

A Study of Immersion Education in Canada:  
Focusing on Factors for its Success

ITO Harumi

2005

## Acknowledgements

This study would not have been completed without the assistance and encouragement I have received from many individuals and institutions in many different contexts since I started the in-depth research on immersion education in Canada almost a decade ago. Since the study is focused on immersion education in Canada, I have had to make several trips, short and long, to Canada before I completed this study. Each time I made such a trip, I received a lot of assistance both in Japan and in Canada. My very first trip to Canada for this study was made in 1996, being sponsored by the Murata Science Foundation in Kyoto. Since then, I have received several research grants from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, which made it possible for me to pay several more visits to Canada and collect first-hand data on immersion education there. The Faculty Research Programme Award which I received from the Government of Canada in 2002 was also crucial since this grant enabled me to conduct questionnaire and interview studies with stakeholders of immersion education in Canada, whose results comprise one of the major parts of this study. I also received a great deal of assistance and encouragement from a number of university researchers, school boards officials, officers at government offices in charge of the official languages policy of Canada, and many other people at schools and other educational institutions. Since so many people both in Japan and in Canada have helped me to complete this study, it is impossible for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to all those people individually. Nevertheless, certain individuals and institutions deserve more than general recognition and thanks.

First of all, I must acknowledge my special indebtedness to Professor MIURA Shogo of Hiroshima University, the chief supervisor of this study, who has given me enormous support and encouragement as well as productive and valuable advice in the whole process of completing this study. Without his dedicated assistance, this study would not have been completed at all. In this context, I would also like to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Professor OZASA Toshiaki, Professor NAKAO Yoshiyuki, Professor IKENO Norio, and Professor NINOMIYA Akira, the supervisors of this study, for their insightful comments and advice, which have significantly improved the quality of this study. I would also like to express my deep indebtedness to the Late Professor KAKITA Naomi and Professor MATSUMURA Mikio, who both gave me a lot of academic inspiration and encouragement as the academic supervisors while I was an undergraduate and a postgraduate student at Hiroshima University and even after I started my career as a researcher of English language education.

Secondly, I would also like to express my profound gratitude to Professor Janice Yalden (Carleton University, retired), who as the head of the department of applied linguistics, kindly invited me as a visiting researcher at Carleton University when I

conducted my very first research on immersion education in Canada from March 1996 to September 1996. The assistance I received from Professor Ian Pringle and Ms Yoko Azuma Prikryl of Carleton University for my field research in Ottawa must equally be acknowledged. My indebtedness also extends to Professor Mari Wesche (University of Ottawa), and Professor Merrill Swain and Professor Sharon Lapkin (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto University) for the inspiration and information I received not only from their numerous writings on French immersion education in Canada but also from the repeated personal communication with them.

Thirdly, I would like to express my deep thankfulness to Ms Lucy Miller (Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board), Ms Claire Smitheran (Ottawa Board of Education), Ms Janice Sargent (Carleton Board of Education), Ms Chantal Cazabon (Ottawa-Carleton District School Board), Ms Karen Routley (Saskatoon Public Schools) for their tremendous help with my field work on French immersion education through their provision with me of first-hand data on French immersion programmes and through their nice arrangements of my school visits and interviews with school authorities and teachers. In this context, I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to Ms Joan Hawkins (Canadian Parents for French) and Ms Jean MacIsaac (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages) for their in-depth information concerning French immersion programmes and Canada's official languages policy.

Fourthly, I would like to express my sincere thankfulness to all the parents, students, principals, and researchers who kindly agreed to collaborate with my questionnaires and interviews which I conducted as part of the study. Without their candid responses about their perceptions of the successfulness of French immersion education, one of the crucial parts of this study would not have been completed. In this context, I am extremely grateful to Carleton University, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at Toronto University, and the Institute of Canadian Studies at the University of Ottawa for their great hospitality and logistic support I received as a visiting researcher.

Finally, I would like to thank my former students at Nara University of Education and Naruto University of Education who not only gave me a lot of new inspirations for my studies on immersion education through the discussion in class but also helped me to analyze digitally the data I obtained from my field research in Canada. In this context, I would like to express my special thanks to two postgraduate students at Naruto University of Education, Ms Guo Wei from China for her great help with the computer processing of the data I received from my questionnaire studies and Mr Moedjito from Indonesia, who kindly transcribed the recorded interviews I conducted in Canada. Their dedicated help made it possible for me to analyze the data concerning stakeholders' perceptions of the success of French immersion education.

## Table of Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Introduction   | 1  |
| Part 1 Characteristics of Immersion Education in Canada                        | 6  |
| Chapter 1 Immersion Education as Bilingual Education                           | 7  |
| 1.1. School Education in a Non-Native Language                                 | 7  |
| 1.2. Definition of Bilingual Education   | 8  |
| 1.3. Typology of Bilingual Education   | 11 |
| 1.4. Distinctive Features of Immersion Education as Bilingual Education        | 16 |
| Chapter 2 Immersion Education as Second Language Education                     | 18 |
| 2.1. Immersion Education as Early Second Language Education                    | 18 |
| 2.2. Immersion Education as Communicative Approach                             | 22 |
| 2.3. Immersion Education as Content-Based Approach                             | 25 |
| Chapter 3 Basic Features of French Immersion Education                         | 28 |
| 3.1. School Education in Canada  | 28 |
| 3.2. Teaching French as a Second Language                                      | 35 |
| 3.3. Fundamentals of French Immersion Education                                | 38 |
| Part 2 Success of French Immersion Education and Factors for Success           | 41 |
| Chapter 4 Successfulness of French Immersion Education                         | 42 |
| 4.1. Quantitative Indexes of Success   | 42 |
| 4.2. Qualitative Indexes of Success  | 45 |
| 4.3. Framework for Analyzing Factors for Success                               | 47 |
| Chapter 5 Pedagogical Factors for Success                                      | 51 |
| 5.1. Methodology Factors   | 51 |
| 5.2. Teacher Factors   | 63 |
| 5.3. Learner Factors   | 66 |
| Chapter 6 Institutional Factors for Success                                    | 71 |
| 6.1. Environmental Factors   | 71 |
| 6.2. Curriculum Factors  | 73 |
| 6.3. Administrative Factors  | 80 |
| Chapter 7 Societal Factors for Success   | 85 |
| 7.1. Official Languages Policy   | 85 |
| 7.2. Collaboration Network for Linkage   | 90 |
| 7.3. Social Incentives for French Language Learning                            | 93 |
| Chapter 8 Research on Stakeholders' Perceptions of French Immersion<br>Success | 96 |
| 8.1. Purpose   | 96 |
| 8.2. Participants  | 96 |
| 8.3. Method  | 97 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 8.4. Results   | 100 |
| 8.5. Discussion  | 108 |
| Part 3 Crossroads between Immersion Education and English Language<br>Education in Japan | 114 |
| Chapter 9 Globalization and School English Language Education                            | 115 |
| 9.1. English as a Global Language  | 115 |
| 9.2. Current Issues of School English Language Education                                 | 117 |
| 9.3. Initiatives for Reform of School English Language Education                         | 120 |
| Chapter 10 Prospects of Immersion Education in Japan                                     | 124 |
| 10.1. Immersion Education in a Japanese Context  | 124 |
| 10.2. Implications from Canadian Immersion Education                                     | 125 |
| 10.3. Prerequisites for Introducing English Immersion Education                          | 134 |
| 10.4. Strategies for Introducing English Immersion Education                             | 139 |
| Conclusion   | 142 |
| Notes  | 144 |
| Bibliography   | 149 |
| Appendices   | 162 |

## List of Tables

|           |   |     |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Table 1-1 | Seven Major Types of Bilingual Education                                  | 15  |
| Table 3-1 | Theoretical Typology of Education in the Official Languages in Canada     | 31  |
| Table 3-2 | Second Language Education in Canada                                       | 35  |
| Table 4-1 | Immersion Enrolment in OBE (n & %)  | 43  |
| Table 4-2 | Immersion Enrolment in CBE  | 43  |
| Table 4-3 | Immersion Enrolment across Canada   | 44  |
| Table 5-1 | Ten Principles to Realize Child-centredness in Education                  | 58  |
| Table 5-2 | Teaching Contents in Science and Technology                               | 61  |
| Table 5-3 | Mother Tongue and Principal Language of Studies of Immersion Teachers     | 64  |
| Table 5-4 | Language Fluency of Immersion Teachers                                    | 64  |
| Table 6-1 | Three Levels of French Language Achievement                               | 73  |
| Table 6-2 | Aims of Three FSL Programmes  | 74  |
| Table 6-3 | Final Expectations of Three FSL Programmes                                | 74  |
| Table 6-4 | Annual and Cumulative French Language Instruction Hours (OME, 1977)       | 77  |
| Table 6-5 | Annual and Cumulative French Instruction Hours (cf. OBE, n.d.)            | 77  |
| Table 6-6 | Comparison of Cumulative Second Language Instruction Hours at Key Grades  | 78  |
| Table 6-7 | Subjects and the Language of Instruction                                  | 80  |
| Table 7-1 | Population of Canada by Languages (%)                                     | 88  |
| Table 7-2 | Federal Contributions through Official Languages in Education 1995-96(\$) | 93  |
| Table 7-3 | Provincial Breakdown of Federal Contributions to Ontario (1995-96)        | 93  |
| Table 7-4 | Societal Incentives for FSL Learners                                      | 94  |
| Table 8-1 | Satisfaction with French Immersion Programmes (n & %)                     | 100 |
| Table 8-2 | Satisfaction with Acquired French Proficiency (n & %)                     | 101 |
| Table 8-3 | Scale of Success of French Immersion Education (n & %)                    | 101 |
| Table 8-4 | Immersion Success in Attaining Four Objectives (n & %)                    | 102 |
| Table 8-5 | Contributors to Success of French Immersion Education                     | 105 |
| Table 8-6 | Correlation between Participants' Responses                               | 107 |
| Table 9-1 | Mean TOEFL Scores of 30 Asian Countries (2002-2003)                       | 117 |
| Table 9-2 | Mean TOEIC Scores across Major Participating Countries (1997-98)          | 118 |
| Table 9-3 | Third International Mathematics & Science Study                           | 118 |
| Table 9-4 | OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA 2000)           | 119 |

## List of Figures

|            |   |     |
|------------|---|-----|
| Figure 1-1 | Three Domains of Bilingual Education      | 9   |
| Figure 3-1 | Structure of School Education in Canada   | 29  |
| Figure 3-2 | School Boards in Ottawa-Carleton Region   | 34  |
| Figure 3-3 | Types of French Immersion Education       | 38  |
| Figure 3-4 | Framework of Primary FSL at OCDSB         | 39  |
| Figure 3-5 | Framework of Secondary FSL at OCDSB       | 40  |
| Figure 7-1 | Framework of Administrative Collaboration | 92  |
| Figure 8-1 | Success at Micro and Macro Levels         | 110 |

## Introduction

### Purpose of the Study

The present study focuses on French immersion education in Canada, which has been attracting more and more attention from those involved in second language education around the world because of its outstanding success in fostering high-level communicative competence in a second language at no cost of content learning in spite of the fact that part or all of the content learning is conducted in a second language. The purpose of the study is three-fold. First of all, it aims at specifying the defining characteristics of French immersion education in Canada from both theoretical and practical perspectives. Secondly, it aims at defining the successfulness of French immersion education from quantitative and qualitative perspectives and then specifying the factors which have contributed to the success in relation to Canada's educational system and official languages policy, referring to the results of the several-year-long fieldwork conducted by the present researcher in Ottawa, the centre of French immersion education in Canada. Thirdly, it aims at specifying the implications to be drawn from the success of French immersion education in Canada, the prerequisites to be satisfied before the introduction of immersion education into Japanese schools, and finally the strategies for its successful introduction into Japanese school education.

### Target of the Study

Immersion education is basically an educational attempt to teach all or part of the regular school curriculum in a second or non-native language. Therefore, the concept of immersion in a general sense may apply to school education in English for immigrant children in the United Kingdom or the United States. From a more professional perspective, it usually refers to "a form of bilingual education in which students who speak the language of the majority of the population receive part of their instruction through the medium of a second language and part through their first language" (Genesee, 1987, p.1). Following this more professional definition of immersion education, the present study will not deal with school education in a second language for minority children in respective countries. Its main target will be immersion education for majority children.

More specifically, the present study focuses on French immersion education in Canada for English-speaking majority children (including English-speaking minority children in Quebec), in which children study all or part of their regular school subjects in French, one of the official languages of Canada. It is true that there exist other forms of immersion education in Canada, such as immersion education in Ukrainian, German or Mandarin, mostly in the western part of Canada. However, French immersion education is by far the most predominant form of immersion education in



Canada, and this is the programme which has been attracting more and more attention from those involved in second language education around the world.

The term *French immersion education* is used in this paper in referring to the concept of French immersion education itself or the educational attempt to teach school subjects in French as a whole. When referring to a specific educational programme of immersion education in French in specific contexts, the term *French immersion programme* (or *programmes*) is used to avoid ambiguity in discussion.

### Reasons for the Focus on French Immersion Education in Canada

The present study focuses on French immersion education in Canada for the following three reasons. First of all, French immersion education in Canada presents to us a model of educational reform in that the very first experimental French immersion programme was established through a grass-root reform movement by parents who were concerned about education of their children, in that there existed right from the beginning close cooperative relations among the stakeholders (i.e., parents, schools, school boards, and the provincial and federal governments) in the process to realize this educational reform, and finally in that it was started as a long-term experiment incorporating an assessment scheme to evaluate its long-term effects constantly over an extended period of time,

Secondly, French immersion education in Canada has been conducted as part of the linguistic policy of the country which has to deal with domestic problems and issues that are not only linguistically but also culturally very sensitive and complicated. In contrast, English language education in Japan cannot be said to be linked with the country's linguistic policy, or it may be more appropriate to say that the country has no linguistic policy at all. What is most needed for today's Japan is an establishment of a substantial linguistic policy which takes into account the English-mediated globalization which is expected to advance much further in the 21st century. Thus Canadian French immersion education, which is supported by the government's official languages policy, can provide us with a number of significant implications for English language education in Japan.

Finally, Canadian French immersion education is a very innovative and effective approach to foster high-level communicative competence in a second language at no cost of students' scholastic achievement. It may be considered to be a very useful model for integrating content learning and language learning, a significant option for second language education which is gaining more and more momentum around the world.

### Current Significance of the Study

The concept of immersion education is no new concept at all. It is not foreign to Japan, either. The reason it is attracting so much attention of those engaged in school

education is because the globalization of the world society has given to bilingualism and immersion education a renewed and positive interpretation. In the past, immersion education was adopted as an option for school education by such suzerain powers as the United Kingdom and France as part of their colonial policies, or by new independent countries in Africa and Asia as an unwelcome necessity-driven way to educate children with multicultural backgrounds. Japan is no exception in this sense. After the Meiji Restoration, the government had no choice but to provide immersion education to those pursuing higher education by hiring foreign professors, partly because of the linguistic limitations of the Japanese language, which lacked most of the vocabulary to be used in higher education, or partly because of the lack of professors who were able to teach at institutions of higher education. It was intended to be a temporary measure before it became possible for Japan to provide higher education in Japanese. Traditionally, education in a native language has been considered an ideal way of school education, as is exemplified by the famous 1951 UNESCO recommendation for education in a mother tongue (UNESCO, 1953), and by more recent UNESCO initiatives for the International Literacy Year (1990) and the International Mother Language Day (2000).<sup>(1)</sup>

The rapid advancement of globalization in the present world, however, has urged us to review our traditional (mostly negative) concept of bilingualism in society and in education, and give it a more positive interpretation. It is as part of this global trend that French immersion education in Canada was born and developed. The most conspicuous feature of Canadian French immersion education is the fact that it is being offered to English-speaking majority children as a free elective option within the public system of school education. This is in sharp contrast to the more popular situation in which immersion education is offered to selected groups of learners for very high tuition within the private system, as in the case of so-called international schools in Japan. Furthermore, Canadian French immersion education has been successful in fostering in students high-level communicative competence in French at no cost of their scholastic achievement in content learning. It is no wonder that it has been attracting more and more attention from those engaged in second language education around the world.

Like many other countries in the world, Japan is in the process of educational reform with the view to responding appropriately to the rapid advancement of globalization. As the government promotes “a strategic plan to cultivate Japanese with English abilities”<sup>(2)</sup> and “an action plan to cultivate Japanese with English abilities”<sup>(3)</sup> and expands the Super English Language High School project<sup>(4)</sup> and the Super Science High School project<sup>(5)</sup> as part of these initiatives, the possibility of teaching content subjects in English has come into the limelight. Accordingly, the term *immersion* has become one of the key words representing the current reform movement by the government. There even exist cases in which the term *immersion* is used as a catch

copy to recruit new students without proper understanding of the nature of immersion education.

In face of these high cries for immersion education, we should note that the history of English language education in Japan is immersed with our bitter experiences of importing one innovative approach after another uncritically and after all abandoning them altogether. This is true of the Oral Approach, which predominated our English language education in 1950's and in 1960's, and also true of the more recent Communicative Approach, although it has not been abandoned yet. Now that Canadian French immersion education is attracting more and more attention of those engaged in English language education in Japan, it is imperative that we should have proper understanding of its origin, its historical background for development, factors which have contributed to its expansion and maintenance over a few decades, etc. This is important for us not to be disillusioned by excessive, ungrounded expectations for its potentials but to have a proper vision of school English language education in the 21st century. Here lies the current significance of the focus on French immersion education in Canada.

### **Structure of the Study**

Since the study has the three different but related aims of describing Canadian French immersion education, analyzing factors for its success and designing the strategy for introducing English immersion education into Japanese schools, the present paper is divided in three parts. The first part, consisting of three chapters, first specifies the defining characteristics of immersion education in Canada, focusing on its duality as bilingual education and as second language education, and then describes the basic features of French immersion education, the most representative form of immersion education in Canada, focusing on French immersion programmes in Ontario. The second part, consisting of five chapters, first specifies the degree of the successfulness of French immersion education from quantitative and qualitative perspectives and then identifies and analyzes factors contributing to its success on the basis of the fieldwork conducted in Ottawa, the centre of French immersion education in Canada, incorporating stakeholders' perceptions of the successfulness of French immersion education. The third part, consisting of two chapters, first identifies current problems and issues the recent globalization of the world society has posed for English language education in Japan, and then discusses implications to be drawn from French immersion education in Canada, prerequisites to be satisfied before the introduction of immersion education into school education in Japan, and basic strategies for its successful introduction into Japanese school education.

### **Originality of the Study**

There exist numerous studies which deal with the efficacy of French immersion

education. Most of these studies either report the outcomes obtained firsthand through empirical researches on the efficacy of French immersion education in comparison with other forms of French language education or through comparison among different forms of French immersion education, or summarize the reported outcomes concerning the efficacy of French immersion education. Relatively few studies, however, deal with factors behind the success of French immersion education. Even among those studies which touch upon factors for success, there are very few which have analyzed factors systematically, placing them in a coherent framework for analysis.

The originality of the present study is then attributed, first of all, to its focus on factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education in Canada, and secondly to its attempt to analyze those factors systematically, putting them in a structural framework. More specifically, the study divides the factors behind the success of Canadian French immersion education into three levels—pedagogical factors, institutional factors and societal factors—and then tries to specify individual factors within this structural framework, mostly on the basis of the findings obtained by the fieldwork conducted over several years in Ottawa, the centre of Canadian French immersion education. The study can also claim its originality in its attempt to divide the success of French immersion education into the micro-level success and the macro-level success, and to correlate this two-way division of the success of immersion education with the three-way division of the factors behind the success of immersion education, placing the stakeholders' perceptions of the successfulness of French immersion education within this overall framework of success. This last point is especially significant for the studies of English language education in Japan, since there is a tendency among contemporary researchers to focus their attention on the micro-level learning outcomes of English language education in their pursuit of empirical data, delegating macro-level analyses to the secondary position. It goes without saying that both micro-level studies and macro-level studies will be needed for the sound development of educational studies.

Part 1

Characteristics of Immersion Education in Canada

## Chapter 1

### Immersion Education as Bilingual Education

#### 1.1. School Education in a Non-Native Language

##### 1.1.1. UNESCO recommendation for L1-mediated education

Living in a country like Japan, where a single native language is almost exclusively used as a means of communication inside the country, people tend to take it for granted that children receive their school education through their native language. This is not necessarily true in many countries in the world, where several different languages compete with each other for the official language status. In fact, a country like Japan, where education from the primary level to the tertiary level is available through the single native language, is rather an exception. In quite a few countries, children are forced to receive even their primary education in a language different from their native language. This is why UNESCO (1953, 1968, p.691) had to make a well-known recommendation for the education through a native language as follows:

On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible.

The very reason that UNESCO had to issue this recommendation, however, well attests a simple fact that quite a few children in the world were receiving their schooling through a non-native language at that time.

##### 1.1.2. Omnipresence of L2-mediated education

It is widely believed that there are about 5,000 to 6,000 languages spoken in the world today, although there exists wide variation from one estimate to another (Crystal, 1997, p.286). In contrast to this, the number of the countries in the world is less than 200. At the time of 10 December 2004, only 191 countries are members of the United Nations.<sup>(1)</sup> A rough calculation suggests that a country has on average about 20 to 25 languages spoken within its territory. It further suggests that being bilingual or multilingual is a normal state of affairs in the majority of the countries in the world. According to UNESCO statistics,<sup>(2)</sup> only 10% to 15 % of the countries in the world can be reasonably qualified as ethnically homogeneous. Consequently, there are far more bilinguals and multilinguals than monolinguals in the world. Grosjean (1982, p.vii) estimates that about half the world's population are bilingual. Thus it can be said that it is monolingualism that represents a special case when we discuss language situations in the world.

The fact that bilingualism exists “in practically every country of the world, in all classes of society, in all age groups” (Grosjean, 1982, p.vii) suggests that it is quite a normal situation that the language spoken at home is different from the language used at school as a medium of instruction, which in turn is different from the language used at work. A monolingual country where one and the same language is used at home, at school and at work is quite an exception, compared with many other countries where several different languages are spoken by different sectors of people on a daily basis. This in turn suggests that a great number of children throughout the world are receiving even their primary education in a non-native language either exclusively or in combination with their native language. The situation has not changed very much since UNESCO’s recommendation for L1-mediated education in 1951. In short, education in a non-native language is still a fact of life in our modern world.

## 1.2. Definition of Bilingual Education

### 1.2.1. Diversity of bilingual education

Bilingual education is commonly defined as education through two languages, i.e., through learners’ native language (L1) and a non-native, second language (L2). This popular definition corresponds quite well with the definition of bilingual broadcast as broadcast in two languages, or with the definition of a bilingual dictionary as a dictionary written in two languages. It seems to be quite straightforward. On a close examination of existing bilingual education programmes, however, it becomes clear that this seemingly straightforward definition entails several problems.

First of all, programmes in which only a second language is used as a medium of instruction are often called bilingual education. Classrooms which house immigrant children with several different linguistic backgrounds are good examples of this type of bilingual education. In such classrooms, it is simply impossible to use a native language of a child as a medium of instruction since each child has a different native language.

Even when immigrants from the same country learn together in the same classroom, it often happens that their native language is not used as a medium of instruction, since they are expected to acquire a second language, normally the dominant language of the society where they are now living, as quickly as possible. Teachers do not mind their students forgetting their native language, since their main educational goal is to assimilate their students into the mainstream society as quickly as possible so that they can earn a living in the new society upon leaving school. This type of bilingual education is often referred to as submersion in the literature on bilingual education. An example would be an education programme to Romanies in Finland, in which Romany children are placed in ordinary Finnish schools “without any consideration for the Romany language and culture” (Romaine, 1995, p.245).

The definition of bilingual education as the use of L1 and L2 as the media of instruction in the classroom does not apply to this type of education. Instead, such education is called bilingual education simply because it entails the existence of two languages: L1 as a native language of the students and L2 as a medium of instruction. This definition of bilingual education is existential in nature, and can be extended even to the situation in which L2 exists in the classroom as a subject in the curriculum, as in foreign or second language education, not necessarily as a medium of instruction (Baker & Jones, 1998). Baker (1993) thus includes, within his framework of bilingual education, mainly monolingual mainstream education which includes a foreign language as one of the subjects to be taught at school.

Furthermore, even basically monolingual L1-medium education without a foreign or second language programme as a subject in the curriculum can be regarded as bilingual education if it is addressed to minority children. A good example of this type of bilingual education is one for Bavaria immigrant children in Germany. Those immigrant children are taught in their first language in isolation from German-speaking majority children. They are given very little instruction in German because the aim of their education is “to repatriate them and their families” (Romaine, 1995, p.245), not to assimilate them into the German society, as is often the case with bilingual education for immigrant children in the United States.

### 1.2.2. Three main domains of bilingual education

Now it is clear that bilingual education encompasses a great variety of educational programmes both for minority children and for majority children. Defining bilingual education as education through two languages may exclude a large number of bilingual programmes that currently exist throughout the world. The minimal condition for an education programme to be called bilingual is that it subsumes the existence of L2 either as a medium of instruction or as a subject in the curriculum, or that it is addressed to minority children either as a group or individually. The following figure represents the three domains of bilingual education in a broadest sense:

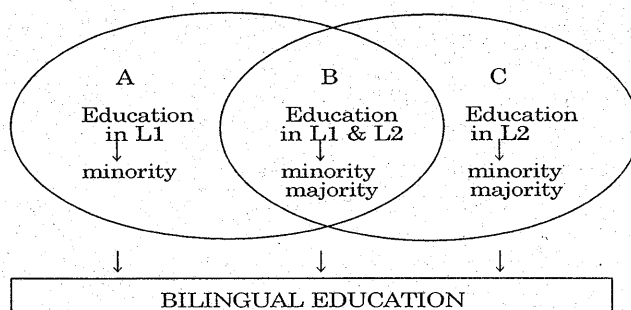


Figure 1-1: Three Domains of Bilingual Education



The first domain (A) of bilingual education is realized as education in L1 for minority children. Bilingual education for Bavaria immigrant children in Germany mentioned above constitutes its typical example. The second domain (B) of bilingual education includes education in which both L1 and L2 are used as a medium of instruction either for minority children as in bilingual education programmes for Spanish-speaking minority children in the United States or for majority children as in French immersion programmes for English-speaking majority children in Canada. It also includes education in which L2 is taught as a subject in the curriculum in otherwise monolingual education as in foreign or second language education within the framework of monolingual mainstream education. Such being the case, English language education in Japan may be considered as an example of this second domain of bilingual education. The second domain also includes education in which more than two languages are used as media of instruction as in the European Schools Movement, in the Luxembourgish-German-French-medium education in Luxembourg, or in the Hebrew-English-French-medium education in Canada (Baker & Jones, 1998). The third domain (C) of bilingual education includes not only education in L2 in which linguistic minorities such as Vietnamese-speaking immigrant children in Canada receive their education solely in L2 (English or French) but also education in which linguistic majorities receive their education in L2 as in Singapore and in many other bilingual and multilingual countries.

### 1.2.3. Broad and narrow definitions

The foregoing discussion suggests that there can be two types of definitions of bilingual education: a narrow definition and a broad definition. Narrowly defined bilingual education refers to educational programmes in which “more than one language is used to teach content (e.g., science, mathematics, social sciences or humanities) rather than just being taught as a subject by itself” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p.466). Broadly defined bilingual education subsumes education in which L2 exists in the classroom either as a medium of instruction or as a subject in the curriculum and education in which minority children are taught either in L1 or in L2, in addition to narrowly defined bilingual education. If we adopt a broad definition of bilingual education, almost all educational programmes may be called bilingual education, simply because it is getting more and more difficult to identify strictly monolingual education which does not include even the teaching of L2, foreign or second, as a subject in the curriculum. Only primary education for majority children without any form of foreign or second language education can be labelled as monolingual education, but it is getting scarce today since more and more countries in the world are starting to include foreign or second language education in its primary education curriculum.

### 1.2.4. Simple label for complex phenomenon

Another problem with the common definition of bilingual education as education through two languages is related to the timing of the use of L1 and L2 in a programme as a whole. In some bilingual programmes, as those for immigrants in the United States, only L1 is used as a medium of instruction in the initial stages of the programme until the learners will become proficient enough in L2. Then the medium of instruction is gradually switched from L1 to L2 and thereafter only L2 is used to teach almost all the subjects in the curriculum. This also applies to French immersion education in Canada, in which only French is used in the initial stages of early immersion programmes. This implies that we need another qualification to be added to the definition of bilingual education as education through two languages. A programme can be called bilingual even when two languages are used as a medium of instruction consecutively, not simultaneously, in it.

Defining bilingual education as education through two languages entails still another problem. It is concerned about the balance in the use of two languages as a medium of instruction. As Romaine (1995, p.241) suggests, if we take a common sense approach and define bilingual education as a programme where two languages are used equally as media of instruction, many so-called bilingual education programmes would cease to be bilingual education. In French immersion education in Canada, for example, it is only at the end of the primary school education that equal use of L1 and L2 is maintained. In some forms of French immersion education, such as late immersion, the rate of L2 use is much greater than that of L1 throughout the programme, although they are considered a typical example of bilingual education. Thus the rate of L1 use and L2 use as a medium of instruction varies a great deal not only from one programme to another, but also from one stage to another within the same programme.

It is clear from the above discussion that bilingual education entails education in a non-native language to a varying degree, from minimum to exclusive. Even a programme in which more than two languages are used as media of instruction can be called bilingual education (Baker & Jones, 1998, p.464). Thus the term bilingual education can “mean different things in different contexts” (Romaine, 1995, p.241). Bilingual education is indeed “a simple label for a complex phenomenon” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p.464).

### 1.3. Typology of Bilingual Education

#### 1.3.1. Existing typologies of bilingual education

We have seen that the term *bilingual education* is an umbrella term which encompasses a great variety of educational programmes intended both for minority children and for majority children with varying educational or societal goals to fulfil. It is not too much to say that each country or district has its own bilingual education programme serving its children according to their specific needs or according to the

societal needs surrounding those children. Naturally, those differing bilingual education programmes come to assume specific names which will characterize the programmes.

