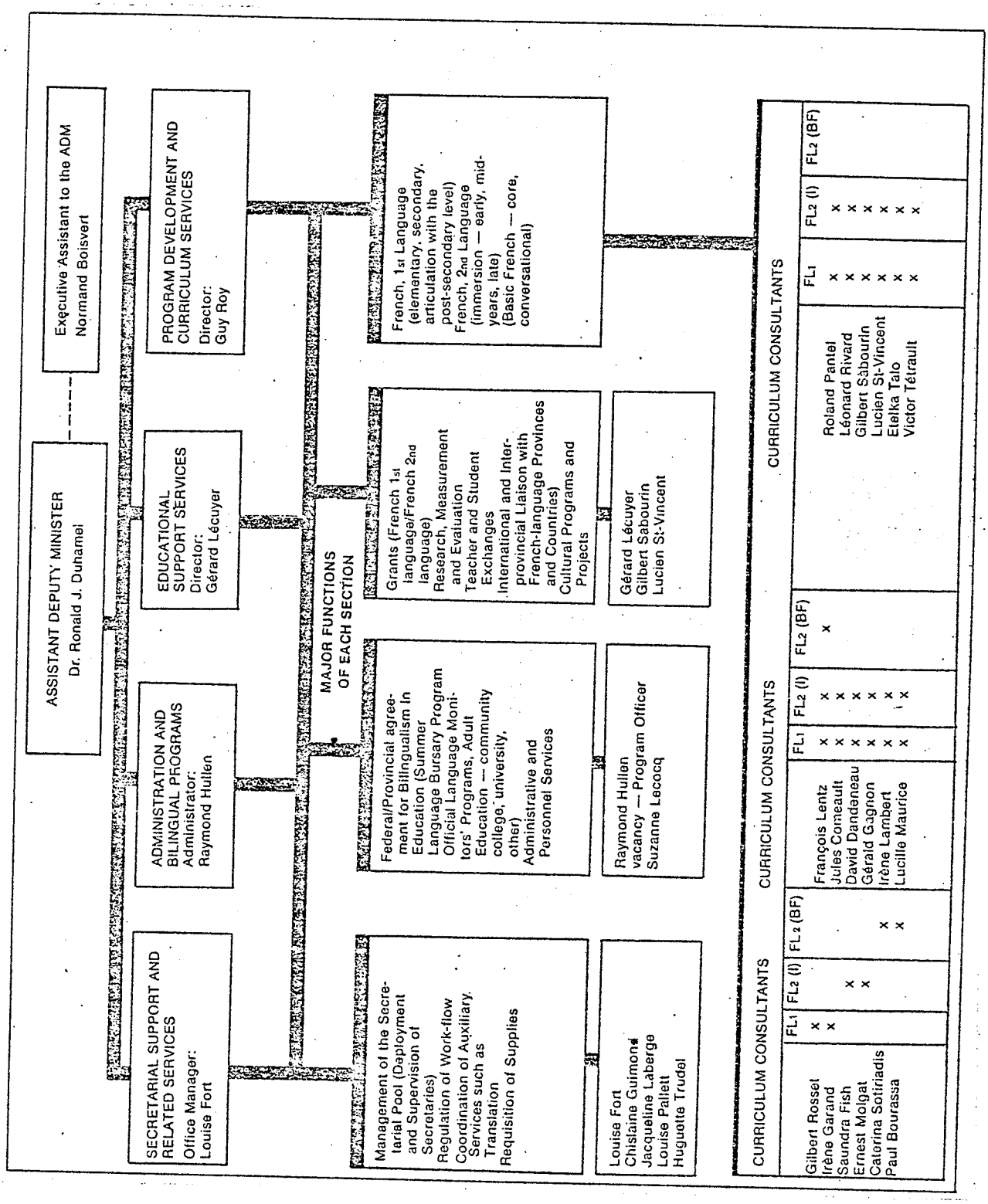
BASIC OUTLINE	GRADES K-3	GRADES 4-6	GRADES 7-8	GRADE 9
Language Arts	40% 120 min. daily/ 600 min. weekly	33% 100 min. daily/ 500 min. weekly	25% 75 min. daily/ 375 min. weekly	24% 75 min. daily/ 375 min. weekly
Mathematics	15% 45 min. daily 225 min. weekly	15% 45 min. daily 225 min. weekly	12% 35 min. daily/ 175 min. weekly	12% 35 min. daily/ 175 min. weekly
Social Studies	7.5% 20 min. daily/ 100 min. weekly	12% 30 min. daily/ 150 min. weekly	12% 35 min. daily/ 175 min. weekly	15% 35 min. daily/ 175 min. weekly
General Science	7.5% 15 min. daily/ 75 min. weekly	12% 30 min. daily/ 150 min. weekly	12% 35 min. daily/ 175 min. weekly	12% 35 min. daily/ 175 min. weekly
Physical Education	6% 30 min. daily/ 150 min. weekly	6% 30 min. daily/ 150 min. weekly	6% 30 min. daily/ 150 min. weekly	6% 30 min. daily/ 150 min. weekly
Health	3% 9 min. daily/ 45 min. weekly	4% 12 min. daily/ 60 min. weekly	5% 15 min. daily 75 min. weekly	5% 15 min. daily/ 75 min. weekly
Music	6% 20 min. daily/ 90-100 min. weekly	6% 20 min. daily/ 90-100 min. weekly	Two options chosen 10% each Second Language, Music, Art, Industrial Arts, Home Economics - 20% 2 x 30 min. daily/150 min. weekly	
Art	6% 20 min. daily/ 90-100 min. weekly	6% 20 min. daily/ 90-100 min. weekly		
Additional option if desired: Second Language	20-40 min. daily/ 100-200 min. weekly	20-40 min. daily/ 100-200 min. weekly		
TOTALS	279 min. daily (minus second language)	287 min. daily (minus second language)	285 min. daily (second language may/may not be included)	

1. Former time allotments included as percentages. New programs include time recommendations as minutes daily or weekly. Both are shown in this chart for completeness, although curriculum guides may recommend either or both.

2. Time for second languages would need to be taken from other curriculum areas in K-6.

As of July, 1981.

Appendix VI



Education Manitoba

June, 1981.