A number of typological attempts have been made to bring order to this diversity of bilingual education programmes by setting up types or models of bilingual education. Some are quite simplistic while others are quite sophisticated. Proposed typologies of bilingual education range from a two-way classification (e.g., Grosjean, 1982; Paulston, 1988; Baker, 1993) to a ninety-cell classification (Mackey, 1970).

Grosjean (1982) divides bilingual education into education leading to linguistic and cultural assimilation and education leading to linguistic and cultural diversification, with the former subsuming monolingual submersion programmes and transitional bilingual programmes and the latter subsuming maintenance programmes and immersion programmes. Similarly, Paulston (1988) argues that in order to understand bilingualism and bilingual education properly, we must consider whether the general situation is one of language maintenance or language shift. Language maintenance refers to a situation in which minority children are encouraged to maintain their native language (L1) in addition to the new language they acquire through bilingual education. Language shift, on the other hand, refers to a situation where minority children are encouraged or expected to switch from their native language to the language of the majority as a result of education.

This two-way classification of bilingual education is echoed by the division into weak forms and strong forms by Baker (1993) and Baker & Jones (1998). The basic aim of weak forms of bilingual education is “to transfer language minority children to using the majority language almost solely in their schooling,” while the basic aim of strong forms of bilingual education is “to give children full bilingualism and biliteracy, where two languages and two cultures are seen mutually enriching” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p.466).

In place of a two-way classification of bilingual education, Fishman (1982) presents a three-way classification; transitional-compensatory, language maintenance oriented, and enrichment. Similarly, Hornberger (1991) divides bilingual education into transitional, maintenance, and enrichment.

Grosjean (1982), who divides bilingual education into two fundamental categories—education for assimilation and education for diversification—in terms of outcomes, sets up four different programme types; monolingual, transitional, maintenance, and immersion. The first two types are oriented toward assimilation and the second two are oriented toward diversification. Similarly, Fishman & Lovas (1970) sets up four broad categories of bilingual education on the basis of differing linguistic outcomes or bilingualism in the context of bilingual education for Spanish-speaking children in the United States; Type I (transitional bilingualism), Type II (monoliterate bilingualism), Type III (partial bilingualism), and Type IV (full bilingualism). Type I refers to

programmes which promote fluency and literacy only in English. Type II refers to programmes which promote fluency in both Spanish and English, but do not concern themselves with the development of literacy in Spanish. Type III refers to programmes which promote fluency and literacy in both Spanish and English, but literacy in Spanish is restricted to certain subject matter. Finally, Type IV refers to programmes which seek fluency and literacy in both Spanish and English to a full scale. Fishman & Lovas (1970) considers Type IV as an ideal type of bilingual education.

Ferguson, Houghton & Walls (1977) lists up ten different goals of bilingual education as follows:

- To assimilate individuals or groups into the mainstream society
- To unify a multicultural society
- To enable people to communicate with the outside world
- To gain an economic advantage for individuals or groups
- To preserve ethnic or religious ties
- To reconcile different political, or socially separate, communities
- To spread and maintain the use of a colonial language
- To embellish or strengthen the education of elites
- To give equal status to languages of unequal prominence in the society
- To deepen understanding of language and culture

These ten different goals naturally imply ten different types of bilingual education programmes which correspond to these ten goals either in isolation or in combination. Similarly, Baker (1993) lists up ten different bilingual education programmes within his own weak-strong dichotomy as follows:

- |        |   |
|--------|---|
| Weak   | Submersion<br>Submersion with withdrawal classes<br>Segregationist<br>Transitional<br>Mainstream with foreign language teaching |
| Strong | Separatist<br>Immersion<br>Maintenance/Heritage Language<br>Two-way/ dual language<br>Mainstream bilingual                      |

Here mainstream education with foreign language teaching is listed as a weak form of bilingual education because it does not necessarily seek to give children full bilingualism and biliteracy in L1 and L2, which is the main aim of strong forms of bilingual education as mentioned above.

### 1.3.2. Problems with existing typologies

We have seen above that there exist a great variety of bilingual education programmes in the world, and that those varying programmes have been classified into several types or categories. However, as Hornberger (1991) argues, some inconsistency can be detected among these bilingual education typologies. First of all,

the same terms are used for different goals or types. For example, the term *maintenance* is sometimes used not only for a linguistic goal of a programme but also for a description of the programme structure which maintains the teaching of or in L1 within the curriculum. The term *immersion* is usually used as a descriptor of a strong form of bilingual education which aims to foster bilingualism and biliteracy, but it is also used as a general structural descriptor of a submersion programme which does not seek to foster bilingualism or biliteracy at all.

Secondly, different terms are used to refer to the same goals or types. For example, the terms *assimilation* and *transitional* are used to refer to the same type of bilingual education which aims to “shift the child from the home, minority language to the dominant, majority language” (Baker & Jones, 1998, p.470). Similarly, unique bilingual education programmes in the United States in which Spanish-speaking minority children study with English-speaking majority children in the same classroom through a Spanish-English bilingual instruction are referred to as two-way bilingual (Christian, 1994), as two-way immersion (Hornberger, 1991), or as bilingual immersion (Lindholm, 1990).

A more fundamental problem with existing typologies is that parallel types tend to be defined by non-parallel criteria. For example, there is a tendency that *immersion* is juxtaposed with *maintenance* (e.g., Fishman, 1982; Baker, 1993). However, *immersion* basically refers to the structure of a programme, while *maintenance* usually refers to a linguistic goal of a programme or less frequently to the structure of the curriculum. Similarly, *transitional* and *segregationist* are juxtaposed in some typologies (e.g., Baker 1993). The former refers to a linguistic goal of a programme while the latter refers to its educational goal.

As an attempt to remedy these inconsistencies in the typologies of bilingual education, Mackey (1970) proposed a 90-cell typology of bilingual education. On the basis of the distributional patterns of the languages at home, in the school curriculum, and in the community in which the school is located, and the international and regional status of the languages concerned, 90 different patterns of bilingual schooling were identified with a view to systematizing the discussion on bilingual education. This typology has the merit of being comprehensive, but its very comprehensiveness seems to make his framework rather impractical and of little help in identifying and discussing problems and potentials of existing bilingual education programmes.

### 1.3.3. Suggesting a new typology

What is needed is a framework which “minimizes the discrepancies among former typologies” and is “neither too elaborate to be unwieldy nor too reduced to be simplistic” (Hornberger, 1991, p.221). Here a new typology of bilingual education is proposed which acknowledges seven major types of bilingual education (Table 1-1). The basic configuration of this typology is based upon the three domains of bilingual

education discussed above. It has also borrowed part of its conceptual framework from a goal-oriented three-way (*transitional, maintenance and enrichment*) typology by Hornberger (1991) in which programme models are distinguished from programme types, and also from a two-way (*weak vs. strong*) typology by Baker (1993) in which ten different programme types are distinguished from each other in terms of types of learners, languages in the classroom, educational aims, and language outcomes.

Table 1-1: Seven Major Types of Bilingual Education

| Type | Means of Instruction | Typical Learners | Linguistic Goal | Educational Outcome |
|------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| I    | L1                   | Minority         | L1 + 0          | L1 literacy         |
| II   | L2                   | Minority         | L1→L2           | L2 literacy         |
| III  | L2                   | Majority         | L1 + L2         | L1+L2 literacy      |
| IV   | L1&L2                | Minority         | L1→L2           | L2 literacy         |
| V    | L1&L2                | Minority         | L1 + L2         | L2 literacy         |
| VI   | L1&L2                | Minority         | L1 + L2         | L1+L2 literacy      |
| VII  | L1&L2                | Majority         | L1 + L2         | L1+L2 literacy      |

In this framework, seven major bilingual education types (I to VII) are defined by their language distribution patterns in the programme, learner categories, linguistic goals, and educational outcomes. Type I, for example, refers to bilingual education in which minority children are taught in their native language (L1) in isolation from majority children for a segregative purpose, just like the one for Bavaria immigrant children in Germany mentioned above. Type II refers to bilingual education in which minority children are put into regular mainstream education with very little consideration for their linguistic needs and are taught in a second language (L2), the majority language of the society. This is quite common in major industrial countries which attract lots of immigrant and guest workers. Type III refers to bilingual education in which majority children receive education in a second language which is often an official language in that society. Bilingual education for Chinese-speaking majority children in Singapore is a typical example of this type.

Type IV, Type V and Type VI correspond to transitional, maintenance and enrichment bilingual education respectively as described by Hornberger (1991). A well-quoted distinction between static maintenance and developmental maintenance (Otheguy & Otto, 1980) is also captured by the distinction between Type V and Type VI in this framework. Type VII refers to bilingual education for majority children in which both L1 and L2 are use as media of instruction for the enrichment purpose. Immersion education in Canada is a typical example of this type. Foreign or second language education is included within this type if we follow a broad definition of bilingual education.

What best distinguishes this typology from others is, however, that the terms (e.g., *assimilation, transitional, and enrichment*) that are commonly used to characterize existing bilingual education programmes are avoided. This is because those commonly

used terms are in a way loaded with some sort of value-judgement, and because this kind of value-judgement tends to be done from the viewpoint of the dominant western society, not necessarily from the viewpoint of recipients of bilingual education.

By avoiding the use of value-loaded terms, we can also minimize the already detected inconsistency in defining bilingual education. Thus linguistic goals are indicated in formulas; L1+0 indicates monolingualism, L1→L2 indicates subtractive bilingualism, which is often referred to as language shift or transition, and L1+L2 indicates additive bilingualism, which is often referred to either as maintenance or as enrichment. As far as educational outcomes are concerned, the acquisition of literacy is focused upon since it is in the final analysis the most fundamental outcome to be expected out of school education. This typology keeps the terms *minority* and *majority* although they are loaded with some degree of value-judgement. This is because the distinction between minority groups and majority groups as recipients of bilingual education is acknowledged to be crucial to understanding possible problems and potentials of existing bilingual education programmes.

This framework, however, does not claim to be comprehensive at all. It is quite likely that there exist programmes which do not correspond to any of its seven major types. For example, two-way bilingual education in the United States is in a way a combination of Type VI and Type VII above.

#### 1.4. Distinctive Features of Immersion Education as Bilingual Education

As indicated above, immersion education is a typical example of Type VII bilingual education. It is practiced in an increasing number of countries today throughout the world, including Japan. In Canada, it is typically implemented by French immersion education in which English-speaking majority or anglophone children are taught regular school subjects through the media of French (L2) and English (L1) so that they will attain functional bilingualism in English and French, the two official languages of Canada, at the completion of secondary education without any detriment to the learning of regular academic subjects. French immersion education is considered to be the enriched part of the mainstream education for English-speaking majority children.

Probably the most distinguishing feature of French immersion education in Canada is that both languages which are used as the media of instruction are major international languages in addition to being the official languages of the country. Under the official languages policy of the federal government, and more specifically through the Official Languages in Education Programmes, both of which are to be described in details later in Chapter 7, French immersion education is well funded by the federal government, and well supported by parents of children enrolled in the programmes as well as by local school boards concerned. In addition to promoting the understanding of the culture of French-speaking or francophone Canadians, both parents and students expect French immersion education to give them some tangible

social benefits, such as increased opportunities for employment, domestic or abroad.

In the provinces where the number of French-speaking Canadians is rather small, and therefore the importance of French as an official language is not felt so strongly, immersion education in languages other than French is available to a considerable degree. For example, Mandarin immersion education is available for English-speaking majority children in areas like British Columbia where a fairly large number of Chinese-speaking people reside. However, French immersion education is by far the most representative form of immersion education in Canada, in terms of the number of students enrolled in French immersion programmes, in terms of the number of schools offering French immersion programmes, and in terms of the areas in Canada where French immersion education is available.

It should also be mentioned here that immersion education is not the only form of bilingual education in Canada. The country houses a number of minority groups other than anglophones and francophones, including Inuits and Indians who are often referred to as First Nations.<sup>(3)</sup> Several non-official languages, usually referred to as heritage languages, are taught or used as a medium of instruction in what is called the heritage language education (Beynon & Toohy, 1991; Cummins, 1980; 1994), another important form of bilingual education in Canada. Furthermore, a variety of ESL (English as a Second Language) programmes are prepared for students whose native language is not English, including francophone children in Quebec, which does not have English immersion education, a counterpart of French immersion education in the rest of the country.

Thus in Canada, bilingual education is a normal form of school education because of its ethnic multiplicity, and French immersion education is being offered as an enrichment type of bilingual education for English-speaking majority children in close relation with the official languages policy of the government.



## Chapter 2

### Immersion Education as Second Language Education

#### 2.1. Immersion Education as Early Second Language Education

##### 2.1.1. Historical background

In response to the growing demand for globalization, more and more countries are introducing second language (L2) education into their primary education systems. Their foremost purpose is to foster functional communicative competence in a second language, usually in English as a global language, among young people who are going to be main characters on the international stage in the 21st century. Amid this worldwide interest in early second language education, immersion education in Canada is attracting more and more attention of researchers and educators across the world who are engaged in second language education because of its success in fostering functional communicative competence in French as a second language among its graduates.

Due to the success in Canada, immersion education is now considered to be a viable option for early second language education in many countries throughout the world which have started or are going to start second language education at primary school level. When we try to characterize immersion education as early second language education, however, we need to refer to another wave of educational movement for early second language education which was quite prevalent in the period from the 1950s through the early 1970s. This is because Canadian immersion education was started in 1965 as part of this worldwide movement for early second language education.

The enormous interest shown by researchers and parents in those days in starting second language education early at primary school level was partly triggered by increased interests in children's natural abilities in acquiring a language among researchers of psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics, such as Penfield & Roberts (1959), Chomsky (1965), Lenneberg (1967), etc. It was assumed by those researchers who supported an earlier introduction of second language education that there might exist a period during which a second language would be acquired almost as naturally and easily as a first language and beyond which it would become increasingly difficult for children to attain a native-like proficiency in a second language. Although researchers did not necessarily succeed in providing any decisive empirical evidence for supporting an early start of second language education, a sort of consensus was formed among educators that an early start would secure much greater success in second language learning.

This great interest in children's abilities to master a second language naturally and easily initiated an educational movement called FLES (Foreign Languages in

Elementary Schools) in the United States. It also prompted the start of the Pilot Scheme for the Teaching of French in Primary Schools in the United Kingdom. It did not take long before this new educational movement on both sides of the Atlantic spread to many other countries in the world, including Canada and Japan.

### 2.1.2. The FLES movement in the United States

Except in the early part of her history when immigrants still valued their own ethnic cultures and native languages, American people were rather indifferent to second language education in general. Experience during the Second World War, however, convinced both politicians and the general public of the importance of knowledge of a second language. In order to ensure such knowledge for American youths, more and more people came to argue for the early introduction of a second language into primary school education.

This grass-roots movement involving researchers, educators and parents came to be called FLES and expanded quite rapidly in the 1950s, getting strong endorsement. For example, McGrath (1952), the then U.S. Commissioner of Education, insisted on the introduction of a foreign language into primary schools. In 1956, the MLA (Modern Language Association) recognized FLES as a legitimate educational movement (Rivers, 1968). What gave the greatest momentum to the further growth of the FLES movement was no doubt the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which was passed in 1958 in the wake of the Sputnik shock. This act was designed to modernize the teaching of science, mathematics and modern foreign languages. What is the most significant about this act is that it recognized for the first time in peacetime that the "ability to communicate with other peoples in their languages is a matter of national self-interest and security" (Andersson, 1969, p.4). This act gave the FLES movement an abundant financial support through sponsoring the in-service training of FLES teachers and the development of FLES materials.

Amid this nationwide enthusiasm for the early start of foreign language learning, FLES programmes were often begun as a fad without enough preparation on the side of school authorities just in order to "be abreast of latest developments whatever those may be and whatever their value" (Rivers, 1968, p.359). In fact, the MLA had to issue a warning against the easy introduction of foreign languages into primary schools. In spite of this warning, the number of primary school students learning a foreign language increased steadily. In 1954, only about 209,000 primary school students were enrolled in FLES programmes while in 1959-1960 as many as 1,227,006 primary school students participated in FLES programmes (Andersson, 1969, p.101). This number was almost doubled in 1962 (Stern, 1967, p.120).

In the meantime, the FLES movement came to receive a legislative support from the state governments in such states as California and Wisconsin. In these states, any child wishing to learn in FLES programmes was guaranteed an enrolment by the state

educational authority. Thus the FLES movement in the United States saw its heyday in the 1960s.

### 2.1.3. The Pilot Scheme in the United Kingdom

On the other side of the Atlantic, the movement for early second language education became active a little later than in the United States. Following the 1961-1962 small-scale experiment by the Leeds Education Committee in the teaching of French to pupils of primary school age and also the international conference on early second language education held in Hamburg in April of 1962 (Stern, 1967), a nationwide experiment in the teaching of French to primary school children, known as the Pilot Scheme for the Teaching of French in Primary Schools, was started in England and Wales in September of 1964. This Pilot Scheme was then continued for ten years until 1974.

The main purpose of this 10-year experiment was to investigate long-term effects of the early French language programmes which were to be introduced to 8-year-old primary school children and to be continued until those children reached secondary schools. Approximately 18,000 pupils in three different cohorts participated in this national experiment. The production of the materials to be used in this experiment was supported by the Nuffield Foundation, and the results of the experiment were carefully evaluated cross-sectionally and longitudinally by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and were made available to the public (Burstall, 1970; Burstall, Jamieson, Cohen & Hargreaves, 1974).

### 2.1.4. Decline of the movement for early second language education

In the 1970s, the enrolment in the FLES programmes started to decline in the United States. This is, first of all, because second language education itself started to lose some of its attraction in the American education circle. Second language programmes at secondary schools and universities lost a lot of enrolment, and many of those programmes were closed down. The FLES programmes were equally affected.

The decline of the FLES movement was also prompted by new findings in second language acquisition research which cast considerable doubt onto the hypothesis of the critical period and onto the assumed superiority of children over adults in second language acquisition (e.g., Fathman, 1975; Lamendella, 1977; Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1978). Thus the theoretical base of the FLES movement was significantly undermined, and the FLES programmes were not considered any more as the best way to foster communicative competence in a second language within American youths.

The rise of bilingual education also contributed to the decline of the FLES movement. Actually, in many primary schools, FLES programmes were replaced by bilingual education programmes which were targeted toward minority children. More

money was spent on bilingual education programmes through the government's affirmative action plans toward minority students. Furthermore, school authorities came to be very much concerned about the accountability of their educational programmes under the pressure of their shrinking budgets. Naturally, expensive FLES programmes became easy targets for budget cuts. All these factors worked in concert against the FLES movement, which soon started to decline at a drastic rate, in fact as drastically as it had been expanded in the 1950s. As a result, only a few primary schools with outstanding educational performances managed to keep their FLES programmes going on.

The situation surrounding early second language education was similar in the United Kingdom. The professional evaluations of the Pilot Scheme were provided by Burstall (1970) and by Burstall et al. (1974). Neither of these evaluation reports gave the scheme an evaluation positive enough for primary school authorities concerned to decide to carry on the teaching of French thereafter. Accordingly, the scheme was discontinued in 1974, 10 years after it was initiated. Thus the movement for early second language education on both sides of the Atlantic lost its momentum and began to decline rather rapidly in the 1970s.

#### 2.1.5. Success and expansion of Canadian immersion education

Immersion education in Canada was started in 1965, in an experimental class at St. Lambert in the outskirts of Montreal in Quebec.<sup>(1)</sup> It was quite an innovative approach at that time in that French as a second language was introduced into the primary school curriculum as a medium of instruction, not as a subject as was the case with the FLES programmes in the United States and the Pilot Scheme in the United Kingdom. Children of the immersion class were exposed to far more L2 input in a natural way than children who participated in the FLES programmes and the Pilot Scheme.

In those days, French was improving its political and social status as the official language of Quebec due to the so-called Quiet Revolution<sup>(2)</sup> against the hegemony by the English-speaking powerful minority group over the French-speaking majority in the province (Genesee, 1987; Stern, 1984). In view of the inevitable French dominance in the future, more and more anglophone parents came to perceive French proficiency as a top priority for their children's education, but they were quite dissatisfied with the way French was taught to their children at school.

Getting professional advice from researchers in second language education such as W. Penfield and W. Lambert from McGill University, those parents who were concerned about their children's future managed to convince the local school board to set up an experimental class of French immersion (Genesee, 1987; Obadia, 1995).<sup>(3)</sup> It was in the heyday of the world-wide movement for early second language education represented by the FLES movement and the Pilot Scheme. It is quite natural,

therefore, to assume that those parents and school authorities involved in this experiment were well aware of, and were quite stimulated by, the movement for early second language education in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Although both the FLES movement and the Pilot Scheme lost their initial momentum in the 1970s, French immersion education kept expanding throughout the country, even after the global enthusiasm for early second language education faded away. We can point out several reasons for this, such as the strong support from the federal government under her official languages policy, the socio-political situation surrounding the experiment, the availability of bilingual teachers, the support from local school boards and parents, etc. But the most important factor which contributed to the steady expansion of French immersion education is the decision to introduce French as a medium of instruction into the primary school education, not as a subject.

This prevented immersion teachers from adopting Audio-Lingual Approach, which formed the paradigm in those days as a way of teaching a second language. Instead of mechanical drills (e.g., mimicry-memorization and pattern practice) in French, immersion teachers used French as a natural means of communication in the classroom. Immersion teachers tried to foster communicative competence in French within their pupils by letting them communicate in French. Consequently, even when Audio-Lingual Approach came under severe criticism later, immersion teachers were little affected in their way of teaching. In a way, immersion teachers can be said to have been the forerunners of Communicative Approach, which replaced Audio-Lingual Approach in the 1970s. Here lies the connection between Canadian immersion education and Communicative Approach.

## 2.2. Immersion Education as Communicative Approach

### 2.2.1. Two camps of Communicative Approach

In the 1970s Audio-Lingual Approach rapidly began to lose the support among researchers and teachers of second language education as its theoretical foundation formed by behavioural psychology and structural linguistics came to be doubted in the rise of cognitive psychology and generative grammar. As a result, a sort of census was reached that mimicry-memorization and pattern practice alone, which formed the backbone of Audio-Lingual Approach, were not able to foster communicative competence in a second language. Communicative Approach was proposed as a solution to the problem, i.e., how to foster communicative competence in a second language.

In terms of the way to solve this problem, Communicative Approach is divided into two camps (Ito, 1994a). The first camp tries to solve the problem of fostering communicative competence in a second language by improving teaching materials to be used in the classroom. It is more concerned about what to teach than how to teach, regarding communication as the goal of second language education. The second camp,

on the other hand, tries to solve the problem by improving the way of teaching a second language in the classroom. It is more concerned about how to teach, regarding communication as the means of second language education. Thus the first camp may be referred to as the product-oriented Communicative Approach while the second camp as the process-oriented Communicative Approach. Das (1985, pp.ix-xxiii) characterizes the product-oriented Communicative Approach as “teaching language for communication” and the process-oriented Communicative Approach as “teaching language through communication”.

In the product-oriented Communicative Approach, notional syllabuses (Wilkins, 1976) are adopted instead of grammatical syllabuses. The basic assumption behind this is that the best materials for second language learners are those which correspond to their communicative needs. In order to specify learners’ communicative needs, needs analyses are carried out. ESP (English for Specific Purpose) courses, such as English for nurses or for engineers, are typical fields of the product-oriented Communicative Approach.

In the process-oriented Communicative Approach, communication practice is utilized in place of pattern practice. Its aim is to foster communicative competence in a second language by engaging learners in communication in the classroom. The basic assumption behind this is that students can learn to communicate in a second language by using a second language in communicative situations. In order to maximize opportunities for communication in the classroom, role-plays, simulations and tasks are prepared for learners. Process syllabuses (Breen, 1984), procedural syllabuses (Prabhu, 1987) and task-based syllabuses (Nunan, 1989) are typical examples of the process-oriented Communicative Approach.

### 2.2.2. Immersion education as process-oriented Communicative Approach

Immersion education can be regarded as a most radical version of the process-oriented Communicative Approach in that a second language is used in a most communicative way in the classroom, that is, as a medium of instruction. There is no explicit instruction on second language grammar. There is no material specifically prepared for second language instruction. Children in immersion classes are constantly exposed to natural communication via a second language in the classroom since a second language (i.e., French) is adopted not only as a means of communication for class management but also as a medium of instruction for normal school subjects such as mathematics and science. In this sense, immersion education can be regarded as a typical example of the process-oriented Communicative Approach.

This does not mean, however, that those who were responsible for the inauguration of immersion education in St. Lambert in 1965 were well aware of the tenets of the process-oriented Communicative Approach. As a matter of fact, the process-oriented Communicative Approach was not available at that time. Audio-Lingual Approach was

still dominant as a method for second language education. The foremost concern for those who started immersion education in St. Lambert was how to ensure maximum hours for their children to learn French in the classroom. As an answer to this problem, they decided to provide schooling through French right from the start of primary education. This arrangement, they thought, would ensure maximum learning hours in a second language for their children even though they were quite unaware that they were learning a second language. It is needless to say that they were also heavily influenced by the global movement for early second language education represented by the FLES movement in the United States.

While it continued to expand throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, however, immersion education in Canada acquired a theoretical endorsement from Communicative Approach, especially from the process-oriented Communicative Approach, which replaced Audio-Lingual Approach in North America early in the 1970s as a new paradigm in second language education. Stern (1981), one of the pioneering researchers on immersion education in Canada,<sup>(4)</sup> characterizes the above-mentioned dichotomy between the product-oriented Communicative Approach and the process-oriented Communicative Approach as that between L-Approach and P-Approach, with L standing for “linguistic” and P for “psychological and pedagogic.” In this dichotomy, immersion education is listed as one alternative in P-Approach, which is characterized by “real-life simulation in language class, focus on topic, human relations approaches in language class,” “less controlled language input” and “emphasis on opportunities for acquisition and coping techniques” (Stern, 1981, p.141).

### 2.2.3. Immersion education and Input Hypothesis

Immersion education as the process-oriented Communicative Approach received another significant theoretical support from the Input Hypothesis proposed by Krashen (1982, 1984, 1985), one of the ardent supporters of the process-oriented Communicative Approach in North America. The Input Hypothesis consists of the following four corollaries (Krashen, 1982, pp.21-22):

- (1)The input hypothesis relates to acquisition, not learning.
- (2)We acquire by understanding language that contains structure a bit beyond our current level of competence (i+1). This is done with the help of context or extra-linguistic information.
- (3)When communication is successful, when the input is understood and there is enough of it, i+1 will be provided automatically.
- (4)Production ability emerges. It is not taught directly.

These four corollaries claim after all that people acquire a language in only one way; by understanding messages, or by receiving “comprehensible input.” Conscious learning of vocabulary and grammar through drills and exercises makes “a very small contribution to language competence in the adult and even less in the child” (Krashen, 1984, p.61). The only true cause of second language acquisition is comprehensible

input. In other words, the Input Hypothesis claims that if “we take care of the substance, then the language will take care of itself” (Stern, 1981, p.140).

According to Krashen (1985), immersion education works because, like other good methods, it provides students with a great deal of comprehensible input, and not simply because immersion students are exposed to a great deal of the second language, as the inaugurators of the immersion education programme at St. Lambert had hypothesized. Input in immersion classes is made comprehensible to children in several ways. For example, the exclusion of native speakers of French enables the teachers to speak at a level comprehensible to non-native speakers. The texts and other teaching materials are usually supplemented and adapted to the needs of the non-native learners. Learners are often allowed to respond in their native language although the teacher uses a second language all the time.

Krashen (1985) asserts that immersion classes are better than normal second language classes both for teachers and for learners. In second language classes operating on the principle of the Input Hypothesis, teachers always have to decide what to talk about, while in immersion classes the topic is automatically provided in the form of subject matters. Learners in immersion classes are always tested and evaluated on subject matters, and thus are led to focus on messages rather than forms of a second language in the classroom.

### 2.3. Immersion Education as Content-Based Approach

#### 2.3.1. Weakness of the process-oriented Communicative Approach

Krashen (1982) argues that a second language learner acquires his or her target language by receiving a lot of comprehensible input in that language, not by learning its grammatical rules. This is a basic tenet of his Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Very attractive as it may sound, it is quite obvious that comprehensible input alone cannot explain the success of second language learning in the classroom, no matter how much comprehensible input learners may be exposed to. If second language learners find that the input they receive from their teacher has little to do with their linguistic and social needs, they will soon stop taking in further input. The comprehensible input they receive should be meaningful at the same time. Otherwise, learners will soon lose interest in learning a second language and eventually drop out of the second language class if that option is available to them.

Here lies the most serious weakness of the process-oriented Communicative Approach. While the importance of communication as a means of learning is emphasized, comparatively less attention is paid to what is communicated in communicative activities in the classroom. Teachers following the process-oriented Communicative Approach tend to be more concerned about how to promote communication in the classroom than what to be communicated in such communicative activities as games, jigsaws, information-gap activities, problem-



solving tasks, etc. It is true that conducting such communicative activities is an excellent way to bring out naturalistic communication in the classroom. They will provide a nice change for learners who have constantly been fed with manipulative drills featuring certain grammatical structures. If they are not accompanied by meaningful content, however, they will not bring out sustained learning from learners. We need to bear in mind that "if languages are to be taught communicatively, we must have something worthwhile to communicate" (Stern, 1980, p.60).

### **2.3.2. Subject matter as meaningful comprehensible input**

One of the most successful forms of the product-oriented Communicative Approach is what is called ESP (English for Specific Purposes), such as English for nurses, English for engineers, English for doctors, etc. Its success mainly comes from its needs analysis technique, which ensures that the input for learners is always relevant to their linguistic and social needs. This promising technique of needs analysis, however, cannot be easily applied to school-age children, who rarely have specific linguistic and social needs or specific career expectations. Even if they do, it is almost impossible to gear the content of communicative activities toward specific career expectations, since children may have different career expectations.

Proponents of Canadian immersion education assume that the subject matter in the regular content classes at school is meaningful to children by nature, and that it will also be made comprehensible to them even if it is delivered in a second language as long as the language level is appropriate to children. The subject matter of content classes which are taught in a second language at a proper level can be ideal information to be transacted between the teacher and learners or between learners themselves since it is meaningful and comprehensible to children at the same time. Proponents of immersion education believe that this explains why immersion education works, why it helps learners to attain functional communicative competence in a second language in spite of the fact that most of their learning takes place in the classroom. It works because learners are constantly exposed to a large quantity of input which is not only comprehensible but also meaningful to them. Here lies the crossroad of immersion education and Content-Based Approach.

### **2.3.3. Integrating content teaching and language teaching**

Canadian immersion education can be regarded as a form of Content-Based Approach (Mohan, 1986; Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 1989; Krueger & Ryan, 1993; Stryker & Leaver, 1997; Snow & Brinton, 1997), since it shares the basic principle of Content-Based Approach that "language can be effectively taught through the medium of subject matter," because "important gains in language proficiency occurs 'incidentally', as language is used in the understanding and expression of meaning" (Brinton et al., 1989, p.5). However, it differs from other dominant types of Content-

Based Approach in several ways.

The most significant difference is that most other types of Content-Based Approach proposed so far generally serve as a bridge between general second language instruction and mainstream education for non-native students while Canadian immersion education is already a part of mainstream education, although a second language is used as the medium of instruction along with students' mother tongue. Students enrolled in immersion education programmes in Canada receive exactly the same schooling as students who are enrolled in regular English-medium programmes. They are evaluated in their academic performance according to the same criteria as students enrolled in regular English-medium programmes. The report cards they receive at the end of each term are the same that regular English-medium programme students receive. One distinctive difference between immersion programme students and regular programme students is that the former receive schooling both in a second language and in their mother tongue while the latter receive their schooling almost exclusively in their mother tongue. Another distinctive difference is that immersion programme students will acquire functional communicative competence in a second language through their schooling in a second language while regular programme students rarely do so.

Thus Canadian immersion education can be regarded as a most advanced form of Content-Based Approach. It may be said that content teaching and language teaching is integrated in an idealistic way. Immersion education is a form of mainstream education and a form of second language education at the same time. Students enrolled in immersion education receive enriched mainstream education and enriched second language education simultaneously. Mohan (1986, p.18)'s wish for "a broad perspective which integrates language and content learning" is surely realized in immersion education. Today, Content-Based Approach in second language education is subsumed into a broader concept of CLIL or content and language integrated learning (Nikula & Marsh, 1998; Sjöholm & Bjorklund, 1999). This means that Canadian immersion education can also be regarded as an advanced form of CLIL, which tries to realize the goal of content learning and the goal of second language learning at the same time by integrating both into a single stream of learning.

## Chapter 3

### Basic Features of French Immersion Education

#### 3.1. School Education in Canada

It is impossible to outline the school education in Canada in a single chapter, much less in a single section because of its structural and regional variation. Here the focus will be on those characteristics of school education in Canada that are closely related to the practice of French immersion education with special reference to education in the province of Ontario.

##### 3.1.1. School education as provincial jurisdiction

In Canada, which has adopted the federation system as the basic political structure for government, school education in Canada is designated by its constitution to be the responsibility of the 10 provinces and the three territories. For example, British North America Act (1867), which is referred to as the 1868 Constitution, stipulates that school education shall be a matter of provincial jurisdiction as in the following: <sup>(1)</sup>

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:

(1.) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:

(2.) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec.

This is quite natural if we consider the political and social situation at the time of the confederation. Canada was first colonized by France, and later by Great Britain. By the time the British assumed the power to govern the New France after defeating the French army at the Plains of Abraham near present-day Quebec City in 1759, the francophone people had already established their own way of life, including the education of children. The British government decided that it would not be possible or beneficial for them to anglicize those francophones living in Quebec, who faithfully followed the teachings of Roman Catholic priests in their daily transactions, including the education of their children.

Since the formation of the first confederation in 1868, several new provinces and territories have joined Canada, but school education has remained as the responsibility of each province and territory. Consequently, there is no central ministry in Canada, like the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (referred to as the Ministry of Education for short hereafter) in Japan,

which administers the school education for the whole Canada. The educational ministry in each province and territory is responsible for the education of children living in their province and territory, responding to the particular circumstances and historical and cultural heritage of the school population they serve. Thus there exists a certain variation in the structure and system of school education among the 10 provinces and three territories, including the starting age and length of compulsory education, the length of primary and secondary education, the dividing grade between primary and secondary education, the divisions of school curriculum, etc. The following figure shows the various structures of school education (primary and secondary) in Canada today.<sup>(2)</sup>

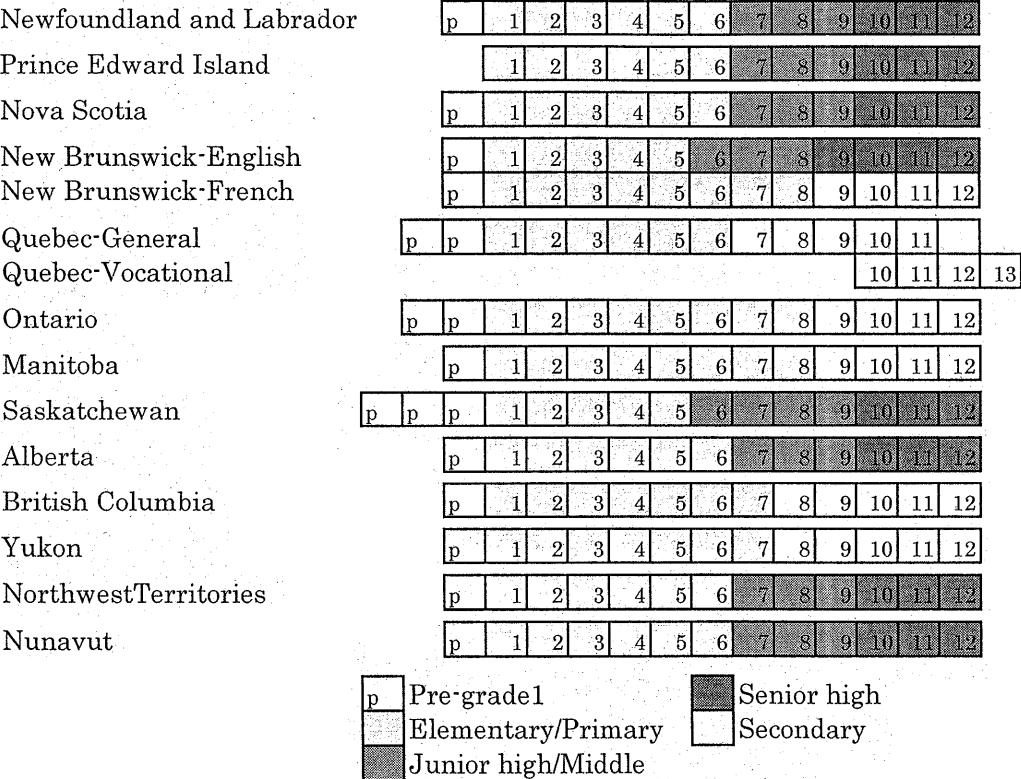


Figure 3-1: Structure of School Education in Canada

First of all, public school education is provided free of charge to all Canadian citizens and permanent residents until the end of secondary education – normally at age 18. All the provinces except Prince Edward Island offer kindergarten (pre-grade 1) programmes that are operated by their local school boards, but there is a wide variation in the length of this pre-school education. Saskatchewan has three years of pre-grade 1 education.

The ages for compulsory schooling vary from one province to another; generally, schooling is compulsory from age 6 or 7 to age 16. Unlike the compulsory education in Japan, the compulsory education in Canada does not require the graduation from

junior high or middle school.

The primary-secondary continuum can be divided into different grade combinations. Primary education, excluding pre-grade 1 education, covers the first five to eight years of compulsory schooling, making the transitional point from primary to secondary education vary from province to province. Six jurisdictions (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Alberta, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut) adopt the 6-3-3 system as Japan does. Only in Quebec, secondary education starts at G7 and ends after G11 for non-vocational students. Ontario's secondary education used to have G13 or Ontario Academic Courses after G12, which was abolished in 2003.

Given this substantial variation in schooling among the provinces and territories, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) was established in 1967 so that provincial and territorial ministers of education could discuss issues of mutual concern. At present, CMEC is expected to work as the instrument through which provincial and territorial ministers consult and cooperate with national education organizations and the federal government.<sup>(3)</sup> CMEC further represents internationally the national, provincial and territorial interests in education by publishing reports and statistical information on various aspects of education in Canada.

### 3.1.2. Issues concerning the selection of the language of instruction

Another conspicuous feature of Canadian school education is a long history of debate concerning the issue of the language for instruction at school. Like the United States, Canada has accepted a large number of immigrants since the earlier days of its history, adding to its multicultural nature of the society. This tendency for multiculturalism has been accelerated in recent years. In 1988, Canada passed the Multiculturalism Act to acknowledge and promote its ever-increasing multicultural nature. The summary of the 2001 census lists up 15 non-official languages that have a substantial number of native speakers living in Canada.<sup>(4)</sup> Consequently, there are a large number of students who receive schooling in a language other than their native language, in spite of the UNESCO's recommendation for each country in the world to provide its children with schooling in their native language. Unlike Japan, which has had very few debates as to the language of instruction because of its almost unilingual nature of the society, Canada has seen so many political debates and conflicts around the issue of language of instruction because of its bilingual and multicultural nature.

Except the parts of the country which are inhabited by Inuit and Indian people, the founding nations of Canada, Canada is divided basically in two parts, the area where the English language is predominant as the language for life (English Canada) and the area where the French language is predominant as the language for life (French Canada). Limiting ourselves to these two areas alone, we can list up six major language groups: the English language majority, the French language minority and

the other language minority in English Canada and the French language majority, English language minority and the other language minority in French Canada. Most of the French language majority live in Quebec while most of the French language minority live across Canada with major concentrations in New Brunswick and Ontario. Most of the English minority live in Quebec. Being the official languages of Canada, either English or French is the language of instruction for children at school in spite of its multicultural nature, except for the cases in which children receive part of their schooling in a language other than the two official languages as in Ukrainian, German or Mandarin immersion education, which is offered mainly in Western Canada. Table 3-1 below lists up all the possible combinations of the languages of instruction and the language groups in Canada, even if we limit our discussion to the two official languages of Canada.

Table 3-1: Theoretical Typology of Education in the Official Languages in Canada

| Type | Area in Canada | Linguistic Group | Language of Instruction | Form of Schooling                                    |
|------|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 1    | English        | E. majority      | English                 | English-medium education at English school           |
| 2    | English        | E. majority      | French & English        | French-English bilingual education at English school |
| 3    | English        | E. majority      | French                  | French-medium education at French school             |
| 4*   | English        | E. majority      | English & French        | English-French bilingual education at French school  |
| 5    | English        | F. minority      | French                  | French-medium education at French school             |
| 6    | English        | F. minority      | French & English        | French-English bilingual education at English school |
| 7    | English        | F. minority      | English                 | English-medium education at English school           |
| 8*   | English        | F. minority      | English & French        | English-French bilingual education at French school  |
| 9    | English        | O. minority      | English                 | English-medium education at English school           |
| 10   | English        | O. minority      | French & English        | French-English bilingual education at English school |
| 11   | English        | O. minority      | French                  | French-medium education at French school             |
| 12*  | English        | O. minority      | English & French        | English-French bilingual education at French school  |
| 13   | French         | F. majority      | French                  | French-medium education at French school             |
| 14*  | French         | F. majority      | English & French        | English-French bilingual education at French school  |
| 15*  | French         | F. majority      | English                 | English-medium education at English school           |
| 16*  | French         | F. majority      | French & English        | French-English bilingual education at English school |
| 17   | French         | E. minority      | English                 | English-medium education at English school           |
| 18   | French         | E. minority      | French & English        | French-English bilingual education at English school |
| 19   | French         | E. minority      | French                  | French-medium education at French school             |
| 20*  | French         | E. minority      | English & French        | English-French bilingual education at French school  |
| 21   | French         | O. minority      | French                  | French-medium education at French school             |
| 22*  | French         | O. minority      | English & French        | English-French bilingual education at French school  |
| 23*  | French         | O. minority      | English                 | English-medium education at English school           |
| 24*  | French         | O. minority      | French & English        | French-English bilingual education at English school |

NB: \* indicates the practically non-existent type.

E. majority (minority) = English majority (minority)

F. majority (minority) = French majority (minority)

The table lists up 24 different combinations in all, but include several combinations which are not allowed by provincial linguistic policies. For example, in Quebec, which designates French as its sole official language of the province, the language of instruction at school is supposed to be French in principle, and all the children attending its public schools are expected to receive their schooling in French, except those children whose parents are anglophones and received their schooling in English

in their youth. Accordingly, bilingual education in English and French (i.e., English immersion education for francophone children), which corresponds to bilingual education in French and English (i.e., French immersion education for anglophone children) in English Canada, is not permitted within its public school system because of its Charter of the French Language (1978). Children other than the English minority in Quebec (i.e., the French majority and the other language minority) are not permitted to attend English-medium schools, nor are they permitted to receive schooling by a language other than French, the official language of Quebec, especially by English. Therefore, Types 14, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23 and 24 in Table 3-1 above are theoretically possible but practically improbable within the public school system. Private schools, however, can accommodate such combinations as are not permitted in public schools. Likewise, bilingual education in English and French (i.e., English immersion education) is not provided at all at French-medium schools in English Canada, making Types 4, 8 and 12 impractical combinations.

Thus the original list of the 24 theoretically possible combinations of the languages of instruction and the language groups in Canada is to be reduced to the list of only 14 practical combinations. Nevertheless, this is still quite surprising and revealing for those who live in Japan, where Japanese is taken for granted by the majority of people as the language of instruction at school. Within this list of the 14 practical combinations of the languages of instruction and the language groups, French immersion education, the target of the present study, can be regarded in principle as bilingual education in French and English for the English majority at English schools in English Canada, but for the discussion in this study it can also include bilingual education in French and English for the English minority studying at English schools in French Canada (i.e., in Quebec). In rare cases, as is explained in details in the later chapters, French minority children living in English Canada may be enrolled in French immersion education as an alternative for the schooling in French, their native language, due to the non-existence of French-mediated schools in their districts or as a way to develop their English proficiency to the level of native speakers, keeping the level of their French proficiency. Similarly, other language minority children may be enrolled in French immersion education to enrich their linguistic power for future advantages, in spite of the fact that they are forced to receive their primary education in a second language and a third language by such enrolment.

### 3.1.3. School boards as major stakeholders

Just as a fair amount of discretion concerning school education is bestowed to each province, a fair amount of discretion is bestowed to district school boards in each province. It can be said that what the provincial governments are to district schools boards is what the federal government is to the provincial and territorial governments. In principle, the provincial (and territorial) government is responsible for the

legislation concerning its school education while district school boards are responsible for its administration. Taking a school curriculum for example, each provincial government decides the basic framework of its school curriculum, which in turn is adapted and modified by each district school board to meet their local educational needs. This is especially true in the field of second language education due to the difference in the socio-economic status of a second language in question from one district to another.<sup>(5)</sup>

The relation between school boards and communities is much stronger and more complex in Canada than in Japan. It is stronger in a sense that each family with property is supposed to pay part of their property taxes to a school board of their choice in the area where they live, regardless of whether they have a child or children of schooling age. In return, each school board is expected to provide a variety of educational services to people, young or old, living in their jurisdiction, including, of course, primary and secondary education to children. For example, the latest bulletin for continuing and community education issued by the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board lists up more than 300 programmes of varying interests in some thirty different fields, ranging from computer courses for senior citizens to international language programmes for school goers (OCCSB, 2004). In short, school boards are expected to play a significant role as a key provider of school education, social education and continuing education for their communities. Residents are entitled not only to attend administrative meetings of school boards as observers or legitimate participants but also to make proposals at board meetings if they have a good cause. Thus people in each community have a much bigger say in the administration of their school board than people in Japan. It is worthy of note that the very first French immersion programme was started in response to a parental initiative to reform the then inefficient French language programme in the community.

The relation between school boards and communities in Canada is more complex than that in Japan in a sense that a single community can house different school boards, depending upon languages (English or French) and religions (Catholic or public). In the Ottawa-Carleton region, for example, there used to exist six different school boards before the provincial government of Ontario amalgamated its 129 school boards into 72 in 1998 through its Fewer School Boards Act. Even after the amalgamation the Ottawa-Carleton region houses four different school boards, with the areas of their jurisdiction overlapping each other completely as is shown by Figure 3-2 below. The Ottawa-Carleton District School Board (OCDSB) is responsible mainly for educating non-Catholic English-speaking children living in the Ottawa-Carleton region. The Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board is responsible mainly for educating Catholic English-speaking children. Le Conseil des Ecoles Publiques d'Ottawa-Carleton is responsible mainly for educating non-Catholic French-speaking children, and Le Conseil des Ecoles Catholiques de Langue Francaise de la Region



d'Ottawa-Carleton is responsible mainly for educating Catholic French-speaking children.

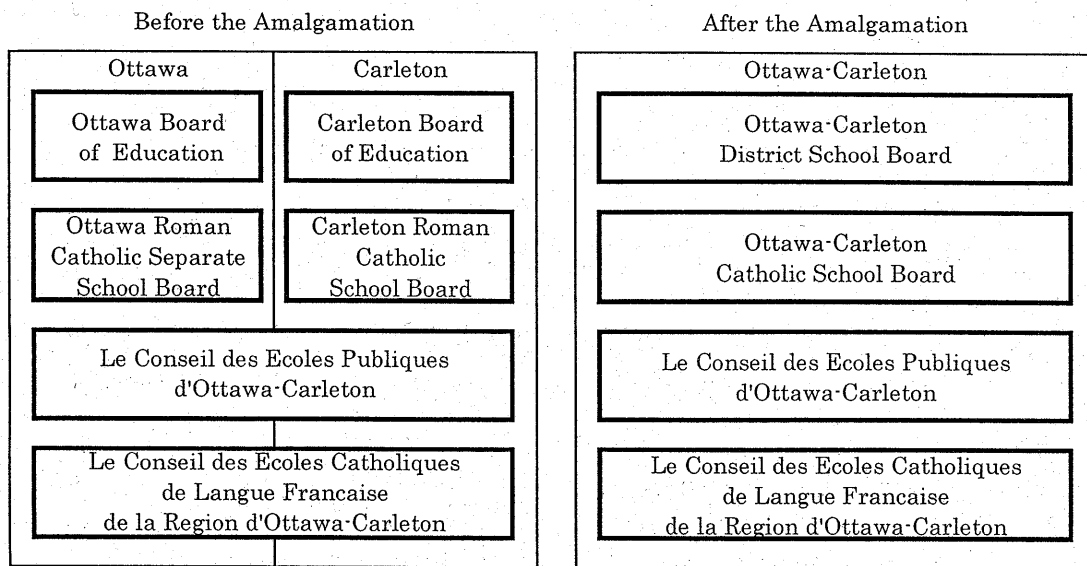


Figure 3-2: School Boards in Ottawa-Carleton Region

Of course, it is possible for Catholic families to send their child or children to schools under the jurisdiction of non-Catholic public school boards, and vice versa. In the former case, Catholic families have to pay part of their property taxes to non-Catholic public school boards of their choice, while in the latter case non-Catholic families have to pay part of their property taxes to Catholic school boards of their choice. Likewise, it is possible for French-speaking families to send their child or children to schools under the jurisdiction of English-language school boards, and vice versa. However, in reality it is quite rare for Catholic schools to accept non-Catholic children mainly for religious reasons. It is equally rare for French language schools to accept English-speaking children unless one of their parents is French-speaking. Still, the situation in the Ottawa-Carleton region is far more complex than that in Japan, where each prefecture and municipality has a single public school board respectively. Religious schools are private institutions without exception, and therefore are outside the jurisdiction of public school boards. There are also a small number of so-called ethnic schools in Japan, such as schools for children with the Korean background, which are outside the jurisdiction of public school boards.

French immersion education is in principle managed by individual school boards, not by individual schools, although French immersion programmes are offered at individual schools. This means that within the jurisdiction of a single school board one and the same programme of French immersion is offered at individual schools, with some minor modifications. However, different school boards have different policies on French immersion education, and consequently, there may exist different French immersion programmes in different areas, as is the case with the Ottawa-Carleton region. The Ottawa-Carleton District School Board and the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic

School Board are offering considerably different French immersion programmes, offering local residents with children of schooling age a choice between two school boards in terms of the education of their children.

### 3.2. Teaching French as a Second Language

#### 3.2.1. Outline of second language education in Canada

Since Canada has adopted the federation system as a way to govern the country, each province and territory is expected by the constitution to assume responsibility for its school education. Consequently, the system of school education varies considerably from one province to another. Second language education is no exception in this point. There exists considerable variation in the status of a second language in the school curriculum (i.e., whether it is compulsory or elective), and also in the choice of a language as a second language to be taught, although French is very popular as a second language because of its status as one of the official languages of Canada. The following table (Table 3-2) summarizes the current state of second language education in the ten provinces and three territories in Canada, focusing on French as a second language (COL, 1998):

Table 3-2: Second Language Education in Canada

| Definition                | Current state of second language education   |
|---------------------------|--|
| Newfoundland and Labrador | FSL is not compulsory at any level but most students in grades 4 to 9 take FSL.  |
| Prince Edward Island      | FSL is compulsory from grades 4 to 9 with some exceptions for students with special needs.   |
| Nova Scotia               | FSL is compulsory in grades 4 to 9.  |
| New Brunswick             | FSL is compulsory for all students from grades 1 to 10 and is available in grades 11 and 12. ESL is compulsory in grades 5 to 10.                            |
| Quebec                    | ESL is compulsory from grade 3 to the end of high school. FSL is compulsory from grade 1 to the end of high school.  |
| Ontario                   | FSL is compulsory in grades 4 to 8 and a course requirement in grade 9. French must be offered up to and including grade 12.                                 |
| Manitoba                  | FSL is not compulsory at any level, but is widely taken as an option. Some school divisions have compulsory components.                                      |
| Saskatchewan              | FSL is not compulsory at any level but is widely taken as an option, particularly at the elementary level.   |
| Alberta                   | FSL is not compulsory at any level but is offered by most school boards.   |
| British Columbia          | A second language is now compulsory from grades 5 to 8. Though most often French, it may be, for example, Punjabi or Mandarin.                               |
| Yukon                     | FSL is available in grades 1 to 12. A second language is compulsory in grades 5 to 8. Though often French, it may be an aboriginal language.                 |
| Northwest Territories     | FSL is not compulsory at any level. A board may choose to offer French or one of the Territory's official Aboriginal languages at any time in K to grade 12. |
| Nunavut                   | Currently there is no compulsory second language. Either Inuktitut or English is taught as a second language, and French as an additional second language.   |

NB: FSL = French as a Second Language; ESL=English as a Second Language

Out of the ten provinces and three territories, six provinces (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia) and one territory (Yukon) makes second language learning a compulsory subject. Among these six provinces and one territory, five provinces (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario) designate FSL (French as a Second Language) as compulsory for English-speaking children in their provinces. These provinces except Quebec are inhabited by a fairly large number of French-speaking linguistic minority people. It can be said that the status of FSL as a compulsory subject within the school curriculum reflects this socio-cultural status of French in these English-dominant provinces. In British Columbia a second language of itself is designated as compulsory, but students can choose a language among those offered at their schools, including French. In Newfoundland and Labrador, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, a second language is not compulsory at all, although a majority of students learn French as a second language.

In addition to second language education to linguistic majority children and linguistic minority children, English or French is taught as a second language to non-official language minority children, like English as a Second Language and French as a Second Language for immigrant children living in English Canada and French Canada (Quebec) respectively. There are also international language programmes available as an additional second language, like Japanese, Mandarin, Spanish, and so on. These international languages are also taught as a heritage language to non-official language minority children as a way to regain and retain their cultural identity (Cummins, 1980; Beynon & Toohey, 1991; Cummins, 1994). This is called Heritage Language Education, which is usually offered after school or on Saturday mornings as a programme outside the regular school curriculum.<sup>(6)</sup>

### 3.2.2. Outline of French as a Second Language (FSL) in Ontario

Given the considerable variation in second language education from one province to another, it is rather difficult and impractical to generalize the current state of second language education in Canada as a whole. The present study focuses on Ontario and looks at its second language education more in details. The reason Ontario is focused among the ten provinces and three territories is because the present study closely examines French immersion education in Ottawa, the centre of immersion education in Canada.

In Ontario, French as a Second Language (FSL) is offered as a compulsory subject, taking into account the socio-cultural status of French as an official language of Canada both in Ontario and in Canada, and also its importance as an international language. The Ontario Ministry of Education (OME, 2000a, p.2) stipulates the importance of learning French as a second language as follows:

Knowledge of a second language is valuable for a number of reasons. Through learning a second language, students can strengthen their first-language skills and enhance their critical and creative thinking abilities; they also tend to become more tolerant and respectful of other cultures. In addition, the ability to communicate in another language provides students with a distinct advantage in a number of careers, both in Canada and internationally.

Thus the Ministry emphasizes not only the implicit value of learning a second language but also the explicit value of learning French in particular, namely, future social benefits and advantages of acquiring good proficiency in French both in Canada and in the world.

In addition to future social benefits of learning French, the Ministry (OME, 1977, p.7) emphasizes the importance of learning French as a way for anglophone students to better understand francophone people and their culture as in the following:

It is not the aim of Ontario schools to make every pupil fully bilingual. Obviously, not all pupils who begin the study of French will continue long enough to achieve any recognized degree of bilingualism. On the one hand, it is important that full opportunities are provided for English-speaking young people who want to learn 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. And at both ends of this spectrum, it is important that our young people be given full opportunities to acquire at least a basic empathy with French-speaking people and an understanding of their culture; this will strength an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual respect appropriate to the heritage of our Province and our nation.

FSL is thus expected to be instrumental in reducing a psychological distance between English Canada and French Canada, developing among English-speaking children a sense of empathy toward French-speaking citizens of Canada.

The above citation indicates another outstanding feature of FSL in Ontario and in Canada as well. Unlike in Japan, where English at lower secondary school is offered in a single stream of English, FSL in Ontario is offered in three different streams, acknowledging the fact children are by nature never equally talented or motivated for leaning French. The Ministry stipulates very clearly its policy to provide the best education to those who desire for it. The Ministry materializes this policy by streaming FSL into three different programmes with different learning expectations: Core French, Extended French and Immersion French.

In Core French, students learn French as a subject on a daily basis along with mathematics and science, as Japanese students learn English as a subject at secondary school. The majority of those who learn French at school take Core French. In Extended French, students learn at least one regular subject like mathematics or science in French in addition to taking Core French daily. In Immersion French, students learn all or up to half of the regular subjects in French while learning the rest of the subjects in English. It goes without saying that Immersion French is offered as the most advanced FSL programme. As is seen in Table 3-2 above, the Ontario

Ministry of Education designates FSL as compulsory for students from Grade 4 to Grade 9. The specific configuration of FSL programmes varies considerably from one school board to another. For example, both the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board and the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board designate FSL as compulsory right from the start of primary education up to Grade 9, and offer FSL programmes up to the end of secondary education, including French immersion programmes.

### 3.3. Fundamentals of French Immersion Education

#### 3.3.1. Typology of French immersion education

Just as FSL is subdivided into Core French, Extended French and Immersion French, French immersion education is subdivided into several programmes to cater for different needs of students and their parents.

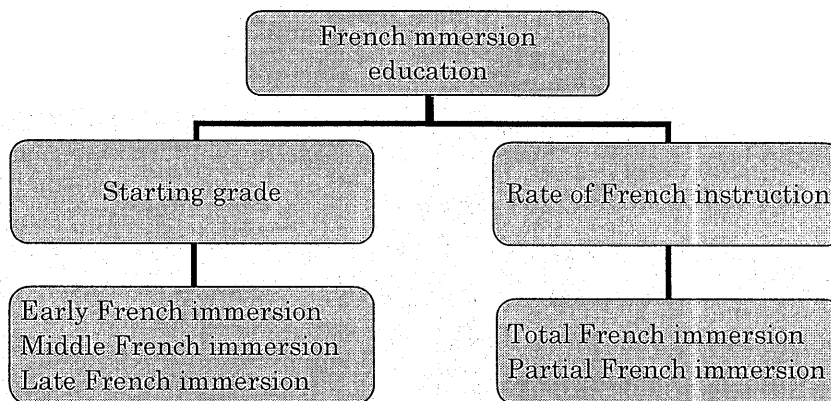


Figure 3-3: Types of French Immersion Education

First, as Figure 3-3 indicates, French immersion education is divided into early immersion, middle immersion and late immersion, depending upon the grade at which immersion education is introduced into the school curriculum. Early immersion education usually starts at kindergarten, middle immersion education at Grade 4 and late immersion education at Grade 7. Secondly, French immersion education is subdivided into total immersion and partial immersion, depending upon the rate of French language instruction within the school curriculum. Total immersion education does not necessarily require that all the school subjects should be taught in French. In practice, only at the beginning stages (usually in senior kindergarten and in Grade 1) all the subjects are taught in French, but soon (usually in Grade 2) English language arts classes are introduced into the daily schedule. As the grades advance, the rate of English language instruction will increase up to 50 percent, and will be kept as such until the end of primary education. In partial immersion education half of the school curriculum (50%) is taught in French right from the start of the programme and this rate will be kept intact until the end of primary education, since it is imperative that

any immersion programme should keep the rate of French language instruction at 50 percent in order to be designated as immersion (Genesee, 1987).

### 3.3.2. French immersion programmes in Ottawa

Although the basic framework of FSL and French immersion education remains fairly the same across the country, its specific configuration may vary to a considerable degree from one jurisdiction to another in terms of the starting grade and the rate of French language instruction. Figure 3-4 indicates the configuration of the primary FSL programmes being offered by the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board.

| Type   | JK     | SK   | G1     | G2 | G3 | G4  | G5 | G6 | G7  | G8 |
|--------|--------|------|--------|----|----|-----|----|----|-----|----|
| Early  | 100m/w | 100% | 80%    |    |    | 50% |    |    |     |    |
| Middle | 100m/w |      | 200m/w |    |    | 80% |    |    | 70% |    |
| Late   | 100m/w |      | 200m/w |    |    |     |    |    | 75% |    |
| Core   | 100m/w |      | 200m/w |    |    |     |    |    |     |    |

Figure 3-4: Framework of Primary FSL at OCDSB

The early immersion programme starts in senior kindergarten (SK), where students receive all their schooling in French, although they have a very limited knowledge of French after one-year experience of the 20-minutes' daily lessons in Core French at junior kindergarten. In Grade 2, an English language arts class is introduced into the curriculum at the rate of 40 minutes a day, and is kept as such up to the end of Grade 5. After that, half (50%) of the subjects in the curriculum are to be taught in English, including 40 minutes' English language arts class. The middle immersion programme starts in Grade 4, where all the subjects except the 40 minutes' English language arts class are to be taught in French. The rate of French language instruction is kept at 80% until the end of Grade 6, after which the rate of French language instruction is lowered to 70%. The late immersion programme starts in Grade 7, and the rate of French language instruction is to be kept at 75% until the end of Grade 8.

Figure 3-5 indicates the configuration of the secondary FSL programmes being offered by the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board. The secondary education programme in this school board is divided in two streams—academic and applied—in Grade 9 and Grade 10, and then in Grade 11 and in Grade 12 the programme is divided into four streams; university preparation, university/college preparation, college preparation, and workplace preparation. Classes offered in the open stream are open to any interested students, regardless of their stream assignment. French immersion programmes at secondary school level are offered only to those students who wish to go on to university. In order to sign up for an French immersion programme in Grade 9, students are expected to have completed the French immersion programme, whether may it be early, middle or late, at primary school,

since classes in French immersion programmes presuppose a high level of French proficiency so that students can understand lesson contents in French.

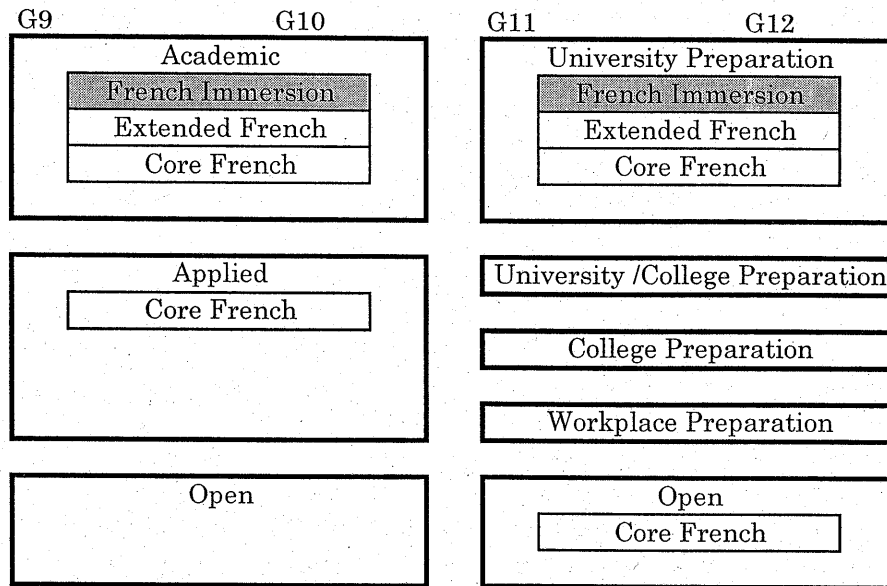


Figure 3-5: Framework of Secondary FSL at OCDSB

At the completion of the secondary education, immersion students are able to obtain an immersion certificate if they have acquired 10 credits from French-medium classes offered at secondary schools and an extended certificate if they have acquired 7 credits from those classes in addition to their immersion learning at primary school. In addition, those students who wish to obtain the immersion certificate are supposed to have accumulated at least 5,000 hours of French language instruction by the time they complete secondary education.

## Part 2

### Success of French Immersion Education and Factors for Success



## Chapter 4

### Successfulness of French Immersion Education

According to Krashen (1984, p.61), French immersion education in Canada is “not simply another successful language teaching programme—it may be the most successful programme ever recorded in the professional language-teaching literature. No programme has been as thoroughly studied and documented, and no programme, to my knowledge, has done as well.” In order to substantiate this vigorous support of French immersion education, this chapter first looks at quantitative indexes of the success of French immersion education, mainly focusing on its expansion in terms of student enrolment. Secondly, qualitative indexes of the success will be specified with reference to those evaluation studies which investigated the efficacy of French immersion programmes. On the basis of this endorsement of the successfulness of French immersion education in Canada by those quantitative and qualitative indexes of success, the framework for analyzing factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education will be presented.

#### 4.1. Quantitative Indexes of Success

French immersion education was started in 1965 at a primary school in St. Lambert, a suburban town of Montreal in Quebec. The initial programme was a tiny experimental programme for only 26 students (Genesee, 1987). It was set up in response to a strong request by those parents who were worried about the inefficacy of the Core French programme their children had been enrolled in. In spite of the daily French language instruction their children were receiving under the Core French programme, these parents suspected that their children would rarely attain French proficiency which would be academically and professionally acceptable in Quebec, where French was becoming increasingly essential as a means of learning and communication. The immediate success of this experimental programme led to the establishment of French immersion programmes in Ottawa and Toronto around 1970. Thereafter, French immersion education has steadily expanded throughout Canada with some local variation and adaptation.

Table 4-1 below (OBE, n.d.) shows how French immersion education (early, middle and late) expanded under the jurisdiction of the Ottawa Board of Education in the period from 1970, when the first immersion programme was set up, until 1996, one year before its amalgamation with the Carleton Board of Education into the current Ottawa-Carleton District School Board. The figures of early immersion indicate the numbers and percentages of children enrolled in immersion at senior kindergarten while the figures of middle immersion indicate the numbers and percentages of children enrolled in immersion at grade 4. The figures of late immersion indicates the

numbers and percentages of children enrolled in immersion at grade 6 until 1992, and at grade 7 thereafter.

Table 4-1: Immersion Enrolment in OBE (n & %)

| Year | Early      | Middle | Late       | Year | Early      | Middle     | Late       |
|------|------------|--------|------------|------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1970 | 110 ( 4.7) |        |            | 1984 | 683 (41.5) |            | 137 ( 8.5) |
| 1971 | 332 (16.0) |        |            | 1985 | 692 (41.8) | 67 ( 4.6)  | 191 (12.2) |
| 1972 | 330 (17.9) |        |            | 1986 | 735 (44.2) | 58 ( 4.0)  | 161 (10.8) |
| 1973 | 339 (19.3) |        | 57 ( 2.4)  | 1987 | 777 (45.4) | 103 ( 7.1) | 166 (11.4) |
| 1974 | 481 (23.7) |        | 179 ( 7.2) | 1988 | 736 (41.8) | 101 ( 6.6) | 154 (10.3) |
| 1975 | 572 (30.0) |        | 215 ( 8.8) | 1989 | 709 (40.4) | 100 ( 6.5) | 131 ( 9.0) |
| 1976 | 544 (29.9) |        | 228 (10.6) | 1990 | 748 (38.8) | 93 ( 5.5)  | 160 (10.0) |
| 1977 | 481 (28.4) |        | 169 ( 8.8) | 1991 | 700 (35.0) | 81 ( 4.6)  | 119 ( 7.3) |
| 1978 | 473 (30.2) |        | 113 ( 6.3) | 1992 | 723 (36.1) | 113 ( 6.0) | 113 ( 6.9) |
| 1979 | 487 (31.4) |        | 128 ( 7.3) | 1993 | 711 (34.8) | 106 ( 5.6) | 111 ( 6.5) |
| 1980 | 534 (33.3) |        | 122 ( 6.8) | 1994 | 697 (33.4) | 101 ( 5.4) | 96 ( 5.6)  |
| 1981 | 506 (33.6) |        | 117 ( 6.5) | 1995 | 681 (32.9) | 95 ( 4.8)  | 134 ( 7.8) |
| 1982 | 621 (39.4) |        | 144 ( 8.4) | 1996 | 740 (34.6) | 116 ( 5.9) | 109 ( 6.1) |
| 1983 | 602 (38.5) |        | 115 ( 7.2) |      |            |            |            |

Similarly, Table 4-2 below (OBE, 1996) lists the numbers of enrolment in three FSL programmes (Core French, Early French Immersion, and Late French Immersion) under the jurisdiction of the Carleton Board of Education in the period from 1978 to 1994. During this period the number of enrolment in Core French (ENG./REG.) declined from 15,897 (70%) in 1978 to 15,156 (56%) in 1994, although the total number of enrolment in FSL increased by 4,551 from 22,831 in 1978 to 27,382 in 1994. In contrast, the numbers of enrolment doubled both in Early French Immersion and in Late French Immersion in the same period of time.

Table 4-2: Immersion Enrolment in CBE

| Programme | Grades | 1978   |       | 1982   |       | 1987   |       | 1990   |       | 1994   |       |
|-----------|--------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
|           |        | n      | ( % ) | n      | ( % ) | n      | ( % ) | n      | ( % ) | n      | ( % ) |
| ENG./REG. | SK-G8  | 15,897 | ( 70) | 14,722 | ( 68) | 12,586 | ( 57) | 13,480 | ( 54) | 15,156 | ( 56) |
| EFI       | SK-G8  | 6,504  | ( 28) | 5,980  | ( 28) | 8,560  | ( 39) | 10,303 | ( 42) | 11,347 | ( 42) |
| LFI       | G7-G8  | 430    | ( 2)  | 783    | ( 4)  | 1,155  | ( 5)  | 1,109  | ( 5)  | 879    | ( 3)  |
| TOTAL     | SK-G8  | 22,831 | (100) | 21,485 | (100) | 22,332 | (100) | 24,892 | (100) | 27,382 | (100) |

From these two tables we can surmise that nearly half of the students enrolled in the primary schools in the Ottawa-Carleton region are currently enrolled in French immersion education, whether it may be early, middle or late.

Finally, Table 4-3 below shows how French immersion education expanded throughout Canada in the period from 1986 till 2002.<sup>(1)</sup> In the 2001-2002 school year, 328,451 students were enrolled in French immersion education offered at 2,117 schools across Canada. The number of students enrolled in second language education increased by 234,640 (1.7 points) between 1986 and 2002 while the number of students enrolled in immersion education increased by 125,715 (4.0 points) in the same period. This means that more than half of the increase in the enrolment in second language

education can be attributed to the increase in the enrolment in immersion education. The number of the schools offering French immersion education also increased by 692 (1.49 times) in this period. It has often been reported that French immersion education has not been very popular in West Canada, where French plays a rather minor role in daily communication and transaction. According to the recent annual report of the Canadian Parents for French (CPF, 2001, p.4), however, the past several years have seen a significant expansion of immersion enrolment in this area, too. For example, British Columbia saw a record enrolment in immersion education in the year of 2000-2001, with an increase in its 44 school districts across the province in the middle of a provincial decline in the total student population. Alberta in 2000 also saw the establishment of the first new early immersion programme in 13 years. New immersion programmes are also reported in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia. These figures and facts are quite intriguing if we are reminded of the fact that the very first immersion programme was started with only 26 students in a single primary school in Quebec. It may be argued that this expansion of French immersion education in the enrolment and the number of schools offering immersion programmes is rather political in nature and should be construed as such in that it has been financially and logistically well supported by the federal government, but still there should be little doubt that this enormous increase in the volume of French immersion education over the extended period of time (almost 40 years) reflects its undeniable success as an educational experiment.

Table 4-3: Immersion Enrolment across Canada

| Year      | Total school population | L2 enrolment | L2 percentage | Immersion enrolment | Immersion percentage | Schools offering immersion |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1986-1987 | 4,661,332               | 2,417,297    | 51.9          | 202,736             | 8.4                  | 1,425                      |
| 1987-1988 | 4,694,048               | 2,485,011    | 52.9          | 221,314             | 8.9                  | 1,489                      |
| 1988-1989 | 4,743,356               | 2,524,480    | 53.2          | 240,541             | 9.5                  | 1,552                      |
| 1989-1990 | 4,796,781               | 2,595,627    | 54.1          | 265,579             | 10.2                 | 1,572                      |
| 1990-1991 | 4,748,695               | 2,631,865    | 55.4          | 284,503             | 10.8                 | 2,092                      |
| 1991-1992 | 4,820,115               | 2,652,973    | 55.0          | 285,277             | 10.8                 | 2,130                      |
| 1992-1993 | 4,981,293               | 2,673,855    | 53.7          | 297,788             | 11.1                 | 2,035                      |
| 1993-1994 | 5,042,108               | 2,754,404    | 54.6          | 301,201             | 10.9                 | 2,071                      |
| 1994-1995 | 5,068,536               | 2,759,602    | 54.4          | 308,521             | 11.2                 | 2,100                      |
| 1995-1996 | 5,110,466               | 2,713,901    | 53.1          | 307,034             | 11.3                 | 2,113                      |
| 1996-1997 | 5,165,823               | 2,708,137    | 52.4          | 312,553             | 11.5                 | 2,110                      |
| 1997-1998 | 5,087,106               | 2,665,959    | 52.4          | 315,683             | 11.8                 | 2,103                      |
| 1998-1999 | 5,133,662               | 2,707,814    | 52.7          | 317,351             | 11.7                 | 2,115                      |
| 1999-2000 | 5,092,928               | 2,661,459    | 52.3          | 318,244             | 12.0                 | 2,098                      |
| 2000-2001 | 5,067,434               | 2,611,122    | 51.5          | 324,495             | 12.4                 | 2,108                      |
| 2001-2002 | 4,945,152               | 2,651,937    | 53.6          | 328,451             | 12.4                 | 2,117                      |

#### 4.2. Qualitative Indexes of Success

Since the inaugurating study on the efficacy of French immersion education (Lambert & Tucker, 1972) was published, numerous evaluation studies have been conducted and reported, focusing on the following four domains of research: (a) whether immersion experience will enable students to acquire high-level communicative competence in French; (b) whether immersion experience will hamper the sound development of students' native language skills; (c) whether immersion experience will hinder students' scholastic achievement in content subjects; (d) whether immersion experience will promote a healthy development of students' affective domains. Research findings on these four domains are briefly summarized here below as qualitative indices of the successfulness of French immersion education.

#### 4.2.1. Attainment of high-level French proficiency

Studies comparing French immersion students and regular English programme students in terms of their French proficiency have revealed that French language skills achieved by immersion students, whether enrolled in early, middle or late immersion programmes, are unquestionably and incomparably higher than those achieved by regular programme students who have received only 20 to 40 minutes of French language instruction per day (Barik & Swain, 1975; Genesee, 1978; Swain, 1978a; Swain, 1978b; Swain, Lapkin & Andrew, 1981; Lapkin, Swain, Kamin & Hanna, 1983).

Comparisons between immersion students and francophone peers, however, have revealed somewhat different pictures. It has been shown that immersion students develop near-native proficiency in receptive (listening and reading) skills, but fail to do so in productive (speaking and writing) skills (Swain & Lapkin, 1982, Lapkin, 1984; Genesee, Holobow, Lambert, Cleghorn & Walling, 1985; Safty, 1989; Genesee, Holobow, Lambert & Chartrand, 1989; Lapkin, Swain, & Shapson, 1990; Wesche, Morrison, Pawley & Ready, 1990; Wesche, 1993). Lapkin (1984, p.584), for example, observes that immersion students can speak and write "well enough for effective communication but not well enough to be indistinguishable from their native French-speaking counterparts." Furthermore, those studies which looked closely into spoken and written outputs of immersion students (Harley & Swain, 1978; Harley, 1984; Harley & Swain, 1984, Lapkin, 1984; Lyster, 1987; Safty, 1989; Harley, 1992) found out that French utterances produced by immersion students contained a substantial number of grammatical errors concerning articles, gender, verb conjugations, verb tenses, prepositions, etc. and that immersion students tended to avoid complex grammatical structures and overuse grammatically simple structures. Hammerly (1989a; 1989b; 1989c) is especially critical of immersion students' performance in this respect, characterizing immersion students' French as "Frenglish, a very incorrect classroom pidgin" (1989a, p.20). He even concludes that French immersion education may have been successful politically, but "linguistically, FI (French immersion) is a

failure" (1989c, p.780).

However, Hammerly's criticism of French immersion education is not shared by many researchers and educators.<sup>(2)</sup> Even those studies that pointed out grammatical mistakes in immersion students' French output admit that those grammatical mistakes, although being indicators of non-native proficiency, do not prevent immersion students from engaging themselves in daily transactions with francophone people, implying that immersion students attain so-called 'functional bilingualism' as a result of their immersion experience. Taking these findings into account, Genesee (1991, p.184) concludes that French immersion education has succeeded in providing participating students "functional proficiency in French that surpasses that of students in all other forms of second language instruction in school settings where the learners have little or no contact with peers who are native speakers of the target language."

#### 4.2.2. Development of English language skills

Evaluation studies that compared early immersion students and regular programme students in terms of their English language skills suggest that early immersion experience will not hamper the development of students' English skills, although they experience some developmental lag in the beginning stages of their immersion education in comparison with those enrolled in regular English programmes (Barik & Swain, 1975; Barik & Swain, 1976a; Barik & Swain, 1976b; Genesee, 1978; Swain & Lapkin, 1982; Harley, Hart & Lapkin, 1986, Swain & Lapkin, 1991, Geva & Clifton, 1994; Hallsall & O'Reilly, 1995; Reeder, Buntain & Takakuwa, 1999; Turnbull, Lapkin & Hart, 2001). This delay is not surprising at all if we take into account the fact that early total immersion students receive no English language arts instruction at the beginning stages, usually for two or three years, totally being immersed in French.

This delay, however, is more often than not temporary. It is confirmed that this delay in the development of English language skills will usually be overcome within one or two years after English language arts instruction is started, except spelling. In the case of middle or late immersion, this initial lag in the development of L1 literary skills is either short-lived or unobservable at all since students' first language is usually well developed by the time they are enrolled in immersion programmes.

It is further reported that students learning in early total immersion will occasionally even surpass regular programme students in the development of certain sub-components of English literacy skills (Barik, Swain & Nwanunobi, 1977; Genesee, 1978; Barik & Swain, 1978; Swain & Lapkin, 1982, Harley, Hart & Lapkin, 1986, Turnbull, Lapkin & Hart, 2001).

#### 4.2.3. Scholastic achievement in content subjects

Evaluation studies comparing immersion students and regular programme students in terms of their scholastic achievement have revealed that as a whole and on a long-term basis immersion students will attain the same level of understanding in key subjects such as mathematics and science as regular programme students, that early immersion and bilingual experience will neither hamper sound intellectual development nor retard study skills acquisition among immersion students, although some degree of fluctuation may be expected (Genesee, 1978; Swain & Lapkin, 1982; Gaudet & Pelletier, 1993).

This long-standing conclusion is supported by recent studies (Turnbull, Lapkin & Hart, 2001; Bournot-Trites & Reeder, 2001). Turnbull, Lapkin & Hart (2001), for example, compared the performance in mathematics in the Ontario provincial tests between grade 3 immersion students and regular programme students, and found out that the immersion students in all types of programmes performed as well as the regular programme students even though the immersion students had studied mathematics in French. Based upon this result, Turnbull, Lapkin & Hart (2001, p.24) recommend that “school boards should not consider fundamental changes in the design and percentage of instruction in their immersion programs.”

#### **4.2.4. Development of affective domains**

Studies on effects of immersion experience upon students' affective domains have shown that immersion students at all levels have a high level of satisfaction and would enrol their own children in immersion programmes (MacFarlane & Wesche, 1995) or choose immersion programmes if they had to do a French programme over again (Husum & Bryce, 1991); that immersion students are more confident of their French and ready to use French while talking to other people more often than regular programme students (van der Keilen, 1995), although their use of French with francophones is relatively infrequent (MacFarlane & Wesche, 1995); that immersion students do not lose their identity as English-Canadian because of their immersion experience, but tend to acquire double perspectives (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), which in turn has a great potential to reduce the socio-psychological distance between English-Canadians and French-Canadians (Cziko, Lambert & Gutter, 1979); that immersion experience tends to give students a broad perspective with which to look at their own country Canada; that is, immersion experience can help them to better understand the socio-political landscape of Canada, the dynamism of the Canadian society coming from her linguistic and cultural pluralism while regular programme students tend to focus on the natural beauty of Canada represented by her beautiful forests and lakes (Swain & Lapkin, 1982).

#### **4.3. Framework for Analyzing Factors for Success**

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion has shown that French immersion

education in Canada has been successful both quantitatively and qualitatively. There does exist some criticism against French immersion education, especially against the level of French proficiency achieved by immersion graduates, as mentioned above. However, the fact that French immersion education has grown from a tiny experiment for 26 students at a school in Quebec in 1965 into a nation-wide educational programme which is being pursued by more than 320,000 students and being offered at more than 2,000 schools across Canada makes it legitimate for us to ask why it has been so successful.

There already exist several attempts to identify possible factors which seem to have contributed to the success of French immersion education in Canada. Grosjean (1982, p.217), for example, lists the following six reasons for immersion success:

1. The children usually belong to the prestigious and dominant group.
2. Their home language is respected.
3. All other children in the classroom are from the same language background.
4. Their parents are supportive of the program.
5. Teachers have high expectations for the children's achievement.
6. The mother tongue is brought in as a second medium of instruction during the course of the program.

In a similar vein, Baker (1993, p.161) lists the following six reasons for immersion success:

1. Immersion in Canada aims at bilingualism in two prestigious, majority languages.
2. Immersion bilingual education in Canada has been optional, not compulsory.
3. Children in early immersion are often allowed to use their home language for up to one and a half years for classroom communication.
4. The teachers are competent bilinguals.
5. The pupils start immersion education with a similar lack of experience of the second language.
6. Pupils in immersion education experience the same curriculum as mainstream 'core' pupils.

Krashen (1985, p.16) endorses the success of immersion education on the basis of his input hypothesis for second language learning by saying that "immersion 'works' because, like other good methods, it provides students with a good deal of comprehensible input." Clift (1984, p.66), who approaches the issue from a social perspective, argues that "another factor which helps explain the growing popularity of French immersion is the appeal it makes to the elitism which has long been characteristic of Canadian society." Collier (1992, p.90) focuses on immersion students' scholastic achievement as a vital factor to explain immersion success by saying that "the wide acceptance of immersion as a model is largely due to students' acquisition of some skills in second/foreign language at no cost to their overall academic achievement in school." This stance is shared by Genesee (1987, p.176), who argues that "more native-like levels of second language proficiency at the expense of normal

academic achievement would not have been regarded by Canadian educators or parents as successful.”

Shifting our focus onto Japan, very few studies have been conducted on factors contributing to the success of immersion education. To the best of the present researcher’s knowledge, most of the studies on immersion education published in Japan or published by Japanese researchers are more or less descriptive in nature (Hasegawa, 1990, 1995, 2000; Hayashida, 1985; Kanamaru, 1999; Kawai, 2002; Kroehler, 1993; Matsukawa, 1994; Neustupny, 1995; Ohya, 1995; Sugiyama, 2000; Yagi, 1999; Yoshida, 1988, 1989). Empirical research on immersion education in Japan is very limited (Bostwick, 1999, 2001a, 2001b), simply because fully institutionalized immersion programmes are still a rarity in Japan. Studies which touch upon the issue of why immersion education has succeeded are very few, indeed (Ushida, 2002; Nakajima, 1998). Among those few, Nakajima (1998, pp.102-104) lists the following six factors for the success of immersion education:

1. maintenance of parallel language uses
2. an extremely large amount of exposure to French
3. voluntary second language use
4. adoption of functional and natural approach to teach a second language
5. recognition of social value of bilingual education
6. an educational system which enables continuous learning in immersion

The foregoing review of the literature on immersion success has produced a fairly long list of various factors which have allegedly contributed to the success of immersion education. It is simply impossible to name a single utmost factor which has contributed to immersion success. What is more important for the purpose of the present study, however, is that the factors proposed by the foregoing studies have been listed rather randomly without any coherent built-in structure to analyze those proposed factors. In this sense, an analysis of immersion success by Wesche (2002) is very insightful, since she discusses features that have contributed to the expansion of French immersion education in Canada during the past decades by dividing them into the programme features and the contextual features.

The perspective adopted in this research in order to investigate why immersion education has been so successful in Canada is structural, socio-cultural and ethnographic in nature. It is structural in a sense that it tries to specify possible factors contributing to the success of immersion education on three different levels—pedagogical, institutional, and societal—instead of listing possible factors one by one without any coherent built-in structure for analysis as in the previous studies. It is socio-cultural in that it recognizes the necessity to situate any educational programme in a socio-cultural context surrounding the programme and attributes the overall success of the programme to the interaction between programme features and contextual features as Wesche (2002) suggests. Finally, it is ethnographic in nature in



that it has tried to extract possible factors mainly from the present researcher's fieldwork in Ottawa for the past several years, consisting of numerous observations of immersion classes, and interviews with immersion teachers, principals, school board officers, researchers, etc. in addition to the close review of literature on this issue.

Another distinctive feature of the present attempt to analyze factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education in Canada is its division of the success into two levels, namely into the micro-level success and the macro-level success. The former is more concerned about learning and teaching outcomes in immersion classes while the latter is more concerned about the expansion and maintenance of immersion education since its conception as a tiny experimental programme in Quebec. Following this two-way distinction in the level of success, it is argued that the quantitative indexes of the success of French immersion success summarized above may capture more of its macro-level success while the qualitative indexes of the success may capture more of its micro-level success. This two-way division of French immersion success should always be kept in mind when we discuss the efficiency of French immersion education, and especially so when we try to identify factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education in Canada in the following three chapters. It may be easily assumed that some of the factors will be more responsible for the micro-level success while others will be more responsible for the macro-level success. The in-depth configuration of this multifaceted interaction between the immersion success and its multiple factors will be delineated later.

## Chapter 5

### Pedagogical Factors for Success

This chapter focuses on pedagogical factors which may have contributed to the success of French immersion education, especially to its micro-level success or positive learning outcomes. These pedagogical factors are grouped into methodology factors, teacher factors and learner factors.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### 5.1. Methodology Factors

As is already explicated in Introduction to the present study, the essence of French immersion education lies in its duality; it subsumes features of second language learning and content learning at the same time. Given this duality, methodology factors responsible for the success of French immersion education are subdivided into language learning factors, content learning factors and factors coming from the synthesis of the two.

##### 5.1.1. Language learning factors

The discussion in this section will focus on three pedagogical factors that are assumed to have contributed to the success of French immersion education from the perspective of second language learning.

###### 5.1.1.1. Provision of ample and varied comprehensible input

First of all, it is doubtless that French immersion education has succeeded on a micro-level because of its ample provision of comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982) in French to immersion students. However, it is equally certain that this methodological feature was utterly foreign to those pioneers who conceived and started French immersion education in 1960's and 1970's. Disappointed with the poor results of the Core French programmes in which students received 20-40 minutes of French language arts instruction on a daily basis, their primary concern centred on how to secure as many hours of French language instruction as possible within the context of classroom second language learning. Their solution was to teach regular subjects in French, not to improve the way to teach a second language itself. Consequently, they did not adopt Audio-Lingual Approach, which was widely recognized as the paradigm of second language teaching methodology in those days. Furthermore, in the employment process of immersion teachers, preferences were given not to those with professional training in teaching French as a second language but to those francophone people with a teaching certificate for primary education in general. These francophone teachers rarely taught French grammar explicitly, but just used French as a means of instruction. It can be said that as a way to teach French they unconsciously adopted the learning-by-doing approach by John Dewy (1966, c.1916),

which constituted the paradigm of education in those days. Thus immersion teachers adopted, in a way, an experiential approach to teach a second language. This was fortunate for the development of French immersion education. If Audio-Lingual Approach had been adopted by immersion teachers, French immersion education would have declined just like other FLES programmes in the United States and the United Kingdom as Audio-Lingual Approach lost its popularity in late 1970's. Actually, it did not, because it did not depend on Audiolingualism for its theoretical basis. Instead, it kept developing steadily thereafter.

The unconscious experiential approach adopted by immersion teachers was then refined theoretically by Krashen (1982)'s input hypothesis. According to Krashen (1984, p.62), "immersion programmes succeed in teaching the second language because, like other good methods, they provide students with a great deal of comprehensible input," not just because students are exposed to French for longer hours. Not only the quantity of input but also its quality has come to be regarded as an essential ingredient for the success of French immersion education.

No matter how much refined French immersion education may have been theoretically in terms of the input to be presented to students, however, the essence of immersion teachers' task still remains the same; namely, the provision of ample and varied comprehensible input to students through the teaching of content areas. In providing ample and varied comprehensible input to students, immersion teachers have two responsibilities. First, they are expected to make not only subject matters but also their explanation of those subject matters in French comprehensible to their students. Secondly, they are expected to create as many opportunities as possible in their lessons to present comprehensible input to their students so that their students can receive ample and varied comprehensible input. For the first task, immersion teachers receive great assistance from the booklet issued by Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers (CAIT, 1995a), which lists ten useful techniques to make input comprehensible to students as follows:<sup>(2)</sup>

- 1) extensive use of body language
- 2) predictability in instructional routines
- 3) drawing on background knowledge to aid comprehension
- 4) extensive use of realia, visuals, manipulatives
- 5) review of previously covered material
- 6) building redundancy into the lessons
- 7) explicit teacher modeling
- 8) indirect error correction
- 9) variety of teaching methods and types of activities
- 10) use of clarification/comprehension checks

The second responsibility of immersion teachers is usually taken care of almost automatically as they teach various subjects in French. The provision of ample comprehensible input is guaranteed by the fact that immersion teachers teach half to all of the subjects in French while the provision of varied comprehensible input is

guaranteed by the fact that they teach various subjects in French. It is doubtless that comprehensible input in one subject should be quite different from that in another. Story-telling and pleasure reading, the two most popular teaching techniques in immersion classes, are also employed by immersion teachers in order to provide their students with ample and varied comprehensible input. Every immersion classroom visited by the present researcher as part of his field research was equipped with a good library of graded reading materials suitable for students.

In recent years, however, the excessive emphasis on the role of comprehensible input alone has come to be reviewed in response to the research findings that immersion experience, no matter how long it may be, does not always guarantee native or native-like proficiency in French. As is already mentioned in Chapter 4, it has become clear through extensive researches on the efficacy of French immersion education that immersion students can rarely achieve near-native proficiency in French productive skills although they do so in receptive skills, and that their French output lacks grammatical accuracy in many different ways. As already mentioned in Chapter 4, Hammerly (1989a; 1989b; 1989c) is especially provocative in this respect, characterizing immersion students' French as "Frenghish, a very incorrect classroom pidgin" (1989a, p.20). As a remedy for this problem, some researchers and teachers acknowledge the importance of increasing students' output for attaining native-like proficiency. Swain (1995), for example, argues that output has "a potentially significant role in the development of syntax and morphology" (p.128). She specifies its role in three ways; it helps learners to notice significant language forms, to test out their own hypotheses about the target language, and to acquire metalinguistic knowledge which in turn helps learners to move from a purely semantic analysis of the target language to a syntactic analysis.

In actual classroom practice, however, Swain (1996), through analyzing the utterances from Grade 6 immersion students in class, has found out that there existed relatively few chances for them to speak during the lessons, and that most of the utterances actually spoken in class were rather short in length, consisting of only a few words. To be more specific, there were only about two student turns to speak per minute on average in contrast to about six student turns per minute in the English portion of the day. In addition, about 44% of the student utterances were of minimal length, consisting of only one word or two. In only about 14% of the times in which they talked, the students used sustained utterances longer than a clause. In short, there existed very few sustained utterances in the observed immersion classes. Swain suspects that this is a major reason immersion students rarely achieve native-like accuracy in French. To improve this situation, Swain (1998; 2001) proposes the introduction of conscious reflection on language form through collaborative work or collaborative language production tasks (Kowal & Swain, 1994) into immersion classes.

This new movement for more attention on language form through the target language production, however, should not be interpreted as a denial or replacement of the firmly established input-oriented strategy commonly employed by immersion teachers but as its reinforcement. Thus it does not degrade the value of the provision of ample and varied comprehensible input in class as a pedagogical factor which has contributed considerably to the success of French immersion education.

#### 5.1.1.2. Integration of four language skills

In the field of second language education, it is considered almost axiomatic to emphasize oral language skills of listening and speaking in the beginning stages of second language learning. This is because it is widely believed that teaching oral language skills will lay a solid foundation for the later development of written language skills. Lado (1964, p.50), for example, presents the Speech before Writing Principle as the very first principle of the seventeen principles that are "necessary and sufficient to define the scientific approach" to teach a second language, and declares as follows:

Students who have mastered the language orally can learn to read more or less readily by themselves or with limited help. Students who have learned to decipher script cannot as a rule learn to speak by themselves.

This stance for oral language skills has been cherished by the Japanese Ministry of Education. The recent introduction of English activities into primary school education has not affected this traditional approach adopted by the Ministry of Education. It is clear that this approach is based upon an equally axiomatic principle of structural linguistics which emphasizes the primacy of speech. It is well articulated by Fries (1945, p.6) when he asserted, "The speech is language. The written record is but a secondary representation of the language." Thus his methodology, Oral Approach, greatly influenced the post-war English language education in Japan,

This speech primacy principle has not been applied to French immersion education in Canada, even to early immersion education which starts at kindergarten. This is because French immersion education is conducted not only as an FSL programme but also as a legitimate alternative in school education. Quite naturally, developing the literacy skills is regarded as one of the most important responsibilities among many for early immersion teachers, even if it is in a second language. Early immersion complicates the situation because children are expected to develop their literacy in French before they do so in English. As a result, teaching reading and writing skills in French becomes an essential component of an immersion programme although children at this stage have very limited oral skills in French.

Thus the audio-lingual principle that the development of oral skills will lay a solid foundation for the development of written skills has no place in French immersion classes. Instead, activities in which children are exposed to written French are normal

lesson ingredients from the start. Children are taught how to read and write in French as well as how to communicate orally in French. In short, four language skills are taught simultaneously in immersion classes basically with equal emphasis on them. This does not mean, however, that each skill is taught separately with equal emphasis, but is usually integrated with other skills in a holistic way. For example, in story-telling sessions, very popular activities among immersion teachers, children listen to their teacher's French while looking at the French expressions printed on each page of story books. The teacher often asks simple questions to elicit French from their students, not matter how simple they may be. After they listen to the teacher's story, children are expected to express their feelings with pictures with simple words, phrases, or sentences. Thus the linkage among the four skills is realized as naturally as possible, because immersion lessons are not language arts lessons, but in principle content-oriented. This emphasis on the linkage of the four language skills is theoretically supported by the concept of holistic education (Miller, 1988), which will be explained more in detail in the next section below.

It is also worthy of note that immersion classrooms are full of visual presentations, including French alphabets, French vocabulary cards, posters showing French culture, and other educational materials printed in French. Some of the visual materials are related to content areas in other subjects taught in French, such as geography, mathematics, science, social studies, etc. Thus written French on the walls of the classroom functions not only as materials for teaching French letters, but also as a means to convey important information related to what children learn at school. In addition to those visual materials in French, each immersion classroom is equipped with a small library of French story books and other reference materials in French. These French reading materials are used not only in story-telling sessions but also for individual reading activities by children. Some of them are used for take-home assignments.

Dictation is another important technique for immersion teachers that integrates language skills in a natural manner. Although dictation is a well-established technique among second language teachers for teaching listening and writing skills in a second language, dictation in immersion classes is a sort of cultural asset of French culture applied to school education, integrating listening and writing in a natural manner. Like the United Kingdom, France has exerted a substantial influence on the school education in Canada through its historical connection with Canada. Dictation has long been an essential ingredient in education in France, due to its notoriously complicated writing system; French is not pronounced as it is written. Thus the ability to write French accurately without spelling mistakes has traditionally been considered as a sign of good upbringing and education. Dictation contests are still popular cultural events in France. This cultural tradition is well respected in some French immersion classes, especially in those which are taught by teachers born or educated

in France. As they progress in their literacy in French, children are expected to produce substantial written output in the form of diaries and journals in French.

Thus immersion teachers are expected to make constant attempts to integrate four language skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing as naturally as possible, while they teach various subjects in immersion classes. This expectation is clearly expressed in *Guidelines for a Successful French Immersion Program* (CAIT, 1994), which includes as essential ingredients for successful immersion programmes a curriculum “which develops all language skills equally” and a teaching strategy “which develops and enriches the students’ oral expression, reading, and writing.”

#### 5.1.1.3. Respect of learners’ mother tongue

In early French immersion, children are literally immersed 100% in French at least for the first two years. Even after the English language arts lesson is introduced into the curriculum at grade 2 or grade 3, the rest of the subjects are taught in French for some time. Given this situation, it is quite natural that parents who wish to enrol their child in immersion programmes should be worried about possible negative effects of immersion experience on the sound development of the mother tongue skills. What parents wish for is the acquisition by their child of bilingual competence in French and English (additive bilingualism), not unilingual competence in French at the expense of their English skills (subtractive bilingualism).

This aspiration by parents for the acquisition of bilingual competence in French and English is shared by immersion teachers. There is no intention on the part of immersion teachers to slight their students’ English proficiency. On the contrary, students are expected to build up their French proficiency upon their English competence. Therefore, immersion teachers never try to eradicate English from French classes. Since their knowledge of French is very limited, children in early immersion are allowed to respond in English to their teacher’s questions and directions given out in French. Children are not encouraged to speak English, of course, but they are not scolded or reprimanded for speaking English in class, either. This helps children to feel at home even in immersion classes. Although immersion teachers are in most cases bilingual in French and English, they pretend to be a teacher who can understand English but cannot speak it. As a result, in responding to learners’ questions and requests, they use gestures and simple French expressions. They try not to use English in front of their students.

This positive attitude of immersion teachers toward learners’ English can be considered to be a factor that has contributed to the success of French immersion education. Cohen (1973) includes this positive attitude toward English among his fourteen ingredients of successful immersion programmes; he proclaims, “In kindergarten, the children are permitted to speak in L1 and the teacher makes it clear that he understands L1, although he does not speak it” (Cohen, 1973, p.41). However, if children continue to speak in English, they cannot expect to learn to speak French,

no matter how much French they may be exposed to. Therefore, immersion teachers gradually encourage children to respond in French in class, first in simple words and later in phrases and sentences.

It should be pointed out here that children are expected to start to speak in French only after they feel ready for it, just as birds in their incubation period are not expected to fly out unless they are ready. This is in resonance with the basic tenet of the so-called comprehension-oriented approach (Asher, 1969; Gary, 1975; Gary, 1978; Postovsky, 1974; Postovsky, 1977; Winitz & Reeds, 1973; Winitz & Reeds, 1975; Ito, 1980; Winitz, 1981; Ito, 1982); second language learners should not be forced to start to speak L2 before they are ready for it. This comprehension-oriented strategy is also shared by Krashen (1982) in his input hypothesis as in the following:

The input hypothesis claims that listening comprehension and reading are of primary importance in the language program, and that the ability to speak (or write) fluently in a second language will come on its own with time. Speaking fluency is thus not “taught” directly; rather, speaking ability “emerges” after the acquirer has build up competence through comprehending input (Krashen & Terrell, 1983, p.32).

Thus the respect of children’s mother tongue can be regarded as a corollary of the emphasis on the importance of providing immersion children with ample and varied comprehensible input as an essential ingredient of successful immersion programmes.

This positive attitude toward children’s mother tongue is also reflected in the curriculum of immersion programmes as it is to be explained in details in the next chapter. As they advance in grades, children will be exposed to more and more English, up until they study half of the subjects in English toward the end of primary education. This is quite reassuring to parents who are concerned about the sound development of their children’s L1 skills. Equally reassuring is those research findings reported by immersion researchers that immersion students will develop their L1 skills to the same level as students learning in regular English programmes, and that in some cases immersion students may even perform better than regular programme students, as is already discussed in Chapter 4. These positive signs about children’s mother tongue development within immersion programmes seem to be so reassuring for parents worried about the sound development of children’s mother tongue that they are convincing more and more parents to enrol their children in immersion programmes, helping to expand French immersion education as a result.

### 5.1.2. Content learning factors

The discussion in this section will focus on two pedagogical factors which are assumed to have contributed to the success of French immersion education from the content learning perspective.

#### 5.1.2.1. Child-centred or learner-centred approach



One of the outstanding features of Canadian school education is that each classroom teacher can enjoy a fairly large amount of freedom in his or her teaching practice just as each province in the country, each school board in the province, and each school in the school board can. Accordingly, it often happens that the specific teaching contents of the same subject (e.g., history) may vary from one history teacher to another. This situation results from the fact that the curriculum does not specify the teaching contents of the subjects in details, but offers a general framework for the content teaching in each subject and its achievement expectations, leaving the decision as to the specific contents of each subject and teaching methods to individual teachers. French immersion programmes are no exceptions in this matter. Therefore, it is often very difficult and misleading to generalize the approach adopted by teachers for content teaching. However, frequent observations of immersion lessons by the present researcher in Ottawa for the past several years have revealed that most immersion teachers (and probably other content teachers as well) adopt the child-centred or learner-centred approach as a basic strategy to teach in immersion classes.

The child-centred approach has come into Canadian school education as a reaction to the traditional teacher-centred approach, in which the content for child education used to be subdivided into specific subjects from the teacher perspective, namely in terms of academic divisions, and the teaching objectives used to be established for individual subjects solely from the teacher perspective. Each subject used to be taught independently from other subjects and separately from children's daily-life experiences. Recognizing that this sectionalism and indifference to children's daily-life experiences have prevented children from developing creative thinking, the current Ontario school curriculum has reorganized its teaching content from the learner perspective so that teachers can easily pursue their goals to help children to develop independent learning and creative thinking.

The philosophy of child-centredness is converted into the ten principles to realize the child-centred or learner-centred approach in classes in the new Ontario curriculum as follows (OMET, 1995, pp.16-19):

Table 5-1: Ten Principles to Realize Child-centredness in Education

Five Principles for Learning

1. Learning involves developing values as well as knowledge and skills.
2. Students learn in different ways and at different rates.
3. Students learn by asking questions and making connections.
4. Learning requires effort and self-discipline.
5. Students must see the relevance of what they are learning.

Five Principles for Teaching

1. Teachers must address the range of knowledge, skills, and values found among
2. Teachers must use a variety of methods to meet the different learning needs of
3. Teaching methods must encourage students to ask questions and make connections.
4. Teachers must have high expectations for all students.
5. Teaching must occur in contexts that link school work to everyday life.

These ten principles of the child-centredness are respected in French immersion education as well. As is suggested by such repeated keywords as *relevance* and *connections* in the table above, these ten principles reflect the idea of holistic education (Miller, 1988), which has been gaining support among Canadian educators and teachers. This holistic education emphasizes various “connections” around learners, acknowledging that the traditional knowledge-based “banking” education (Freire, 1972) conducted under the teacher-centred sectionalized curriculum has deprived children of the power of critical and creative thinking. To be more specific, it emphasizes such connections as those among school subjects, between analytic thinking and synthetic thinking, between the body and the mind, between learners and communities, between learners and the environment, between learners and their inner selves, and so on.

Since immersion education is also based upon the idea of holistic education which emphasizes child-centredness, immersion lessons are constructed from the learner perspective around various connections around learners. To illustrate, story-telling is a common practice in junior primary immersion classes. The teacher’s emphasis is usually more on the connection between learners and stories than on the learning of French expressions used in the story. Learners are encouraged to identify themselves with characters in the story and to feel the way they feel. In mathematics classes, learners are led to realize how mathematics is connected to their daily lives, instead of the practice of lifeless mental gymnastics of arithmetic. In a middle immersion class of social studies visited by the present researcher, the students were studying the geography of Ontario. The teacher asked the students to make their own map of Ontario. The teacher’s intention was to let the students realize individually the connections between Ontario and themselves, their communities, and their daily lives, and the connections between Ontario and Canada in their own manner.

The question is how the child-centredness in content teaching has contributed to the success of French immersion education. Quite naturally, the child-centred or learner-centred content can arouse among learners positive interest in what they are learning. This arousal of interest in the content can further promote learning. Learners come to listen more carefully to stories told by their teacher, and pick up story books in the class library for pleasure reading or for “free voluntary reading” (Krashen, 1993). As a result, learners will be exposed to more comprehensible input, which helps them to improve their French proficiency.

Furthermore, the child-centredness in content teaching can help learners to realize the relevance of the content material to themselves and their lives. This realization in turn can stimulate critical and creative thinking, and thus help learners to develop the sense of initiative. Learners will come to express their opinions and feelings with more ease and with more frequency. As a result, learners will come to produce more “comprehensible output” (Swain, 1985), which will direct learners’ attention to

language forms and make a vital contribution to the increase in output accuracy. In short, the child-centredness in content teaching will increase the volume of comprehensible input and comprehensible output, which will in concert boost the learning of French.

#### 5.1.2.2. Integrated experiential approach

The holistic philosophy underlying the content teaching gives another significant dimension to French immersion education. The traditional knowledge-based “banking” education bombarded learners with discrete pieces of abstract knowledge and thus dissociated content teaching from learners’ daily-life experiences. Learners were expected to remember those discrete pieces of knowledge just for the sake of learning without reflecting upon what those bits of knowledge meant for them as members of communities, as citizens of Canada and as citizens of the globe.

The holistic education, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of helping learners to realize various connections around them, especially the connection between what they study in content teaching and what they experience in their daily lives. This has given rise to the idea of life-oriented education, in which content teachers (including immersion teachers, of course) are strongly advised to incorporate learners’ life experiences into their content teaching in order to build a bridge between contents and learners. A corollary of this is that immersion teachers usually adopt an experiential approach when they teach content subjects such as geography and science, incorporating learners’ life experiences as far as possible.

Furthermore, the holistic education has opened the door to the cross-curricular education, in which one and the same topics are pursued in different subjects, such as environmental issues and global issues. The cross-curricular education prompts immersion teachers to seek for connections between different subjects on the curriculum. This has brought about the idea of integrated studies, in which the same cross-curricular topics are taught in different subjects.

The question is how these new movements have contributed to the success of French immersion education. The emphasis on experiential learning and cross-curricular topics has made the content in immersion programmes somewhat learnable and manageable even for learners whose French language proficiency is still limited. This is because learners are no longer regarded as consumers of discrete pieces of knowledge. They are not forced to remember minute pieces of information just for the sake of learning. Instead, they are encouraged to learn how to learn. It is clear that this has helped many immersion learners to stay in immersion programmes without dropping out on the way. If the content for immersion learners had been knowledge-based and had consisted of discrete pieces of knowledge to be remembered for the sake of learning, immersion programmes might have produced a large number of dropouts on the way, and as a result might have experienced major failures.

### 5.1.3. Synthesis of language learning and content learning

As is explicated in detail in Part 1, French immersion education has two faces: bilingual education (content teaching) and second language learning. In the classroom, immersion teachers are expected to fuse or integrate these two facets as naturally as possible under the banner of child-centredness or learner-centredness. In actual lessons, however, one of the two facets will become the basic pivot to organize the teaching. According to the repeated lesson observations by the present researcher, content teaching usually becomes the pivot for immersion lessons. To illustrate, the following is the list of teaching contents in science and technology at primary school, a popular subject among immersion teachers (OMET, 1998b).

Table 5-2: Teaching Contents in Science and Technology

| Strand  | Life Systems                               | Matter and Materials                                       | Energy and Control                | Structures and Mechanisms                  | Earth and Space Systems          |
|---------|--|--|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Grade 1 | Characteristics and Needs of Living Things | Characteristics of Objects and Properties of Materials     | Energy in Our Lives               | Everyday Structures                        | Daily and Seasonal Cycles        |
| Grade 2 | Growth and Changes in                      | Properties of Liquid and Solids                            | Energy From Wind and Moving Water | Movement                                   | Air and Water in the Environment |
| Grade 3 | Growth and Changes in Plants               | Magnetic and Charged Materials                             | Forces and Movement               | Stability                                  | Soils in the Environment         |
| Grade 4 | Habitats and Communities                   | Materials That Transmit, Reflect, or Absorb Light or Sound | Light and Sound Energy            | Pulleys and Gears                          | Rocks, Minerals, and Erosion     |
| Grade 5 | Human Organ Systems                        | Properties of and Changes in Matter                        | Conservation of Energy            | Forces Acting on Structures and Mechanisms | Weather                          |
| Grade 6 | Diversity of Living Things                 | Properties of Air and Characteristics of Flight            | Electricity                       | Motion                                     | Space                            |
| Grade 7 | Interactions Within Ecosystems             | Pure Substances and Mixtures                               | Heat                              | Structural Strength and Stability          | The Earth's Crust                |
| Grade 8 | Cells, Tissues, Organs, and Systems        | Fluids   | Optics                            | Mechanical Efficiency                      | Water Systems                    |

The table gives us only a rough sketch concerning the teaching contents in science and technology. It does not specify concrete teaching contents to be covered by immersion teachers in their daily classes. Those concrete teaching contents are to be provided by particular textbook materials or handouts which immersion teachers will decide to use for their immersion students. These materials and handouts selected by immersion teachers to teach science and technology to students in certain grades will then be matched with the list of learning expectations in French (or performance objectives) to be attained and the list of French lexical and grammatical items to be acquired by the students in the same grades. Thus what immersion students learn in their daily classes is always composed of contents of subject matters and language element appropriate to those contents, which in turn are always integrated into a coherent set of learning materials. It may be said that immersion teachers are always trying to

realize the integration between content and language in their own way. Ideally, immersion teachers are expected to prepare two sets of teaching plans, one for science and technology and the other for French, on a daily basis. In practice, however, the priority is given to the former, as in regular English-medium classes on science and technology. The only difference between the two is that in immersion classes the teaching contents will be presented to students in French, not in English. Nevertheless, students' interests are directed toward the contents themselves.

The question to be posed here is how this natural integration between content and language in immersion classes may have contributed to the success of immersion education. It can safely be assumed that such integration has contributed to the success because the integration between content and language can produce not only comprehensible input but also meaningful and significant input for learners, making it easier for them to see the relevance of what they hear or see to themselves as students. In other words, teaching contents in specific subjects themselves are the most authentic and meaningful learning materials for immersion students in the context of the classroom. There is established an ideal form of integration between content teaching and language teaching, overcoming one of the weak points of the orthodox Communicative Approach.

In the predominant practice of Communicative Approach, a major focus is directed onto the transaction of information without much reflection on the relevance of the transacted information to learners. To illustrate, communicative course books and textbooks often contain such everyday situations in which a foreigner is asking how to use a washing machine or other electric appliances, or in which a foreigner is trying to order food at a fast food restaurant. Games are also very popular materials in those communicative course books and textbooks. Sometimes tasks lacking educational consideration such as finding thieves or murderers are included under the guise of popular cartoon characters. It is true that those tasks do incorporate information gaps and thus stimulate an active transaction of information between learners, but the information which is transacted in such tasks is seldom reflected upon in terms of its relevance to learners. Stern (1980, p.60) is very candid in this point as he asserts, "If languages are to be taught communicatively, we must have something worthwhile to communicate." Indeed, how much relevance for Japanese students is there in such activities as learning how to use a washing machine in Oxford or ordering food at a fast food restaurant in New York? Are the expressions used in such situations really meaningful and significant to our students?

Immersion education offers a clear answer for these important questions. Information which is transacted in an immersion class is not only meaningful but also significant for learners. It is the information learners are supposed to attend to carefully and understand because it comprises the very learning materials for which learners are in class in the first place. It is authentic learning material for authentic

learners in an authentic situation if we follow Breen (1985)'s definition of authenticity. There is no need for pretence or simulation in an immersion class as there is in a regular second language classroom. There is no need to create information gaps, either, as Johnson (1982) urges. Immersion classes are by nature full of natural and significant information gaps. In short, in an immersion class, French is not only a means of communication, but also a means of learning. It is immersion teachers with expertise in specific contents and bilingual competence who can realize the integration of content teaching and language teaching successfully, making the best use of their dual competence as a content teacher and as a language teacher. This will lead us to the consideration of teacher factors which have contributed to immersion success.

## 5.2. Teacher Factors

### 5.2.1. Bilingual competence of immersion teachers

Among the various teacher factors which may have contributed to the success of French immersion education should be listed first the French-English bilingual competence of immersion teachers. This is well acknowledged by CAIT (1994) in their list of seven crucial characteristics of immersion teachers:

- 1) have native or native-like fluency in French
- 2) have the ability to communicate in English orally and in writing
- 3) have lived in a French milieu for a period of time long enough as to learn about French culture
- 4) maintain and develop their linguistic skills and their knowledge and understanding of the cultures of Francophone communities in Canada and the world
- 5) have completed a professional program specific to the teaching in French immersion (pre-service or in-service)
- 6) continue pursue to specialized in-service opportunities
- 7) have been prepared to teach at the appropriate grade level and/or subject

In the list above, having the native or native-like fluency in French is considered as the top requirement for immersion teachers along with the ability to communicate in English orally and in writing. In addition to this linguistic proficiency, immersion teachers are required to have a sound understanding of the francophone culture in Canada and the world. In fact, the majority of immersion teachers are those who speak French as their mother tongue and have been educated in French to become a school teacher. This is well endorsed by the survey conducted by CAIT (1984) with immersion teachers across Canada as participants. The survey asked immersion teachers about their mother tongue and the language of education, and obtained interesting results as shown in Table 5-3 below (CAIT, 1984, p.68):

**Table 5-3: Mother Tongue and Principal Language of Studies of Immersion Teachers**

| Definition                                  | French   | English  | French & English | Another Language | Total |
|---|----------|----------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| Mother Tongue                               | 289 (73) | 78 (20)  | 8 (2)            | 22 (5)           | 397   |
| Elementary Studies                          | 221 (55) | 106 (26) | 70 (17)          | 5 (1)            | 402   |
| Secondary Studies                           | 175 (44) | 134 (34) | 88 (22)          | 3 (1)            | 400   |
| University Studies                          | 159 (41) | 85 (22)  | 135 (35)         | 10 (3)           | 389   |
| Professional Studies (Teaching Certificate) | 168 (44) | 106 (28) | 104 (27)         | 1 (0)            | 379   |
| Other Studies                               | 7 (54)   | 2 (15)   | 3 (23)           | 1 (8)            | 13    |

If French-English bilinguals are included, the table shows that 75 % of the surveyed immersion teachers have French as their mother tongue, and the majority of them have received education in French. Although francophone people are entitled by the constitution to receive school education through French (cf. Chapter 1), it often turns out that they end up attending English-medium schools for various reasons, especially outside Quebec, and are doomed to be assimilated into the mainstream anglophone culture unless they make conscious efforts to maintain their cultural heritage, including their mother tongue. The majority of immersion teachers are those who have made such conscious efforts, and stand before their students as a native-speaker of French. The following table (CAIT, 1984, p.89) shows exactly how well immersion teachers can speak French and English:

**Table 5-4: Language Fluency of Immersion Teachers**

| SCALE          | FRENCH Fluency |          | ENGLISH Fluency |       |
|----------------|----------------|----------|-----------------|-------|
|                | n              | ( %)     | n               | ( %)  |
| Not Fluent     | 1              | 7 ( 6)   | 0               | ( 0)  |
|                | 2              | 3 ( 2)   | 1               | ( 1)  |
|                | 3              | 11 ( 9)  | 3               | ( 3)  |
|                | 4              | 25 ( 20) | 6               | ( 5)  |
| Totally Fluent | 5              | 77 ( 63) | 112             | ( 92) |
| Total          | 123            | (100)    | 122             | (100) |
| Average        |                | 4.3      |                 | 4.9   |

This table clearly shows once again that immersion teachers are French-English bilingual teachers, and that the majority of them are native speakers of French. Furthermore, even native speakers of French are not hired by local school boards as immersion teachers if they lack good competence in English and good educational qualifications to teach at school. As far as anglophone teachers are concerned, they are supposed to “have a high level of proficiency in French in all four skills—reading, writing, listening and speaking, equivalent to the level of Advanced or Advanced Plus as defined by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages” (CPF, 2002, p.46), if they wish to teach FSL at school, including French immersion programmes.

At school, those bilingual immersion teachers are supposed to use French all the time in class, and are encouraged to do so even outside the immersion classes. According to the same survey conducted by CAIT (1984, p.67) above, 23% of the

surveyed immersion teachers always use French at school even outside their immersion classes, and another 56% often use French in such occasions. Thus, for students, their immersion teachers are mostly francophone teachers who can understand English. Therefore, students feel it quite natural that they should be taught science and mathematics in French by those francophone teachers. In fact, immersion students seem to approach their teachers more as content teachers than as FSL teachers, and thus experience little uneasiness about being taught mathematics or science in French by their teachers. It may be more accurate to say that immersion teachers can speak French so naturally and comprehensibly while they teach mathematics or science that their students will not feel uneasy about being taught in French.

The above results reported by CAIT (1984) show a nationwide tendency concerning immersion teachers. Therefore, the detected tendencies are suspected to be boosted up considerably in Ottawa, where the present researcher has conducted field researches on French immersion education for the past several years, due to its bilingual atmosphere and the resulting abundant supply of bilingual school teachers. In fact, all the immersion teachers interviewed by the present researcher in Ottawa were francophone teachers.

### 5.2.2. Sense of professionalism of immersion teachers

Another teacher factor which has contributed to the success of French immersion education beside immersion teachers' high-level French proficiency, whether inherited or acquired, is their sense of professionalism as immersion teachers. Just as French immersion education is endowed with the duality of content education plus second language education, French immersion teachers has double responsibility as a content teacher and as an FSL teacher at the same time. In a way, immersion teachers are expected to play double roles on the stage. This makes the responsibility of immersion teachers much greater than that of ordinary FSL teachers or that of content teachers. CPF (2002, p.46), for example, lists up the qualifications required for FSL (Core French) teachers and for French immersion teachers as follows:

#### A core French teacher should have

- an education degree (preparation at the level to be taught, i.e., elementary or secondary, is also desirable)
- special preparation for teaching second-language learners
- an internship or student teaching experience in a situation similar to that of the position being filled

#### An immersion teacher should have

- an education degree (preparation at the level to be taught, i.e., elementary or secondary, is also desirable)
- specific preparation to teach the second language through content (i.e., preparation in immersion pedagogy)
- specific preparation to teach content (e.g., history) in the second language
- an internship or student teaching experience in a situation similar to that of the



position being filled

This shows that French immersion teachers are expected to have dual expertise as an FSL teacher and as a content teacher. This simply increases immersion teachers' work load at school. When they make preparations for coming lessons, immersion teachers are supposed to prepare two sets of teaching plans, one for content teaching such as science and mathematics and the other for FSL. Similarly, when they assess students' academic performance, they are supposed to evaluate students' understanding of subject matters and their French language achievements at the same time.

In spite of the double increase in their work load, immersion teachers get paid exactly as much as regular FSL teachers or content teachers. They do not enjoy any additional financial benefits as immersion teachers. This definitely increases their sense of professionalism as an educator. As the so-called Pygmalion effect dictates, this heightened sense of professionalism and concomitant enthusiasm among immersion teachers is expected to transfer quite naturally to their students, who in turn make every possible effort to meet their teachers' expectations. As a result, they will attain a high-level French proficiency approximate to that of French-speaking peers of the same age and a sound scholastic achievement equal to that of students learning in regular English programmes in the same grade. The heightened sense of professionalism accompanied with its concomitant enthusiasm as a contributor to the success of French immersion education was well detected in all the immersion teachers in Ottawa interviewed for the present research.

The sense of professionalism to be shared by immersion teachers, however, has caused a serious shortage of good immersion teachers across Canada, except in those areas inhabited by a considerable number of francophone people (CFP, 2002). What is worse, this situation seems to be aggravated during the coming decade. Considering the fact that the sense of professionalism among immersion teachers coupled with their high-level French proficiency has played a vital role as a contributor to the success of French immersion education, this shortage of good immersion teachers poses a serious situation for Canadian educators. It should be a relief for those who support French immersion education that the Canadian Parents of French (CPF) has steadily been following this shortage situation in all the provinces and territories, and has been engaged in lobbying activities against the educational ministers in all the provinces and territories as well as in research activities on immersion education in order to improve this shortage of good immersion teachers and hence the efficacy of French immersion education.

### **5.3. Learner Factors**

#### **5.3.1. Homogeneity of learners**

The most conspicuous of the learner factors which have contributed to the success

of French immersion education should be the homogeneity of immersion students. This homogeneity refers not only to the linguistic (or internal) homogeneity by which is meant the relatively equal level of attainment (or non-attainment in the case of early immersion in early grades) of French proficiency among immersion students, but also to the socio-cultural (or external) homogeneity by which is meant the same socio-economic family background as the middle-class population.

Krashen (1984, p.62) explains how the linguistic (internal) homogeneity has contributed to the success of French immersion education in terms of his Input Hypothesis as in the following:

The exclusion of native speakers of the second language places all students in the same linguistic boat and helps ensure that teachers will speak at a language level that is comprehensible to them. In addition, texts and materials are supplemented and modified, adapted to the non-native speaker's level.

According to Krashen, the linguistic homogeneity of immersion classes, which is realized by the non-existence of native French speakers in immersion classes helps immersion teachers to make their input for students highly comprehensible,<sup>(3)</sup> which in turn promotes the acquisition (not learning) of French by immersion students.

The reason the socio-cultural homogeneity of immersion families has contributed to the success of French immersion education may be explained in terms of their educational potential and resources at home. Starting to learn how to read and write in French before starting to do so in English is quite challenging not only for anglophone children themselves but also for their parents. In fact, this is one of the main reasons some parents with school-age children feel worried about enrolling their children in early French immersion programmes. To take up this challenge and overcome the anxiety accompanying it, it is essential for parents to provide some sort of linguistic assistance to their children such as reading story books written in English for children in bed at night.

This kind of linguistic assistance is usually more affordable at middle-class or above-middle-class families who have interest and potential in providing good education with their children. This helps to make the family background of immersion students homogeneous in terms of socio-economic resources, which in turn tends to realize non-intentionally the homogeneity of immersion students in terms of their high scholastic ability and good study skills. This relatively high intellectual profile of immersion students will inevitably promote and enhance children's understanding of content subjects, even if they are taught in French, and will consequently contribute to the success of French immersion education.

This kind of homogeneity—more or less the same family background and intellectual profile—in immersion education is often criticized as being elitist (Clift, 1984), but there is no doubt that this has also contributed to the success of French immersion education, especially in the early stages of development. In present-day

Ottawa, where French immersion education has reached the maturity with almost 50% enrolment in some forms of immersion education, this second kind of homogeneity is more or less disappearing since children of various family backgrounds and various intellectual capacities are accepted into French immersion classes, including children whose mother tongue is not English. For those children, French is not their second language, but their third or fourth language. It often happens, quite unfortunately, that these ESL students do not enjoy such linguistic and educational support from their families as anglophone immersion students do. In the past, parents willing to enrol their children in immersion programmes used to sit for pre-enrolment counseling sessions organized by school boards in order to assess children's suitability for enrolment. In this process, parents with ESL students used to be discouraged from enrolling their children in immersion programmes even if they could see future socio-economic benefits for their children coming from the completion of immersion education.

Today, the school boards in Ottawa do not provide such negative counseling but are ready to accept any student eligible for enrolment. Inevitably, new problems which have not existed before have surfaced such as the issue of students with learning difficulties. This has made the task of immersion teachers all the more challenging.

### 5.3.2. High motivation

Another learner factor which has contributed to the success of French immersion education is learners' high motivation to study in immersion classes. Those evaluation studies that compared different types of immersion programmes in terms of their efficacy presented a conclusion that early immersion education is the most efficient form of immersion as far as the attainment of bilingual competence is concerned (cf. Chapter 4). Those studies attributed the greater success of early immersion education to the accumulation of a large number of instruction hours in French. Quite naturally, many researchers and educators stressed the importance of an early start of French immersion experience. However, the field work conducted for the present research over the past several years has convinced the present researcher that this is not necessarily the case. Instead, it has become evident that the fact that students' high motivation to study in French immersion has helped them to stay in their immersion programmes over an extended period of time and thus accumulate a large number of French language instruction hours more than the fact those students started their immersion learning early in kindergarten or in grade one.

The argument for students' high motivation as a contributor for the success of French immersion education is also supported by the fact that late immersion programmes are almost as efficient as early immersion programmes in fostering bilingual competence in students without negative effects on their scholastic achievement in spite of the comparatively short period of immersion experience. It is

obvious that this success results from students' high motivation to study in immersion. Unlike children to be enrolled in early immersion education, students of late immersion generally decide to enrol in the programme by themselves, seeing for themselves merits of studying in immersion for their future career. This self-decision for enrolment will help late immersion students to stay in immersion programmes even after they enter secondary schools, in contrast to early immersion students; a considerable number of the latter group drop out from immersion programmes when they enter secondary schools. In short, it is obvious that the attainment of high-level French proficiency at the completion of secondary education depends more on students' high motivation and concomitant determination to continue their immersion experience in secondary school than on the starting grades of their immersion education, whether students were enrolled in early immersion or in late immersion at primary school.

The argument for students' high motivation as a success factor is also supported by the interdependency principle presented by Cummins (1979). This principle dictates that the reason immersion students succeed in attaining the same level of scholastic achievement in such content subjects as mathematics and science as students learning in regular English programmes do even if they study those subjects in French is because their CALP (cognitive/academic language proficiency) developed in learning those subjects in French will be transferred across languages. The principle further claims that this transfer will be possible, "given adequate motivation and exposure to both languages either in school or wider environment" (p.202), and that "when motivation to learn L2 is low, CALP will not be applied to the task of learning L2" (p.199). This also shows how important it is for immersion students to have a high motivation to study in immersion if they are to be successful in attaining high-level French proficiency without negative effects on their mother tongue development and scholastic achievement.

To summarize, the pedagogical success of French immersion education depends more upon how students can maintain their motivation and continue their immersion learning until the completion of their immersion programmes than upon when they start their immersion learning. Accordingly, immersion teachers are expected to develop and employ various teaching strategies in order to arouse and maintain students' motivation to learn in immersion. The strategy to integrate content learning and language learning and the holistic, child-centred approach as already explained above in this chapter should be very effective in arousing and maintaining students' motivation as well. Equally effective in this task will be an immersion certificate which will be issued by school boards for those immersion students who have accumulated a certain number of French language instructional hours and have got a certain number of credits in subjects taught in French at secondary school (cf. Chapter 3). Various policies and measures adopted by the federal government in terms of its

official languages policy, and increased opportunities to pursue high education in French are also very attractive for immersion students (cf. Chapter 7). Especially attractive for immersion students should be tangible socio-economic benefits that will be available for those who have attained an adequate bilingual competence in French and English. It is now widely acknowledged by those engaged in immersion education that it is essential for them to help students to become aware of those future merits available at the completion of immersion education, maintain their aroused motivation and continue their immersion experience as long as possible, preferably to the end of secondary education.

## Chapter 6

### Institutional Factors for Success

This chapter focuses on three main institutional factors—environmental factors, curriculum factors and administrative factors—which have contributed to the success of French immersion education indirectly by supporting those pedagogical factors identified in the previous chapter.

#### 6.1. Environmental Factors

##### 6.1.1. Learner-friendly learning environment

Every visitor to French immersion classes is impressed with the spaciousness of the classrooms and the smallness of the classes. Of course, these are not specific to immersion classes but are also true of classes in regular English programmes. The Ontario Ministry of Education currently stipulates in its *Education Quality Improvement Act, 1997* that the minimum average class size should be 25 in elementary schools and 22 in secondary schools. However, this small class size works quite beneficially for immersion students since it enables immersion teachers to tailor their instruction as much as possible to the various needs of individual children. It enables immersion teachers to provide ample individualized comprehensible input to their students. This is obviously a very difficult task for teachers who teach 40 students at the same time.

The spacious classroom has its own merits for immersion teachers. It enables them to employ various activities and tasks in a single class. It makes it easier for them to organize group activities and tasks in a class. Especially, children in early grades find it very difficult to keep working on a single task over an extended period of class time even when they are taught in their mother tongue. The situation will be much aggravated when students are taught in a second language. Experienced immersion teachers whose classes were observed by the present researcher were all experts for organizing various group activities or tasks in a relatively short period of time.

The spacious classroom has another benefit for immersion teachers. It enables them to set up a small library of story books, picture books and other learning resources in their classrooms. Story books are especially important for teachers to develop early literacy in French in students. They are immediately available not only for story-telling sessions in class but also for individual reading assignments at home.

As impressive as the small class size and the spacious classroom is parental voluntary assistance available to immersion teachers in various forms. Although not specific to immersion classes, this parental assistance is very much appreciated by immersion teachers who often find it rather difficult to keep all the children under their control while teaching them in a second language. Parents may assist immersion

teachers, for example, by reviewing students' written assignments individually while teachers are engaged in other work for the whole class. Parents may also work in a school library as an assistant librarian.

In short, the small class size, the spacious classroom and voluntary parental assistance can easily turn immersion classrooms into very learner-friendly learning environments for children. Undoubtedly, these learner-friendly environments in turn will contribute to the success of French immersion education in Canada.

### **6.1.2. Programme autonomy**

Another environmental factor which may have contributed to the success of French immersion education is the autonomy of immersion programmes. In most cases, an immersion programme at a primary school is run alongside a regular English programme. That kind of school is called a dual-track school. In some cases, two immersion programmes, usually early and late, are run alongside a regular English programme in one and the same school. This type of school is called a triple-track school. Whether in a double-track school or in a triple-track school, immersion students do not mingle with regular English programme students on their campus, except in a school bus or in the playground. In principle, immersion students are expected to spend their school day almost exclusively in their immersion environment, associating only with their immersion classmates. Above all, early immersion students in their early grades are to spend their school day, completely being immersed in a French-speaking environment from the time when they arrive at school to the time when they leave the school. It is true that immersion students sometimes fall into a habit of talking with their immersion peers in English, but they are gently but strongly encouraged not to do so in their immersion environment unless in emergency. Thus the autonomy of immersion programmes is further enhanced.

Some schools run only an immersion programme or programmes. Those schools are called immersion centres. At the moment (as of October 2004), the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board has 119 primary (or middle) schools under its jurisdiction. Out of those 119 primary schools, 13 schools are immersion centres, of which 9 schools run only an early immersion programme. Le Phare Elementary School in East Ottawa is one of those early French immersion centres. The principal is a francophone bilingual. The day at this school starts with the national anthem sung in French followed by a daily announcement in French by the principal. All the students are enrolled in the early immersion programme run by this school. They are totally immersed in French before English language arts lessons are introduced into the school curriculum in Grade 2. These French immersion centre schools are steadily gaining its popularity each year because they have a highest degree of programme autonomy, which is considered to promote the acquisition of French language skills in the context of classroom with quite limited exposure to English.

## 6.2. Curriculum Factors

### 6.2.1. Diversification of curriculum

The first of the curriculum factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education is the diversification of the FLS curriculum to meet different needs of parents and students. Behind this diversification of the FSL curriculum lies the educational philosophy of the Ontario Ministry of Education which recognizes the diversification of learners' needs and stipulates as follows (OME, 1977, p.7):

It is not the aim of Ontario schools to make every pupil fully bilingual. Obviously, not all pupils who begin the study of French will continue long enough to achieve any recognized degree of bilingualism. On the one hand, it is important that full opportunities are provided for English-speaking young people who want to learn to speak French fluently.

This is in a sharp contrast with the EFL curriculum for lower secondary schools in Japan, where all the learners in principle are supposed to study one and the same subject "English" for the same set of objectives. To be more specific, the Ontario FSL curriculum is composed of three different streams—Core French, Extended French and Immersion French—which tries to satisfy different needs of FSL learners (cf. Chapter 3). Ontario students are required to take one of these three streams from Grade 4 to Grade 9. The majority of students take Core French, in which they take one French language arts class daily from Grade 4 to Grade 8, and take one credit from a French language arts class offered in Grade 9.

Table 6-1: Three Levels in French Language Achievement

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Basic<br>(achievable through at least 1,200 hours of French instruction)  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) has a fundamental knowledge of the language—its grammar, pronunciation and idioms, an active vocabulary of 3,000-5,000 words, and about 100 basic sentence patterns) can participate in simple conversation</li> <li>c) can read, with the aid of a dictionary, standard texts on subjects of interest</li> <li>d) is capable of resuming the study of French in later life if the desire or need arises</li> <li>e) has developed a basic knowledge and appreciation of the culture and aspirations of French-speaking Canadians</li> </ul> |
| Middle<br>(achievable through at least 2,100 hours of French instruction) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) can read newspapers and books of personal interest with occasional help from a dictionary</li> <li>b) can understand radio and television news, and other programs that are of personal interest</li> <li>c) can participate adequately in conversation</li> <li>d) has absorbed information about the culture, society, customs, economy, government and institutions of a French-speaking community</li> <li>e) could function quite well in a French community after a few months' residence</li> </ul>                                   |
| Top<br>(achievable through at least 5,000 hours of French instruction)    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) can take further education with French as the language of instruction at the college or university level—that is, understand lectures, write papers, and take part in class discussion</li> <li>b) can accept employment using French as the working language, or live in a French community after a short orientation period</li> <li>c) can participate easily in conversation</li> <li>d) understands and appreciates the emotional attitudes and the values held in common by members of a French-speaking community</li> </ul>          |

The 1977 FSL curriculum (OME, 1977), which is considered to have laid the basis for



the current FSL curriculum in Ontario, presented three different sets of objectives—basic, middle and top—which should be selectively achieved by FSL learners through French language instruction of different numbers of hours as in Table 6-1 above. This three-way diversification in the learning objectives to be achieved by FSL learners is succeeded by the current FSL curriculum (OME, 2000a), which differentiates the aims of FSL for its three streams as follows:

**Table 6-2: Aims of Three FSL Programmes**

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Core      | to provide students with fundamental communication skills in French and an understanding of the nature of the language and its culture                                     |
| Extended  | to develop students' French-language knowledge and skills and to provide them with an understanding and appreciation of francophone culture in Canada and around the world |
| Immersion | to develop and refine students' ability to communicate in French as well as to expand their knowledge of the language through the study of francophone literature          |

The final expectations are delineated for the three streams as follows:

**Table 6-3: Final Expectations of Three FSL Programmes**

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Core      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) to participate in a straightforward conversation in French</li> <li>b) to read—with the help of a dictionary—books, magazines, and newspapers in French</li> <li>c) to understand the general meaning of radio and television news and other programs</li> </ul> |
| Extended  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) to converse freely on familiar topics</li> <li>b) to read—with the occasional help of a dictionary—books, magazines, and newspapers in French</li> <li>c) to function in a French-speaking community</li> </ul>  |
| Immersion | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) to participate easily in conversations and discussions</li> <li>b) to take courses at the college or university level in which French is the language of instruction</li> <li>c) to accept employment in which French is the working language</li> </ul>         |

As is mentioned above, the majority of FSL students select Core French, which provides the basic threshold in French, but is not considered to be sufficient for attaining functional proficiency in French. As a result, more and more FSL students are taking either Extended French or Immersion French. Immersion French is further subdivided into Early Immersion, Middle Immersion and Late Immersion so that it can meet differing needs of parents and students who wish to attain functional bilingualism in French and English. Parents and students can choose one of these three types of immersion education freely if they are available at their local schools.<sup>(1)</sup> This diversity in the FSL curriculum and in Immersion French eventually gives rise to the homogeneity and high motivation of immersion students, which will contribute to the success of French immersion education.

The Japanese government has finally come to realize the impracticability of requiring all the students to attain the desired goal of English language education, and has recently issued a series of policies which list up different sets of goals for different groups of students for the first time in the post-war English language

education (cf. Chapter 9).<sup>(2)</sup> However, those policies have not led yet to such diversification of the EFL curriculum as is witnessed in the Canadian FSL curriculum. At junior high school, all the students are supposed to study the same subject “English”, using textbooks which are compiled according to the single EFL guideline stipulated in the Course of Study issued by the Japanese Ministry of Education.

There is no doubt that Canadian immersion education has been successful partly because the FSL curriculum has been diversified so that French immersion education will be offered as an option in FSL programmes to those students who are really interested in attaining functional bilingualism in French and English. If French immersion education had been imposed upon all the students, it would have been abolished within several years because of the mismatches between students’ achievement and the desired goals. In short, a diversified curriculum with diversified goals for diversified populations must be a key ingredient for the success of second language education. This offers an important implication to English language education in Japan.

#### 6.2.2. Curriculum continuity between primary and secondary schools

The second curriculum factor which must have contributed to the success of French immersion education is the continuity of curriculum between primary education and secondary education (cf. Edmonton Public School, 2002).<sup>(3)</sup> As is already pointed out in relation to students’ high motivation as a learner factor for the success of French immersion education (cf. Chapter 5), it is well acknowledged that immersion students can attain functional bilingualism in French and English, not necessarily because they start immersion experience early in their schooling history, but because they continue their immersion learning even after they go on to secondary school, and thus accumulate a large number of French language instruction hours on top of their primary immersion experience (cf. Chapter 3). Even if splendid immersion programmes may be available at primary school level, students’ efforts to improve their French will be wasted or made useless if they cannot continue those efforts at secondary school and accumulate their French language instruction hours.

The discussion on early English language education in Japan has centred around the issue of an optimal starting age for English language learning, that is, how soon children should start learning English. In contrast, the issue of the linkage between primary education and secondary education has attracted little attention among those engaged in English language education in Japan. The Canadian experience teaches us that the latter is more important than the former as a key to the success of second language education, whether it be an immersion programme or not.

As already mentioned in Chapter 3 and in the previous chapter, the French immersion certificate is issued at the completion of immersion education at secondary school for those students who have accumulated a certain number of hours of French

language instruction and a certain number of credits from French-medium classes offered at secondary school. It is obvious that this indirectly contributes to the success of French immersion education by arousing and maintaining students' high motivation to continue their immersion learning. However, the acquisition of this immersion certificate will be impossible if the continuity of curriculum between primary immersion and secondary immersion is not well planned and implemented so that immersion students can accumulate enough hours of French language instruction by the time they graduate from secondary school. In the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, secondary school students are supposed to obtain 10 credits from subjects taught in French, and at the same time accumulate at least 5,000 hours of French language instruction by the time they complete their secondary education.<sup>(4)</sup>

The curriculum continuity between primary and secondary education, however, does not imply that the scope of French immersion education at primary school is maintained at secondary school as well. In reality, French immersion education at secondary school is much downsized, with a limited number of bilingual programmes open to students who are interested in getting the French immersion certificate.<sup>(5)</sup> However, those bilingual programmes of a limited number at secondary school are open to any interested and qualified students. Here, we can witness once again the basic educational philosophy of the Ontario Ministry of Education, which claims that "it is important that full opportunities are provided for English-speaking young people who want to learn to speak French fluently" (OME, 1977, p.7).

Nowadays, not only the linkage between primary and secondary education, but also the linkage between secondary and tertiary education is being pursued for developing a high level of French proficiency among anglophone students. To be more specific, attempts are being made to improve the opportunities for anglophone students to pursue their university education in French. The University of Ottawa, a bilingual university in Ottawa, is one of the several universities in Canada where anglophone students can pursue their tertiary education in French.

### 6.2.3. Provision of substantial lesson hours of French language instruction

As already pointed out in Chapter 4 (concerning qualitative indexes of success) and Chapter 5 (concerning learner factors), the reason immersion students can acquire a high level of French proficiency is, first and foremost, because they accumulate a large number of hours of French language instruction. Early immersion students, for example, are taught completely in French for the first two or three years, and even in Grade 8 they are exposed to French for the half of each school day. If they continue their immersion learning at secondary school as well, they will accumulate an enormous number of hours of French language instruction by the time they graduate. Table 6-4 below shows how many hours of French language instruction will be accumulated in each grade by students who wish to attain three different levels of

French proficiency—basic, middle and top—which are set by the Ontario FSL curriculum (OME, 1977) as is described in details above. The curriculum itself is rather old, but the basic framework for calculation is still consulted every time individual school boards plan their own immersion programmes since the grant they receive from the provincial government for their immersion programmes are determined on the basis of this calculation matrix.

Table 6-4: Annual and Cumulative French Language Instruction Hours (OME, 1977)

| Grade | Programme 1   |              |                  | Programme 2   |              |                  | Programme 3   |              |                  |
|-------|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|
|       | Daily Minutes | Annual Hours | Cumulative Hours | Daily Minutes | Annual Hours | Cumulative Hours | Daily Minutes | Annual Hours | Cumulative Hours |
| 4     | 40            | 120          | 120              | 40            | 120          | 120              | 40            | 120          | 120              |
| 5     | 40            | 120          | 240              | 40            | 120          | 240              | 40            | 120          | 240              |
| 6     | 40            | 120          | 360              | 80            | 240          | 480              | 270           | 810          | 1050             |
| 7     | 40            | 120          | 480              | 80            | 240          | 720              | 270           | 810          | 1860             |
| 8     | 40            | 120          | 600              | 80            | 240          | 960              | 270           | 810          | 2670             |
| 9     | 40            | 120          | 720              | 80            | 240          | 1200             | 160           | 480          | 3150             |
| 10    | 40            | 120          | 840              | 80            | 240          | 1440             | 160           | 480          | 3630             |
| 11    | 40            | 120          | 960              | 80            | 240          | 1680             | 160           | 480          | 4110             |
| 12    | 40            | 120          | 1080             | 80            | 240          | 1920             | 160           | 480          | 4590             |
| OAC   | 40            | 120          | 1200             | 80            | 240          | 2160             | 160           | 480          | 5070             |

OAC in the table above stands for Ontario Academic Credit. This was an addition grade (Grade 13) for those who wished to go on to university in Ontario. This system was abolished in 2002. On the basis of this matrix, the Ottawa Board of Education (OBE), which was amalgamated with the Carleton Board of Education (CBE) into the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board (OCDSB) in 1998, prepared their own calculation matrix for their four different FSL programmes—Early Immersion, Middle Immersion, Late Immersion and Core French—as in the following (OBE, n.d.):

Table 6-5: Annual and Cumulative French Instruction Hours (cf. OBE, n.d.)

| Grade | Early Immersion |                  | Middle Immersion |                  | Late Immersion |                  | Core French  |                  |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
|       | Annual Hours    | Cumulative Hours | Annual Hours     | Cumulative Hours | Annual Hours   | Cumulative Hours | Annual Hours | Cumulative Hours |
| SK    | 450             | 450              | 90               | 90               | 90             | 90               | 90           | 90               |
| 1     | 900             | 1350             | 120              | 210              | 120            | 210              | 120          | 210              |
| 2     | 720             | 2070             | 120              | 330              | 120            | 330              | 120          | 330              |
| 3     | 720             | 2790             | 120              | 450              | 120            | 450              | 120          | 450              |
| 4     | 720             | 3510             | 720              | 1170             | 120            | 570              | 120          | 570              |
| 5     | 720             | 4230             | 720              | 1890             | 120            | 690              | 120          | 690              |
| 6     | 450             | 4680             | 720              | 2610             | 120            | 810              | 120          | 810              |
| 7     | 450             | 5130             | 600              | 3210             | 675            | 1485             | 120          | 930              |
| 8     | 450             | 5580             | 600              | 3810             | 675            | 2160             | 120          | 1050             |
| 9     | 440             | 6020             | 440              | 4250             | 440            | 2600             | 110          | 1160             |
| 10    | 440             | 6460             | 440              | 4690             | 440            | 3040             | 110          | 1270             |
| 11    | 330             | 6790             | 330              | 5020             | 330            | 3370             | 110          | 1380             |
| 12    | 330             | 7120             | 330              | 5350             | 330            | 3700             | 110          | 1490             |

This calculation matrix has been succeeded by the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board and is still effective. In the table, students who have been enrolled in any type of immersion education at primary school are supposed to continue their immersion learning at secondary school, taking a number of courses which are taught in French.

The table shows that students who have been enrolled in an early immersion programme will accumulate 7,120 hours of French language instruction by the time they graduate from secondary school. This is far above the provincial mark (i.e., 5,000 hours) set for the top level, and is about 5 times the number of hours (1,490 hours) accumulated for the basic level by students who have been enrolled in Core French from SK (senior kindergarten) to Grade 12. In practice, early immersion students will accumulate by the time they graduate from primary school more than 5,000 hours of French language instruction, which is considered as a bench mark for the top level of French proficiency. On the other hand, late immersion students will not be able to accumulate more than 5,000 hours of French language instruction even if they are enrolled in a bilingual programme at secondary school. Acknowledging this rather unhappy situation, the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board issues out an Extended French certificate for those late immersion students who have taken at least 7 credits from French-medium courses at secondary school even if they have not reached the bench mark of 5,000 hours of French language instruction.

Table 6-6 below indicates the result of the comparison between Canada and Japan of L2 instruction hours (French in Canada and English in Japan) accumulated by L2 learners by the end of three key grades in school education.

Table 6-6: Comparison of Cumulative Second Language Instruction Hours at Key Grades

| Grade | Early | Middle | Late | Core | Japan | Calculation Formula for Japan      |
|-------|-------|--------|------|------|-------|------------------------------------|
| 6     | 4680  | 2610   | 810  | 810  | 105   | 45 minutes/1 day /35 weeks/4 years |
| 9     | 6020  | 4250   | 2600 | 1160 | 455   | 50 minutes/4 days/35 weeks/3 years |
| 12    | 7120  | 5350   | 3700 | 1490 | 893   | 50 minutes/5 days/35 weeks/3 years |

The figures for Japan were obtained by supposing that English will be introduced into the primary school curriculum at Grade 3 in the next revision of the Course of Study. The obtained figures for Japan are rather idealistic in a sense that they were calculated in an idealistic manner, assuming that no classes would be canceled out. Nevertheless, they are about 60 % of the accumulated hours for Core French in Canada, and only about 13% of the accumulated hours for early French immersion. This enormous difference in the accumulated hours of L2 instruction between Canada and Japan is quite significant when we discuss the efficacy of second language education. However, this has seldom surfaced in our discussion of early English language education in Japan so far. The above comparison will convince us that we need to be more realistic when we discuss the goals of English language education.

#### 6.2.4. Respect of learners' mother tongue (instruction in English)

The present research has already identified the respect of learners' mother tongue as one of the methodology factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education (cf. Chapter 5). This methodology factor is carried over into the

immersion curriculum. In the case of early immersion, children are completely immersed in French for the first two or three years; all the subjects are taught in French. In Grade 2 or Grade 3 (Grade 2 in the case of OCDSB), the teaching of the English language arts is introduced into the immersion curriculum. Thereafter, the rate of English language instruction in the whole curriculum is increased gradually until it reaches 50 % in the last stages of primary education (Grade 7 in the case of OCDSB). In secondary schools, even students who wish to obtain an immersion certificate study more subjects in English than in French. In the case of an early partial immersion programme like the one offered by the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board (OCCSB), English is a key subject in the immersion curriculum right from the beginning.

It is worthy of note here that the introduction of English language arts instruction into the immersion curriculum does not mean that one and the same immersion teacher teaches some subjects in English and others in French. The subjects that immersion students study in English are taught by another teacher without exception so that students can keep the French sector and the English sector separate in their own world. It is feared that merging the English world and the French world will not only confuse students but also do a lot of damage to students' high motivation to study in French.

As for the division between subjects taught in French and those taught in English, it is neither definite nor stable. The favorite subjects taught in French are usually social studies, science and arts, but they are taught in English in later grades. The allocation of subjects to French and English is also influenced by the availability of immersion teachers who can teach content subjects in French. It sometimes happens that one subject is taught in French in one year but is taught in English in the next year because an immersion teacher is not available who can teach that subject in French in that grade. However, it never happens that the language of instruction is changed in the middle of an academic year. Thus the autonomy of French language instruction is maintained in each grade. The following table (Table 6-7) is an example of the allocation plan of subjects to French and English as the language of instruction from Grade 1 to Grade 12. This matrix was compiled by amalgamating the concurrent (not longitudinal) allocation plans of a primary school, a middle school (MS) and a secondary school in one area in Ottawa. The table shows clearly how much English is respected within the immersion curriculum. This is because French immersion education aims at additive bilingualism, not subtractive bilingualism. Immersion students are expected to achieve not only a functional level of French proficiency but also full literacy in English. At the moment, researchers are interested in finding out an optimal grade to introduce English into the early total immersion programme (CAIT, 1995b).

Table 6-7: Subjects and the Language of Instruction

| Subjects                             | K Primary School |    |    |    |    |    | G MS |     | S High School |     |     |     |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|----|----|----|----|----|------|-----|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
|                                      | G1               | G2 | G3 | G4 | G5 | G6 | G7   | G8  | G9            | G10 | G11 | G12 |
| English                              | E                | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E    | E   | E             | E   | E   | E   |
| Mathematics                          | F                | F  | F  | F  | E  | E  | E/F  | E/F | E             | E   | E   | E   |
| Art & Music                          | F                | F  | F  | F  | F  | F  | E    | E   | E             | E   | E   | E   |
| Science & Technology                 | F                | F  | F  | F  | F  | F  | F/E  | F/E | E             | E   | E   | E   |
| Health & Physical Education          | F                | F  | F  | F  | E  | F  | E/F  | E/F | F             | F   | E   | E   |
| Social Studies (History & Geography) | F                | F  | F  | F  | F  | F  | E/F  | E/F | F             | F   | F   | F   |
| French as a Second Language          | F                | F  | F  | F  | F  | F  | F    | F   | F             | F   | F   | F   |

### 6.3. Administrative Factors

#### 6.3.1. Bottom-up approach

The first administrative factor which has contributed to the success of French immersion education is the fact that the very first French immersion programme was established by an bottom-up approach, that is, by parental initiatives to reform the traditional Core French programme in Quebec, and that the same bottom-up approach has been adopted by school boards across Canada in initiating French immersion education in schools under their jurisdiction. If it had been introduced by force and authority, French immersion education would not have met such an enormous expansion as we see now.

The establishment of the first French immersion education in Quebec is closely related to the socio-political situation around the French language in Quebec and Canada at that time. That situation is well characterized by Genesee (1987, pp.6-7) as follows:

Despite its historical importance during the early colonization and subsequent development of Canada; despite its contemporary status as an official national language; despite its demographic significance as the native language of approximately 25 percent of the Canadian population; and despite even its international status as a major language, French has until recently been the disadvantaged partner in the Canadian confederation.

This disadvantaged status of French was especially noticeable in Quebec, where the vast majority of the population speak French as their native language. Quite naturally, the francophone community in Quebec was very unhappy about this situation and became more and more vocative and active in expressing their dissatisfaction with unjustified inequities their native language had suffered. This social movement developed in the early 1960s into the Quiet Revolution. In the meantime, anglophone people in Quebec were also getting rather worried about their future. There was growing concern among anglophone people that the prestigious status of their native language had been constantly chipped away by the increasing social recognition of French as a working language of Quebec. Anglophone parents in particular were increasingly worried about the future of their children, because they were aware through their own experience that anglophone students graduating from

secondary schools in Quebec were “inadequately prepared to deal with the demands of using French in diverse real-life situations”(Genesee, 1987, p.10) in spite of 12 years of French language instruction at school. They had to admit that their children would not fare very well in the future if they could not speak French well.

This concern about the future of anglophone children in Quebec prompted a group of parents in the small suburban community of St. Lambert near Montreal to form a study group, St. Lambert Bilingual Study Group, in the early 1960s in order to find a solution to their worries. Through the discussion in the study group, parents became very critical of the French language programme their children were taking in those days for their inefficiency in developing high-level French proficiency in their children. They sought for professional assistance from such well-known researchers of second language acquisition as Wilder Penfield and Wallace Lambert of McGill University. Armed with this professional support and their enthusiasm for the reform, these parents succeeded in persuading the local school board to set up an experimental early immersion programme at a kindergarten. The enthusiasm for this innovative approach among the anglophone parents was so great that it took only five minutes before the registration of 26 children for this new programme was completed on a day for class registration. At first the school board found few merits in this new approach because it meant additional expenditures with no additional tax revenues since the student population itself remained the same. However, as the programme attracted an increasing amount of media attention, and the evaluation studies on this pioneer programme produced one positive result after another, the school board decided to keep the programme going on.

This bottom-up process for the establishment of the first French immersion programme was later adopted by other school boards that received a strong request from parents for the establishment of a similar immersion programme in their districts, such as the Ottawa Board of Education, the Carleton Board of Education, and the Toronto Board of Education. In those days, a French immersion programme was an extremely expensive luxury for school boards, but they came to see great potential in it through the reported successes. Or it may be more proper to say that they were pushed forward by parental enthusiasm for this innovative approach to teach a second language. This parental initiative and enthusiasm for French immersion education naturally created the spirit of voluntary assistance among immersion parents, which has been instrumental in creating the learner-friendly environment in the immersion classroom conducive to the success of French immersion education. Today parental commitment for French immersion education is well represented by the Canadian Parents for French, a non-profit national organization of “volunteers that values French as an integral part of Canada and is dedicated to the promotion and creation of French second language learning opportunities for young Canadians.”<sup>(6)</sup> It has 11 branch offices and some 170 chapters



in communities across Canada, and is very active not only in enlightening and lobbyist activities but also in research activities on French language learning, including French immersion education. This kind of parental support for immersion education would be non-existent today if the programmes had been imposed by the authority.

### 6.3.2. Voluntary participation in immersion programmes

Another administrative factor which has contributed to the success of French immersion education is the fact that the decision about the enrolment in French immersion education is totally up to individual parents and students. The choice of non-participation is always guaranteed to parents and students who are more or less concerned about difficulties to be encountered in studying regular content subjects in French. Moreover, parents and students can decide to move out of immersion programmes to regular English programmes any time they wish to do so.

In order to help parents and students to choose an FSL programme which best suits their needs and aspirations, school boards prepare several options in the FSL curriculum as already described before. In addition, many kinds of pamphlets and booklets are prepared by school boards so that parents and students can make an informed decision about the enrolment in immersion programmes. In recent years, through the social pressure for educational accountability (Ito, 2003), the school boards in Ontario are required to publish the results of the provincial tests.<sup>(7)</sup> To be more specific, each school board in Ontario is required to publish the average scores of the provincial tests for the school board as a whole and those for individual schools under their jurisdiction, together with the provincial averages. It goes without saying that these average scores are consulted by parents in particular when they choose a school or a programme for their children.<sup>(8)</sup>

Thus the availability of different options in the FSL curriculum and useful information about French immersion programmes and schools offering immersion programmes works together to help parents and students to make an informed voluntary decision of whether to enrol in immersion programmes or not. However, it is also true that this system of voluntary participation often ends up attracting parents and students with a sense of strong determination, since it is a big challenge for children to study in an immersion programme. More importantly, it often happens that students enrolled in immersion programmes through voluntary participation tend to be those with high cognitive potential and better study skills or those who have very educationally-minded parents with a sense of dedication. There is no doubt that this will make a vital contribution to the micro-level success or outstanding learning outcomes of French immersion education as we have seen in Chapter 4. If students had been forced to be enrolled in immersion programmes regardless of their needs and aspirations, there would not be such an enormous expansion of French immersion education as we witness today.

### 6.3.3. Accessibility of immersion programmes

French immersion education is an experimental programme. It was started in 1965 as described above, and it is still going on. Among scholars of Canadian studies, the fact that Canada has adopted the system of confederation is often referred to as the great Canadian Experiment (e.g., Kato, 1990). French immersion education may be regarded as another great Canadian Experiment, with its half-century history and people's enthusiasm for it across Canada. Even though it is experimental, however, it is not a special programme for a small group of chosen children any more. There exists some sort of system which makes it easier for any interested parent and student to participate in an immersion programme. This is especially so in Ottawa, one of the strongholds of French immersion education in Canada. French immersion programmes are offered in schools within easy reach from any household.

As of November 2004, the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board (OCDSB), for example, has 119 primary schools under its jurisdiction. Out of these 119 primary schools, only 49 schools offer only regular English programmes. The rest of the schools (i.e., 70 schools) have at least one of the three French immersion programmes—early French immersion (EFI), middle French immersion (MFI) and late French immersion (LFI)—along with regular English programmes or without them altogether. At these 70 primary schools are offered 64 EFI programmes, 7 MFI programmes and 19 LFI programmes. Those schools which offer a French immersion programme and a regular English programme are called dual-track schools, the majority of which offer an EFI programme and a regular English programme. Some schools offer two types of French immersion programmes—either EFI and MFI or EFI and LFI—together with a regular English programme. Those schools are called triple-track schools. One school in Ottawa offers all the three types of French immersion programmes. There are also 13 immersion centres which offer only immersion programmes. Consequently, there exists at least one type of French immersion programme in each school zone in the OCDSB, although it may not necessarily be the type of their preference. Thus the accessibility of French immersion education is very high in Ottawa.

If parents or students should find no immersion programme of their choice in their school zone, they can apply for the enrolment at a school outside their school zone, and their application will be accepted by the principal if there is any room for more students. In such cases, students can ride a school bus to the school outside their school zone or their parents will drive them to the school every morning. This may further increase the accessibility of French immersion education, but this kind of parental assistance is usually available at households whose social profile is relatively high. This will somehow help to make immersion classes homogeneous in terms of parents' socio-economic profile.

What is more important in terms of accessibility is the fact that French immersion

education is offered at public schools free of charge. In Canada, primary and secondary education is free for all the Canadian students. French immersion programmes offered at public primary and secondary schools are naturally free for all the Canadian students. Although it is free, both parents and students can expect high returns. It is no wonder that more and more parents across Canada wish to enrol their children in French immersion programmes, thus contributing to the macro-level success of French immersion education. This is in sharp contrast with the current situation in Japan, where English immersion education is basically offered at private schools that demand high tuition fees. It means that English immersion education in Japan is available only to children of those parents who can afford such high tuition fees, limiting the accessibility of immersion education to a considerable degree.

## Chapter 7

### Societal Factors for Success

This chapter focuses on three societal factors among many which have made a vital contribution to the success of French immersion education; the official languages policy of the federal government, the collaboration network for linkage between the official language policy and French language education, and social incentives for French language learning. Among these three factors, the most important factor should be the official languages policy by which French is designated as the official language of Canada along with English. This policy has not only bestowed a high value and prestige on French and its learning, but also created a strong collaborative linkage with French language learning, and significant social incentives for French language learning, especially for French immersion education which guarantees functional bilingual competence.

#### 7.1. Official Languages Policy

##### 7.1.1. Statutory foundation

Many countries in the world are de facto bilingual or multilingual. Comparatively few are the countries, however, that have adopted bilingualism or multilingualism as their national policy. Canada is one of the few countries which have adopted bilingualism as its national policy, and one of the very few countries which have enshrined the policy within the constitution.

The statutory foundation of Canada's official languages policy was first laid by the British North America Act, 1867. Uniting Upper Canada (Ontario), Lower Canada (Quebec), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into the Dominion of Canada, this Act formed the basic framework of the political structure of this new Canada after its hegemony moved from France to Great Britain, and as such it is called the Constitution Act, 1867. Article 133 of the Act stipulates the place of English and French in this renewed Canada as follows:<sup>(1)</sup>

133. Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.

The Act limited the official use of English and French to the Houses of the Parliament and the Court of Canada, composed of the four founding provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and to the Houses of the Legislature and the Courts of Quebec. It was not until the Official Languages Act was enacted in 1969, however,

that the official status of English and French was extended to all the institutions of the federal government of Canada. Article 2 of this act (COL, 1985, p.1) clearly stipulates the official status of English and French for all Canada as follows:

2. The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada for all purposes of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada.

The equality of English and French in the institutions of the federal government was further strengthened by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which comprises a part of the Constitution Act, 1982. What is the most significant about this charter is that it has clearly endorsed the linguistic rights of the linguistic minority people to be served in their own languages at the federal institutions as Article 20 stipulates below:<sup>(2)</sup>

20. (1) Any member of the public in Canada has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any head or central office of an institution of the Parliament or government of Canada in English or French, and has the same right with respect to any other office of any such institution where

- (a) there is a significant demand for communications with and services from that office in such language; or
- (b) due to the nature of the office, it is reasonable that communications with and services from that office be available in both English and French.

(2) Any member of the public in New Brunswick has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any office of an institution of the legislature or government of New Brunswick in English or French.

The equal status of French and English at the federal institutions was extended to the Canadian society as a whole by the revised Official Languages Act, 1988. Article 41 (COL, 1999, p.33) sets forth the government's responsibility to promote the equal status of French and English in the Canadian society as follows:

41. The Government of Canada is committed to

- (a) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and
- (b) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society.

It should be pointed out here that the official languages policy enshrined in the Constitution Act and the Official Languages Act, however, does not have the legal power to bind the official language policy of the provinces and territories. Out of the ten provinces, only New Brunswick followed the government's initiative. Quebec, where French-speaking people form the vast majority, adopted French as its sole official language in 1974. Nunavut, which was created as the third territory in 1999, adopted its aboriginal language Inuktitut as its official language along with English and French.

### 7.1.2. Socio-historical foundation

The federal government's decision to make only English and French the official languages of Canada in spite of her multicultural nature of society has a great deal to do with her own history as a nation. Canada was first colonized by the French, beginning with Jacques Cartier's landing on the Canadian soil in 1534 and being followed by the arrival of the first colonists from France in 1604. The French settlement then expanded along the St. Lawrence. After the Battle of the Plains of Abraham near Quebec City in 1763, Canada came under the British rule. By that time, however, French culture was deeply rooted in Canada. The French were able to resist the British government's efforts to assimilate them into the British mainstream. The British conquerors had to accept the coexistence of English and French, and later recognized it officially as mentioned above.

This official endorsement of the linguistic duality by the federal government, however, was not converted into social reality so easily. English remained the dominant language even in French Canada, and most immigrants to Canada adopted English as their first official language. French remained as the disadvantaged partner in the Canadian confederation for some time. In 1963, in face of this linguistic and cultural inequalities between English and French, the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in order to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races" (OCOL, 1996, p.13). The Commission thus identified anglophones and francophones as "the two founding races" while recognizing the linguistic and cultural contributions from the other ethnic groups. Responding to the Commission's recommendations for multilingualism and multiculturalism, the federal government under the leadership of the then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau adopted the policy of multiculturalism in 1971,<sup>(3)</sup> but kept the bilingual framework as it was (Canadian Heritage, 1999). Thus the framework for the current policy which supports the nation's bilingual heritage and multicultural diversity came into being.

Canada's official languages policy is not dictated by these historical facts alone. It also reflects the current linguistic status of the Canadian society. Table 7-1, adapted from Statistics Canada Internet Site, indicates Canada's population configuration.<sup>(4)</sup> Although past and recent immigrants brought a great many languages to Canada, English is still the mother tongue for 59.2% of the total population, and French 23.3%. Non-official languages, no matter how many there are, are spoken as a mother tongue by only 16.1% of the population in total, with Chinese being spoken by 2.6% of the population, Italian 1.8%, German 1.6%, Spanish 0.8, Portuguese 0.8, to name just a few (Marmen & Corbeil, 1999). At home, 91.0% of the population use either English or French by itself or in combination with other languages. Furthermore, by using

English and French, federal institutions can reach 98.3% of Canadians. This is a favourite argument used by the federal government to support their decision to make only English and French the official languages of Canada.

Table 7-1: Population of Canada by Languages (%)

| Definition                                | Canada | Quebec | Rest of Canada |
|---|--------|--------|----------------|
| <b>Mother tongue</b>                      |        |        |                |
| English                                   | 59.2   | 8.3    | 75.9           |
| French                                    | 23.3   | 80.9   | 4.4            |
| Non-official languages                    | 16.1   | 9.3    | 18.3           |
| English and French                        | 0.4    | 0.7    | 0.3            |
| English and non-official language         | 0.9    | 0.2    | 1.1            |
| French and non-official language          | 0.1    | 0.4    | 0.0            |
| English, French and non-official language | 0.0    | 0.1    | 0.0            |
| Total                                     | 100    | 100    | 100            |
| <b>Home language</b>                      |        |        |                |
| English                                   | 66.7   | 10.1   | 85.3           |
| French                                    | 22.3   | 81.9   | 2.7            |
| Non-official languages                    | 9.0    | 5.8    | 10.0           |
| English and French                        | 0.4    | 0.9    | 0.3            |
| English and non-official language         | 1.4    | 0.4    | 1.7            |
| French and non-official language          | 0.2    | 0.6    | 0.0            |
| English, French and non-official language | 0.1    | 0.2    | 0.0            |
| Total                                     | 100    | 100    | 100            |
| <b>Knowledge of official languages</b>    |        |        |                |
| English only                              | 67.1   | 5.1    | 87.4           |
| French only                               | 14.3   | 56.1   | 0.6            |
| Both English and French                   | 17.0   | 37.8   | 10.2           |
| Neither English nor French                | 1.7    | 1.1    | 1.9            |
| Total                                     | 100    | 100    | 100            |

### 7.1.3. Characteristic features of Canada's official languages policy

The nature of Canada's official languages policy can be disclosed by specifying the nature of bilingualism the policy is to attain. First of all, Canada's official languages policy aims at institutional bilingualism, not individual bilingualism. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms gives English and French equal status and privileges in federal institutions. In a similar vein, the Official Languages Act guarantees the official-language rights both for those who receive federal services and for those who work at federal institutions. This does not mean, however, that all Canadians are expected to be bilingual and speak both English and French. It simply means that Canadian citizens can receive federal services in the language of their choice, English or French, and that those working at federal institutions are not discriminated in employment and career-advancement because of the language they speak.

Secondly, Canada's official languages policy aims at societal bilingualism, which means that English and French coexist in society as a whole without individual Canadians necessarily being bilingual. This is done by arousing equal respect among Canadian citizens for English and French and thus promoting linguistic duality throughout the society. This is in response to the recommendation by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to create an equal partnership between the two founding races. The federal government regards its official languages

policy one of the important ways to consolidate the national unity which has been, and is now, threatened by the decades-long movement by Quebec's separatists.

Thirdly, the federal government has adopted a pan-Canadian approach instead of a territorial approach (Beaujot, 1998) as a way of realizing institutional and societal bilingualism aimed at by the Official Languages Act. The pan-national approach for linguistic duality or multiplicity, in general, argues for promoting the respect for and use of the two or more languages in question throughout the country while the territorial approach argues for building on the strength of majority languages in given areas. The latter approach is adopted by Switzerland, for example, where her four official languages have their own "territories". The federal government of Canada promotes pan-Canadian bilingualism by providing federal services in two languages and by supporting minority language and second language education across the country. On the other hand, Quebec, which recognizes French as the sole official language, supports territorial bilingualism within the Canadian confederation. Quebec's argument is that the combination of French monolingualism in French Canada and English monolingualism in English Canada will forge English-French bilingualism in Canada as a whole. This argument for territorial bilingualism contradicts the pan-Canadian philosophy promoted by the federal government, creating serious political tensions between the two.

The characterization of Canada's official language policy above now leads us to a question of how the policy has contributed to the success of French immersion education. First of all, the promotion of societal bilingualism has been quite instrumental in enhancing the social value of French and French language learning in general. French immersion education has been a favourite choice since it has been repeatedly shown to help students to attain high-level French proficiency. Secondly, it is true that the promotion of institutional bilingualism does not necessarily aim at individual bilingualism; that is, all Canadian citizens are not expected to be bilingual and speak both English and French. However, institutional bilingualism has certainly boosted the employment by federal institutions of anglophone people who can speak French as fluently as native speakers of French so that federal institutions may be accountable in terms of the provision of bilingual service to citizens. This prospect for better opportunities of employment has apparently motivated parents and students into the enrolment in French immersion education, as is shown by researches on motivation for immersion enrolment (e.g., McEachern, 1980; Parkin, Morrison & Watkin, 1987; Husum & Bryce, 1991). Finally, the promotion of pan-Canadian bilingualism has led to the wide-spread recognition of the social value of French and French language learning by people living not only in areas like Ontario and New Brunswick that are inhabited by a substantial number of francophone people but also in areas like Saskatchewan and British Columbia that have very little social existence of French and francophone people. This has undoubtedly contributed to the



popularization of French immersion education throughout the country.

## **7.2. Collaboration Network for Linkage**

### **7.2.1. Statutory foundation for linkage**

The Constitution Act, 1982 provides a statutory foundation for the rights of the linguistic minority people not only to be served at federal institution and but also to be educated in their native language. However, the constitution does not offer any statutory foundation at all for the learning of French as a second language by the linguistic majority people. It is the Official Language Act, 1988 that provides such a statutory foundation. Article 43 (COL, 1999, p.34) lists up five measures to be taken by the Minister of Canadian Heritage in order to advance the equality of status and use of English and French in the Canadian society as follows:

- 43.(1)The Minister of Canadian Heritage shall take such measures as that Minister considers appropriate to advance the equality of status and use of English and French in Canadian society and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, may take measures to
- (a) enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and support and assist their development;
  - (b) encourage and support the learning of English and French in Canada;
  - (c) foster an acceptance and appreciation of both English and French by members of the public;
  - (d) encourage and assist provincial governments to support the development of English and French linguistic minority communities generally and, in particular, to offer provincial and municipal services in both English and French and to provide opportunities for members of English or French linguistic minority communities to be educated in their own language;
  - (e) encourage and assist provincial governments to provide opportunities for everyone in Canada to learn both English and French.

Among the five measures to be taken by the Ministry of Canadian Heritage, the second and fifth measures provide a statutory foundation for the linkage between the official language policy and second language education. The second measure represents the responsibility the Department of Canadian Heritage must assume for Canadian citizens directly while the fifth measure represents the responsibility the Department must assume for the provinces and territories. In short, the Department of Canadian Heritage is expected not only to encourage each of the Canadian citizens to learn a second official language, but also to encourage and assist each of the provincial and territorial governments to provide chances for every citizen to learn a second official language. Here lies a clear statutory foundation for the linkage between the government's official language policy and second language education, including French immersion education.

### **7.2.2. Framework of collaboration**

The Department of Canadian Heritage is not the only federal institution

responsible for the government's official language policy and its linkage with second language education. Canada has built a strong framework of interdepartmental coordination in order to attain the explicit and implicit goals of her official languages policy. Among the federal institutions having specific responsibility for the Official Languages Act other than the Department of Canadian Heritage are the Department of Justice, Treasury Board Secretariat, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the Federal Court of Canada, the Public Service Commission of Canada, and the Standing Joint Committee of Official Languages. The government has also designated 28 key federal institutions which are expected to assume a special commitment to the spirits of the Official Languages Act. Within this interdepartmental coordination, the Treasury Board Secretariat, the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Commissioner of Official Languages play crucial roles in implementing and evaluating the official languages policy.

The Treasury Board Secretariat, for example, is responsible for linguistic duality at federal institutions. Its principal responsibility is to ensure that all Canadians receive services in the official languages of their choice, by promoting a work atmosphere that will foster the use of both official languages in federal activities in designated regions, and by providing equal job opportunities to the members of both official language communities through its Official Languages Programme. The Department of Canadian Heritage is responsible for linguistic duality in society. It has a mandate to promote French and English in the Canadian society and encourage the development of francophone and anglophone communities in minority situations through its Official Languages Support Programmes. It also plays a special role as a key department to organize much-needed interdepartmental coordination. The Commissioner of Official Languages works as an ombudsman for the Official Languages Act. The Commissioner's main mandate is to ascertain that the official-language rights of Canadians receiving federal services and of those who work at federal institutions are respected. In order to ensure that federal institutions comply with the spirit of the Official Languages Act, the Commissioner and the Office look into complaints filed by Canadians against federal institutions and recommend solutions to institutions concerned.

When it comes to the linkage between the official language policy and second language education, however, the Department of Canadian Heritage plays the most significant role with its exclusive sponsorship of the Official Languages in Education Programme. The government of Canada is expected by this programme to provide financial support to second official language education programmes conducted by each province and territory under the bilateral agreements with each of the provincial and territorial governments. The Department of Canadian Heritage is responsible for the smooth administration of this financial support for FSL programmes, including French immersion programmes, conducted by each province and territory. The

Department is assisted in this task by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), which was established in 1967 as “the mechanism through which ministers consult and act on matters of mutual interest, and the instrument through which they consult and cooperate with national education organizations and the federal government.”<sup>(5)</sup>

Figure 7-1 summarizes the collaboration network for linkage between the government’s official language policy and FSL programmes (including immersion) conducted by each of the provincial and territorial governments.

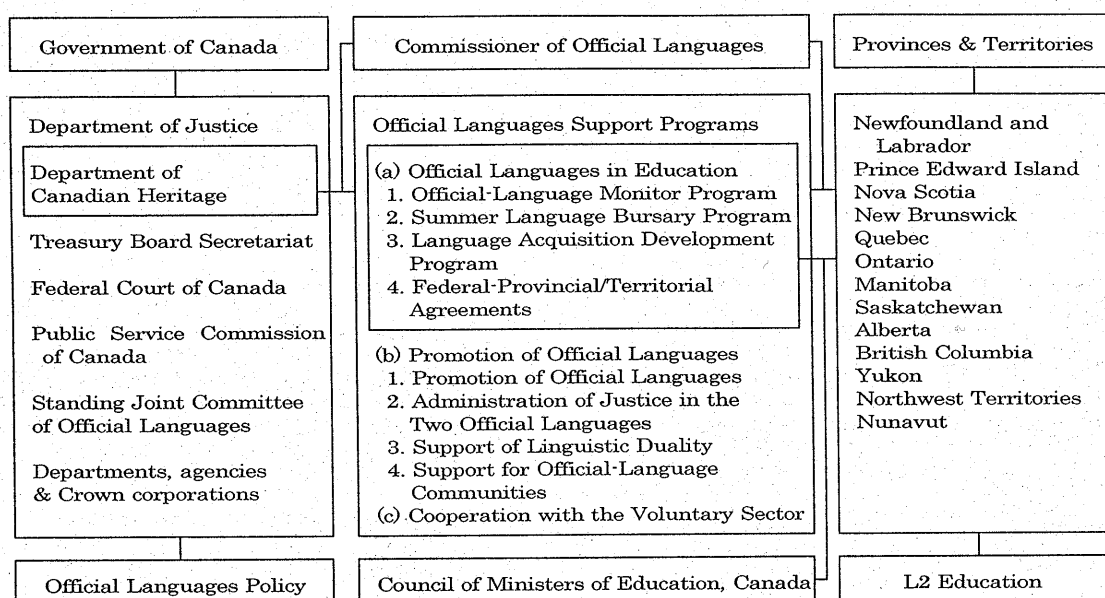


Figure 7-1: Framework of Administrative Collaboration

The key factor in this linkage between the government’s official languages policy and FSL programmes conducted by each province and territory is the Official Language in Education Programme, for which the Department of Canadian Heritage is exclusively responsible. This programme is composed of four sub-programmes: Official-Language Monitor Programme, Summer Language Bursary Programme, Language Acquisition Development Programme, and Federal-Provincial/Territorial Agreements in Education. Leaving the specific contents of these sub-programmes to the website of the Department,<sup>(6)</sup> the programme has provided much needed financial support for FLS programmes conducted by each provincial and territorial government, thus making a vital contribution to the success of French immersion education.

### 7.2.3. Priority given to French immersion education

Table 7-2 below shows the government’s financial support for second official language education in each province and territory (cf. CMEC n.d., pp.15-17). The table clearly shows that Ontario, which has seen the largest expansion of French immersion

education, is receiving the biggest share of the financial support for FSL programmes from the federal government under the Official Languages in Education Programme.

Table 7-2: Federal Contributions through Official Languages in Education 1995-96 (\$)

| Definitions               | Minority language | Second language | Total       |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| British Columbia          | 2,383,153         | 7,075,688       | 9,458,841   |
| Alberta                   | 1,840,605         | 5,824,256       | 7,664,861   |
| Saskatchewan              | 2,315,470         | 3,002,174       | 5,317,644   |
| Manitoba                  | 3,302,326         | 3,778,630       | 7,080,956   |
| Ontario                   | 26,188,276        | 20,620,554      | 46,808,830  |
| Quebec                    | 44,049,703        | 10,668,629      | 54,718,332  |
| New Brunswick             | 17,074,674        | 3,073,644       | 20,148,318  |
| Nova Scotia               | 4,366,843         | 2,456,328       | 6,823,171   |
| Prince Edward Island      | 1,194,272         | 405,089         | 1,599,361   |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 995,696           | 1,851,756       | 2,847,452   |
| Northwest Territories     | 612,468           | 506,532         | 1,119,000   |
| Yukon                     | 752,250           | 273,750         | 1,026,000   |
| Total                     | 105,075,736       | 59,537,030      | 164,612,766 |
|                           | 63.80%            | 36.20%          | 100%        |

Although the amount of the financial support is determined by a special formula agreed upon through the bilateral agreement between the government and the provinces and territories, each province and territory has considerable discretion in using the financial support they received for minority language education and second language education. Table 7-3 below shows the breakdowns of the federal financial support which Ontario received through the Official Languages in Education Programme in the 1995-1996 fiscal year (CMEC, n.d.):

Table 7-3: Provincial Breakdown of Federal Contributions to Ontario (1995-96)

| Category                          | %  | Language Objective          | %  |
|-----------------------------------|----|-----------------------------|----|
| Infrastructure support            | 84 | French as a First Language  | 56 |
| Program expansion and development | 9  | French as a Second Language | 44 |
| Teacher training and development  | 5  |                             |    |
| Student support                   | 2  |                             |    |

According to CMEC (n.d.), the Ontario government spent \$19,324,345 on its elementary and secondary FSL instruction. Out of this, \$10,478,124 (54%) was spent on French immersion programmes while \$8,846,221 (46%) was spent on its Core and extended French programmes. Considering that the enrolment in the Core and extended French programmes is far greater than that in French immersion programmes, the amount of money spent on French immersion programmes was unproportionately large, indicating the priority given by the provincial government to French immersion education. This priority will naturally lead to better learning environments of immersion classes, which will in turn be conducive to the success of French immersion education, as is already discussed in Chapter 5.

### 7.3. Social Incentives for French Language Learning

No matter how comprehensive and organized the statutory support for French immersion education may be, and no matter how large the scale of the government's financial support may be, parents would not enrol their children in French immersion programmes if they could not see the real value of French language learning in tangible forms. Nor would immersion students continue their efforts to study in immersion classes until the end of secondary school education. Both parents and students would definitely need some sort of social incentives for the learning of French. Acknowledging this negative prospect, the government of Canada has taken a considerable number of measures to arouse people's interest in French and French language learning. Table 7-4 below lists up those significant social incentives that may have greatly aroused or consolidated people's interest in French language learning, and thus have contributed to the success of French immersion education (cf. OCOL, 1996):

Table 7-4: Societal Incentives for FSL Learners

---

|      |   |
|------|---|
| 1958 | Public servants in contact with the public and working in linguistically mixed localities should be bilingual.  |
| 1961 | Every citizen should have the right to federal services in English or French.   |
| 1964 | Language training is created for federal public servants.   |
| 1966 | Secretaries are paid 7% extra if they use both English and French 10% of the time.  |
| 1967 | Language is made one of the positive points for appointment of public servants.   |
| 1969 | The Official Languages Act is adopted by Parliament.  |
| 1970 | The creation of 37 bilingual districts is recommended by the government.  |
| 1971 | The Treasury Board recommends bilingualism in the public service: French will take its place alongside English as a language of work; written communications with the public will be provided in both official languages; the number of bilingual personnel will be increased.              |
| 1973 | Parliament adopts a resolution on official languages: federal public servants can work in the official language of their choice subject to certain conditions. The Treasury Board designates regions where both English and French are to be languages of work for federal public servants. |
| 1974 | Consumer packages and labels become bilingual.  |
| 1977 | The government's new official languages policy states that language reform is essential to preserve national unity. Treasury Board announces that federal public servants in bilingual positions will receive a bilingualism bonus of \$800 a year.   |
| 1981 | Knowledge of English and French is made a condition for appointment to some bilingual positions.  |
| 1988 | The new Official Languages Act is adopted by Parliament.  |
| 1999 | The Year of La Francophonie (March 1999 to March 2000) is launched.   |
| 2003 | Treasure Board introduced a new bilingualism policy which makes bilingualism mandatory for 1 in 3 public service jobs.  |

---

There is no doubt that these social incentives have impressed parents and students alike with the significance of French language learning, and especially with that of French immersion education, since it promises highest returns to those who have gone through immersion programmes. Researches on parental motivation for enrolling their children in French immersion programmes have repeatedly shown that prospects for

tangible benefits such as better opportunities for employment and higher education play a significant role when parents decide to enrol their children in French immersion programmes.

This tendency for social benefits among parents was confirmed by a small-scale questionnaire study conducted in Ottawa as part of the present research. In the study, parents with children studying in French immersion programmes were asked to choose and rank three most important reasons for enrolling their children in early French immersion programmes out of the list of ten possible reasons; (1) *future advantage for your child to get a good job*, (2) *intrinsic value in learning an additional language*, (3) *reputation of an excellent learning environment provided by immersion*, (4) *location of the school*, (5) *desire of your child to study in an immersion programme*, (6) *greater access to higher education*, (7) *intrinsic value in learning the francophone culture in Canada*, (8) *reputation of an excellent teaching staff in immersion*, (9) *reputation of the school for its excellent education*, and (10) *desire of your child to attend the school*. The most important reason turned out to be (1) *future advantage for your child to get a good job* (243 points), the second most important reason was (2) *intrinsic value in learning an additional language* (199), and the third most important reason was (6) *greater access to higher education* (97).<sup>(7)</sup> This result clearly indicates that such social incentives as described above play important roles when parents decide to enrol their children in French immersion programmes.

These social incentives work not only for parents but also for students, helping them to stay in French immersion programmes until they complete secondary education. Their continued enrolment will culminate in the accumulation of a large number of French language instruction hours, which is considered to be very conducive to the attainment of native-like proficiency in French. Immersion graduates with native-like proficiency in French can naturally enjoy socio-economic benefits offered by the official languages policy. This further stimulates popular interest in French immersion education, and eventually contributes, and has contributed, to its steady expansion.

## Chapter 8

### Research on Stakeholders' Perceptions of French Immersion Success

This chapter describes the research which was conducted as part of the present research in Ottawa, one of the centres of French immersion education in Canada, in order to capture stakeholders' perceptions of the success of French immersion education.

#### 8.1. Purpose

The purpose of the research reported here is to investigate how people involved in French immersion education may perceive its reported success personally. In other words, the research tries to examine how far and why French immersion education has been successful in Canada through analyzing stakeholders' perceptions, putting its quantitative and qualitative success reported in Chapter 4 in another evaluative perspective. In the process, the research will also look into how stakeholders' perceptions of the success of French immersion education may vary from one group to another or within one group, and try to find possible reasons behind those variations in their perceptions.

#### 8.2. Participants

The research, which was conducted in Ottawa in August through October in 2003,<sup>(1)</sup> targeted the following four groups of people who are or have been involved in French immersion education in some way or another; (1) 122 parents whose children are currently enrolled in French immersion programmes offered by the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board in Ottawa, (2) forty-two former immersion students, most of whom are currently studying at two universities (Carleton University and the University of Ottawa) in Ottawa, (3) eight principals (including two vice-principals) of schools offering French immersion programmes in Ottawa under the jurisdiction of the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board and the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board, and (4) nine immersion researchers who have been actively engaged in research on French immersion education.<sup>(2)</sup>

It should be pointed out at the onset, however, that the method of sampling the participants for the present research was not random, but opportunistic; most of the participants were contacted through the personal channels built by the present researcher in Ottawa over the past several years. This necessitates a careful interpretation of the obtained results. The fact that the research was conducted in Ottawa, one of the centres of French immersion education in Canada, also makes it difficult to generalize the obtained results for the rest of the country. Despite these limitations in the research design, it is hoped that the present research will at least

illuminate some significant tendencies in the way the success of French immersion education is perceived by its stakeholders.

### 8.3. Method

#### 8.3.1. Questionnaires and interviews

In order to pursue the research purpose, a number of pertinent questions were first listed up and then converted into the form of a questionnaire and an interview for the respective groups of participants. For the parents, the questionnaire was sent out and then collected through the schools. Out of the 122 parents, 75 parents were contacted through their primary schools, and 47 parents through their secondary schools. Most of the children of these 122 parents (98 out of 122) are or were enrolled in early immersion. Most of the forty-two former immersion students were contacted in their university language classes on campus for a questionnaire while several other former students were interviewed in person either on or off campus. Out of the forty-two former immersion students, 28 were enrolled in early immersion, 3 in middle immersion and 11 in late immersion. As far as the principals and the researchers are concerned, they were contacted through the researcher's personal connections built upon the past several years' fieldwork in Ottawa. They were interviewed individually except one principal and one researcher who filled out the mailed questionnaire.

The interviews were conducted mainly in accordance with the list of the questions that also appear in the respective questionnaire, but at the same time they had the purpose of eliciting additional information from the participants that could be hard to capture through the written questionnaire.

#### 8.3.2. Questions for the participants

In order to elicit the participants' perceptions of the degree and cause of French immersion success, questions asking for graded responses were prepared for the questionnaires and the structured interviews, with some modifications in the wording to suit the situation of each group of participants. The participants were asked to specify their own perceptions by choosing one of the alternatives given for each question. The following are the questions used in the questionnaire for the immersion students (Cf. Appendices for the questions for the parents, principals and researchers):

*Q1. Are you satisfied with the French immersion programme you took or you are taking?*

- |                              |                                |                               |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>1. quite satisfied</i>    | <i>2. fairly satisfied</i>     | <i>3. can't tell for sure</i> |
| <i>4. not very satisfied</i> | <i>5. not satisfied at all</i> |                               |

*Q2. Are you satisfied with the French proficiency you achieved or have achieved at school?*

- |                              |                                |                               |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>1. quite satisfied</i>    | <i>2. fairly satisfied</i>     | <i>3. can't tell for sure</i> |
| <i>4. not very satisfied</i> | <i>5. not satisfied at all</i> |                               |

*Q3. Do you think that the French immersion programmes have been successful as a whole?*



1. quite successful                      2. fairly successful                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very successful                      5. not successful at all

Q4. How far do you think the French immersion programmes have been successful in achieving the following objectives?

(a) *Fostering functional bilingualism*

1. quite successful                      2. fairly successful                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very successful                      5. not successful at all

(b) *Guaranteeing the same level of scholastic achievements as the regular programme students*

1. quite successful                      2. fairly successful                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very successful                      5. not successful at all

(c) *Fostering empathy toward francophone people and francophone culture*

1. quite successful                      2. fairly successful                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very successful                      5. not successful at all

(d) *Promoting the rapport between English Canada and French Canada*

1. quite successful                      2. fairly successful                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very successful                      5. not successful at all

Q5a. If you agree that the French immersion programmes have been quite or fairly successful, what do you think has contributed most to their success? Please choose the five most important contributors out of the list below, and indicate their importance by writing numbers in ( ). [1 stands for the most important, 2 for the second most important, etc.]

- ( ) *logistic support from the official languages policy by the federal government*  
( ) *initiation of programmes by grass-root parental movements*  
( ) *the experiential nature of the curriculum itself which does not focus on minute details*  
( ) *employment of qualified teachers of bilingual competence*  
( ) *homogeneity of students with the same culture and null French proficiency at the start*  
( ) *socio-economic status of the French language as the official language of Canada*  
( ) *voluntary enrollment in programmes*  
( ) *availability of good teaching materials and other resources*  
( ) *respect for students' native language (i.e. English) and its culture*  
( ) *high motivation and advanced study-skills of immersion students*

Q5b. If you do not agree that the French immersion programmes have been successful, what do you think has affected the French immersion programmes most negatively? Please choose the five most negative factors out of the list below, and indicate their seriousness by writing numbers in ( ). [1 stands for the most serious, 2 for the second most serious, etc.]

- ( ) *lack of support from educational authorities*  
( ) *negative (e.g., elitist) associations with immersion programmes*  
( ) *too much emphasis on French and too little emphasis on English*  
( ) *lack of qualified teachers of bilingual competence*  
( ) *classes composed of students with mixed French proficiencies*  
( ) *lack of opportunities to practice French in the communities*  
( ) *assignment of wrong subjects to French instruction*  
( ) *lack of proper teaching materials and resources*  
( ) *high staff turnover, causing inconsistencies in programmes*  
( ) *lack of motivation to study French among students*

The first two questions, which were asked only to the former students and the parents, try to tap the participants' perceptions of the scale of immersion success in a somewhat indirect way in terms of the degree of their satisfaction with the

programmes concerned and with the acquired French proficiency. The third question, which was asked to all the groups of participants, tries to tap the participants' perceptions in a more direct way. The fourth question, which was asked to the former students, the principals, and the researchers, tries to tap, through its four sub-questions, the participants' perceptions of the scale of immersion success in achieving the four goals of different nature. The first two sub-questions correspond to the explicit goals of French immersion education which are often stipulated by school boards offering French immersion education in their statement of programme objectives while the second two questions correspond to the implicit goals of French immersion education which have been surmised from various administrative and academic documents dealing with French immersion education (e.g., Canadian Heritage, 1997; Genesee, 1987; OME, 2001; Government of Canada, 2003). When answering the given questions, the participants were invited to provide their free comments both in the questionnaires and in the interviews, in case they felt that the given indicators for the questions would not properly tap their perceptions or in case they wished to qualify their responses.

Finally, in order to elicit the participants' perceptions of the relative importance of possible contributing factors of immersion success, Q5a was prepared with a list of ten possible contributors to immersion success, taking into account the results of the foregoing analyses of factors which have contributed to the success of French immersion education. The ten contributors presented to the participants address the three types of factors for immersion success which have been delineated in the previous three chapters; pedagogical factors, institutional factors, and societal factors. The first and sixth contributors thus address the societal factors, the second, third, seventh and eighth contributors address the institutional factors, and the fourth, fifth, ninth and tenth contributors address the pedagogical factors respectively. This arrangement allows the researcher to determine which factors are perceived to be most conducive to immersion success by the participants.

Assuming that there should be some participants who would show a negative evaluation of immersion education in Q4, Q5b was prepared with a list of ten possible factors hindering French immersion success. As in the case of Q5a, these ten shortcomings can be grouped into three broad categories. The first and sixth shortcomings address the societal factors of hindrance, the second, third, seventh and eighth shortcomings address the institutional factors of hindrance, and the fourth, fifth, ninth and tenth shortcomings address the pedagogical factors of hindrance respectively. Whether their evaluation of French immersion education might be positive or negative, the participants were asked to choose what they perceived as the five most important factors out of the ten and rank them in terms of their significance as contributors or shortcomings as much as possible. Furthermore, if they found any of the given factors rather irrelevant to their evaluation of immersion success or failure,

the participants were invited to offer their own contributors or shortcomings instead.

## 8.4. Results

### 8.4.1. Satisfaction with French immersion programmes

Table 8-1 below, which corresponds to Q1 in the questionnaire above, represents how far the participants are satisfied with their French immersion programmes. If we combine the figures for “quite satisfied” and “fairly satisfied,” 93.5% of the surveyed parents feel satisfied with the programmes which their child or children are taking now, while 95.2% of the surveyed former immersion students feel satisfied with the programmes they took at school. The administration of the Wilcoxon rank sum test did not detect a statistically significant difference between the parents’ responses and the students’ responses. These high percentages were more or less expected since the survey was conducted with the parents whose children are currently enrolled in French immersion programmes and with the former immersion students, many of whom are currently studying at a university with a bilingual environment. Therefore, these high figures should be qualified to a certain degree. Nevertheless, the extremely high level of satisfaction among the participants is quite amazing for those who are engaged in English language education in a country like Japan, where the current practice is under severe criticism from different quarters of the society for its relative inefficacy despite the huge volume of educational and financial resources spent on its administration.

Table 8-1: Satisfaction with French Immersion Programmes (n & %)

| definition           | parents |      | students |      |
|----------------------|---------|------|----------|------|
| quite satisfied      | 65      | 53.3 | 19       | 45.2 |
| fairly satisfied     | 49      | 40.2 | 21       | 50.0 |
| can't tell either    | 4       | 3.3  | 1        | 2.4  |
| not very satisfied   | 3       | 2.5  | 1        | 2.4  |
| not satisfied at all | 1       | 0.8  | 0        | 0.0  |
| total                | 122     | 100  | 42       | 100  |

### 8.4.2. Satisfaction with acquired French proficiency

Table 8-2 below, which corresponds to Q2 in the questionnaire, represents how far the participants are satisfied with the French proficiency acquired through French immersion programmes. If we combine the figures for “quite satisfied” and “fairly satisfied,” 96.9% of the surveyed parents feel satisfied with the French proficiency which their child or children have acquired at school so far, while 85.7% of the former students feel satisfied with their French proficiency they attained at school. The administration of the Wilcoxon rank sum test detected a statistically significant difference ( $U=2069.0$ ,  $z=-2.034$ ,  $p<.05$ ) between the parents’ responses and the students’ responses, with the parents being more positive than the students about the

acquired French proficiency. These high figures, just like those in Table 8-1, are quite amazing for EFL professionals in Japan because parents are more often than not the most severe critics of our EFL programmes for failing to foster proper communicative competence in English in learners. This is one of the reasons Japanese parents have a strong wish to send their children to English-speaking countries both for a short term and for a long term, hoping that they will improve their English competence miraculously by staying with native speakers of English.

Table 8-2: Satisfaction with Acquired French Proficiency (n & %)

| definition           | parents |      | students |      |
|----------------------|---------|------|----------|------|
| quite satisfied      | 55      | 45.1 | 10       | 23.8 |
| fairly satisfied     | 51      | 41.8 | 26       | 61.9 |
| can't tell either    | 7       | 5.7  | 2        | 4.8  |
| not very satisfied   | 8       | 6.6  | 4        | 9.5  |
| not satisfied at all | 1       | 0.8  | 0        | 0.0  |
| total                | 122     | 100  | 42       | 100  |

#### 8.4.3. Successfulness of French immersion education as a whole

Table 8-3 below, which corresponds to Q3 in the questionnaire, represents direct overall assessments by the participants, including the principals and the researchers, of the efficacy of French immersion education. If we combine the figures for “quite successful” and “fairly successful,” French immersion education was assessed as successful as a whole by 80.3% of the surveyed parents, 92.9% of the students, and 100% of the principals and the researchers who participated in this research.

Table 8-3: Scale of Success of French Immersion Education (n & %)

| definition            | parents |      | students |      | principals |      | researchers |      |
|-----------------------|---------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-------------|------|
| quite successful      | 45      | 36.9 | 18       | 42.9 | 5          | 62.5 | 7           | 77.8 |
| fairly successful     | 53      | 43.4 | 21       | 50.0 | 3          | 37.5 | 2           | 22.2 |
| can't tell for sure   | 18      | 14.8 | 2        | 4.8  | 0          | 0    | 0           | 0.0  |
| not very successful   | 4       | 3.3  | 1        | 2.4  | 0          | 0    | 0           | 0.0  |
| not successful at all | 2       | 1.6  | 0        | 0.0  | 0          | 0    | 0           | 0.0  |
| total                 | 122     | 100  | 42       | 100  | 8          | 100  | 9           | 100  |

The Kruskal-Wallis test detected a statistically significant difference among the responses by the four groups ( $\chi^2=9.394$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.05$ ), with the principals and the researchers being more positive than the parents and the students about the success of French immersion education. On the whole, however, the participants' perceptions of immersion success were quite positive. Nevertheless, the results also indicate that one out of every five parents whose children are currently enrolled in French immersion programmes is not convinced of its success. For example, several parents (not necessarily those who answered negatively to the question) expressed their concern about immersion education in their free comments as follows:

- I wish they did more “everyday” conversation.
- More French conversation is necessary. Main goal is for child to converse with other French people.
- I have noticed that most students who were in an immersion programme have a hard time speaking, let alone writing French.
- Programmes are successful for child with an aptitude for languages. For those less proficient, immersion programmes can frustrate.

It is difficult for those outside Canada to tell whether this ratio of satisfaction (80.3% for the parents and 92.9% for the students) is a matter for Canadian educators to be concerned about or a matter for them to simply take pride in, but it is clear that English language education in Japan does not enjoy such a great support from either parents or students.

#### 8.4.4. Successfulness in achieving the four objectives

Table 8-4 below, which corresponds to Q4 in the questionnaire above, represents the participants’ perceptions of immersion success in terms of the four explicitly or implicitly acknowledged objectives. Q4 was not included in the questionnaire for the parents.

Table 8-4: Immersion Success in Attaining Four Objectives (n & %)

| <b>(A) Fostering functional bilingualism</b>                          |               |      |                |      |                 |      |
|---|---------------|------|----------------|------|-----------------|------|
| definition  | students (42) |      | principals (8) |      | researchers (9) |      |
| quite successful  | 12            | 28.6 | 4              | 50.0 | 6               | 66.7 |
| fairly successful   | 24            | 57.1 | 4              | 50.0 | 3               | 33.3 |
| can't tell for sure   | 3             | 7.1  | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| not very successful   | 3             | 7.1  | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| not successful at all   | 0             | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| <b>(B) Guaranteeing proper scholastic achievements</b>                |               |      |                |      |                 |      |
| quite successful  | 15            | 35.7 | 4              | 50.0 | 7               | 77.8 |
| fairly successful   | 15            | 35.7 | 4              | 50.0 | 2               | 22.2 |
| can't tell for sure   | 7             | 16.7 | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| not very successful   | 5             | 11.9 | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| not successful at all   | 0             | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| <b>(C) Fostering empathy toward francophone people and culture</b>    |               |      |                |      |                 |      |
| quite successful  | 11            | 26.2 | 4              | 50.0 | 2               | 22.2 |
| fairly successful   | 15            | 35.7 | 2              | 25.0 | 3               | 33.3 |
| can't tell for sure   | 7             | 16.7 | 1              | 12.5 | 1               | 11.1 |
| not very successful   | 7             | 16.7 | 1              | 12.5 | 3               | 33.3 |
| not successful at all   | 2             | 4.8  | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |
| <b>(D) Promoting rapport between English Canada and French Canada</b> |               |      |                |      |                 |      |
| quite successful  | 4             | 9.5  | 2              | 25.0 | 1               | 11.1 |
| fairly successful   | 17            | 40.5 | 2              | 25.0 | 5               | 55.6 |
| can't tell for sure   | 14            | 33.3 | 3              | 37.5 | 0               | 0.0  |
| not very successful   | 6             | 14.3 | 1              | 12.5 | 3               | 33.3 |
| not successful at all   | 1             | 2.4  | 0              | 0    | 0               | 0    |

##### 8.4.4.1. Intergroup variation

First of all, if we combine the responses for “quite successful” and “fairly successful,” French immersion education was perceived as successful in fostering functional bilingualism by 85.7% of the 42 former students and by 100% of the eight

principals and the nine researchers surveyed in this research, implying that students tend to be more conservative in assessing the success of French immersion education in fostering functional bilingualism than principals and researchers. This difference in perceptions was found to be statistically significant by the Kruskal-Wallis test ( $\chi^2=6.153$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<.05$ ). On the whole, however, the participants' perceptions were quite positive. This is in spite of the criticisms voiced against French immersion education that the French proficiency of immersion students falls far short of that of French-speaking peers, especially in written grammar and oral production skills. Many researchers, including those who support immersion education, have reiterated that the French proficiency of immersion students does not approximate that of native speakers of French. However, this has not reduced the dimension of immersion success in the stakeholders' perceptions. In fact, it should be noted here that it is generally a great honour for L2 learners to have their L2 proficiency compared with that of native speakers of L2. Such being the case, the very fact that the French proficiency of immersion students is compared with that of native speakers of French is a strong proof for its success in developing high-level French proficiency. This is especially significant for those who are engaged in English language education in Japan, where the average TOEFL scores of English learners are always compared with a deep sigh with those of EFL learners in other countries in Asia (ETS, 2002), only to our great embarrassment.

Secondly, French immersion education was perceived as successful in guaranteeing immersion students the same level of scholastic achievement as are attained by regular programme students by 71.4% of the former students, and by 100% of the principals and the researchers surveyed in this research. This difference was also found to be statistically significant by the Kruskal-Wallis test ( $\chi^2=6.990$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<.05$ ), implying that students tend to be less positive about immersion success in guaranteeing proper scholastic achievement. According to the results above, seven out of every ten immersion students will find little difficulty in studying such regular school subjects as mathematics and science through French while three out of every ten students may feel somewhat uneasy about learning those school subjects in French, as indicated by a student who wrote in his free comment that "it was hard to do all my classes in French at grade 7 when I had no prior knowledge." This uneasiness seems to be aggravated in secondary schools, where it often happens that courses taught in French are not necessarily those they feel most confident in taking due to the limited number of courses offered in French. Furthermore, students, especially university-bound students, are under high pressure for better grades in such key subjects as mathematics and science and tend to feel that they are somewhat disadvantaged in getting good grades in comparison with regular programme students studying the same subjects in English. Here it is worthy of note that seven out of the eight principals are stationed at primary schools, where there exists far less pressure

for better grades in those key subjects and much emphasis is placed on holistic understanding of subject matters in general terms. In such situations, studying regular subjects in French does not pose much difficulty for students. This may explain the higher percentage for success among the principals than among the former students.

Thirdly, French immersion education was perceived as successful in fostering empathy toward francophone people and their culture by 26 (61.9%) of the 42 students, six (75.0%) out of the eight principals and five (55.5%) out of the nine researchers. Thus the perceptions of the participants on this third objective were much less positive than those on the first two objectives. No statistically significant difference was detected between the perceptions of the three groups of the participants. Empathy is regarded by Scarcella & Oxford (1992) as the highest level of cultural awareness to be nurtured in second language learners. The moderate result in fostering empathy toward francophone people and culture may have much to do with the way French is used by immersion students. According to van der Keilen (1995, p.299), when French is actually spoken, it "occurs almost entirely within the familiar settings of home, family, English-speaking friends and recreational groups," and "FI students when speaking French are responding more to the need to practice one's acquired competence than to a desire for contact with the target group." Similar French language usage patterns are reported by Lapkin, Swain, Kamin & Hanna (1983) and Genesee (1987). On the surface, this may suggest immersion students' reluctance to use French in authentic contexts, but in truth it should be interpreted to reflect the lack of contact between immersion students and francophone people and culture (MacFarlane & Wesche, 1995; MacFarlane, 2001).

Finally, French immersion education was perceived as successful in promoting rapport between English Canada and French Canada by only 21 (50.0%) of the 42 students, four (50.0%) out of the eight principals and six (66.7%) out of the nine researchers. The ratio of the positive perceptions is thus much reduced in comparison with those on the first two objectives, and this is true for all the three groups of the participants. No statistically significant difference in the perceptions was detected between the three groups of the participants.

#### 8.4.4.2. Intragroup variation

In order to see the intragroup variation in perceptions of the scale of immersion success in the four objectives, the Friedman's test was administered to the responses of the former students, the principals and the researchers. The test detected a statistically significant difference in the perceptions of each group ( $N=42$ ,  $\chi^2=13.450$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.01$  for students;  $N=8$ ,  $\chi^2=8.375$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.05$  for the principals;  $N=9$ ,  $\chi^2=14.104$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<.01$  for the researchers). Each group perceived the achievement in the first and second objectives more positively than that in the third and fourth objectives. The multiple comparison applied to the results of the students revealed

that the difference between the responses in the first objective (functional bilingualism) and those in the fourth objective (rapport between two Canada's) and the difference between the responses in the second objective (scholastic achievements) and those in the fourth objective are statistically significant ( $z=-3.294$ ,  $p<.01$ ;  $z=-2.820$ ,  $p<.01$ ). This implies that French immersion education is perceived to be more successful in attaining linguistic and cognitive goals than affective and societal goals. In fact, it is quite intriguing that 85.7% of the students perceived French immersion education to be successful in fostering functional bilingualism while only 50% perceived it to be successful in promoting rapport between English Canada and French Canada. This result echoes the findings by MacFarlane & Wesche (1995, p.257) that "the ultimate societal goal of immersion—interaction between the two cultures and their members—has been only partially realized." However, it will be interesting to see how the ratio of positive perceptions of the success in attaining this final goal will change over the years to come. This is because the present researcher firmly believes in the potential of learning another language in overcoming barriers between two different cultures (Ito, 2002), and Canada can be said to be in the middle of a grand experiment to verify this belief.

#### 8.4.5. Factors that have contributed most to immersion success

Table 8-5 below, which corresponds to Q5a in the questionnaire above, shows the participants' perceptions of the relative importance of the ten contributors to the success of French immersion education. The participants were asked to choose and rank the five most important contributors out of the ten. They were also invited to name new contributors in case they could not find suitable ones in the given list. The ten contributors in the list were all endorsed as more or less legitimate contributors to the success of French immersion education by the researchers interviewed for this study.

Table 8-5: Contributors to Success of French Immersion Education

| possible contributing factors                | parents |      | students |      | principals |      | researchers |      | rank |
|--|---------|------|----------|------|------------|------|-------------|------|------|
|  | points  | rank | points   | rank | points     | rank | poins       | rank |      |
| logistic support from the federal government | 187     | 2    | 66       | 3    | 22         | 2    | 20          | 2    | 1    |
| initiation by grass-root parental movements  | 64      | 10   | 31       | 9    | 14         | 4    | 24          | 1    | 6    |
| experiential nature of the curriculum        | 88      | 9    | 24       | 10   | 2          | 10   | 9           | 7    | 10   |
| employment of qualified teachers             | 355     | 1    | 116      | 1    | 17         | 3    | 11          | 6    | 2    |
| homogeneity of students                      | 112     | 8    | 45       | 7    | 3          | 9    | 18          | 3    | 9    |
| socio-economic status of French              | 134     | 6    | 64       | 4    | 10         | 6    | 7           | 9    | 7    |
| voluntary enrollment in programmes           | 157     | 3    | 53       | 6    | 9          | 8    | 15          | 4    | 4    |
| availability of good teaching materials      | 135     | 5    | 56       | 5    | 11         | 5    | 1           | 10   | 7    |
| respect for students' native language        | 141     | 4    | 41       | 8    | 10         | 6    | 12          | 5    | 5    |
| high motivation and advanced study-skills    | 132     | 7    | 75       | 2    | 25         | 1    | 8           | 8    | 3    |

The figures (points) shown for each contributor have been calculated in the following manner: Five points were assigned to the most important contributor, four points to



the 2nd most important one, three points to the 3rd most important one, two points to the 4th most important one, and one point to the 5th most important one. In case the chosen contributors were not ranked, they received equal points, normally five points. Finally, the assigned points were tabulated for each contributor.

Both the parents and the students nominated the employment of qualified teachers as by far the most important contributor to the success of French immersion education. This is in sharp contrast with the choices by the principals and the researchers. Although the responses from the principals and the researchers should be considered as supplementary for the present discussion because of the small number of their responses, the principals as a group assigned the greatest importance to high motivation and advanced study-skills, ranking employment of qualified teachers as the third most important. The researchers as a group nominated initiation by grass-root parental movements as the most important contributor, assigning the 6th place to employment of qualified teachers.

The reason the employment of qualified teachers was ranked as the most important contributor by the parents and the students alike is probably because bilingual immersion teachers are basically the most predominant figures in their daily transactions with the school and the programme. This also indicates that good qualified bilingual teachers are indeed employed by the school board concerned; otherwise, this contributor would not have been nominated as the most important in the first place.

On the whole, it can be inferred from the table above that the ranking of the ten contributors by the parents, the students, the principals and the researchers does well reflect each party's different concerns with French immersion education. For example, the parents' choice of "logistic support from the federal government" as the 2nd most important contributor is considered to reflect their perception of the linkage between the federal official languages policy and French immersion education. In another small-scale research on motivation for enrolment conducted in Ottawa by the present researcher (cf. Chapter 7), the parents as a group chose "future advantage for your child to get a good job" as by far the most important motive among the ten given motives. This implies that the official languages policy by the federal government, especially the fact that bilingualism is regarded as a strong merit in recruitment, is functioning as a strong incentive for Ottawa parents to enrol their children into French immersion programmes, hoping that they will develop functional bilingualism in the end.

Similarly, the principals' choice of "high motivation and advanced study-skills of immersion students" as the most important contributor, "logistic support from the official languages policy by the federal government" as the second most important, and "employment of qualified teachers of bilingual competence" as the third most important may be considered to reflect the priority given by principals to their daily

concerns as the head of their schools. The same applies to the choice by the researchers as a group of “initiation of programmes by grass-root parental movements” as the most important contributor on one hand and “employment of qualified teachers of bilingual competence” only as the 6th most important contributor on the other hand. Researchers are generally detached from the daily realities in the immersion classrooms, and are more concerned with the overall framework of immersion education. In this connection, it is quite worthy of note that one of the researchers pointed out in the interview that the dissemination of positive research findings indicating the advantages and potentials of immersion education, although not included in the ten contributors, has helped French immersion education to be widely accepted and supported as a school programme alternative for anglophone children.

Table 8-6 below shows the Pearson correlation coefficients between the responses by the parents, the former students, the principals and the researchers concerning the important factors contributing to immersion success as shown in Table 8-5 above. It indicates high correlations among the parents, the former students and the principals in their responses, and quite low correlations between the researchers on one hand and the parents, the former students, and the principals on the other. This is quite natural, since parents, students and principals in general are equally concerned about the daily realities in immersion classrooms, assigning greater contributing powers to those items concerned with the educational activities at school, while researchers are in principle fairly detached from those realities. This difference in their frame of reference may explain the high and low correlation coefficients in the table below.

Table 8-6: Correlation between Participants' Responses

|            | students | principals | researchers |
|------------|----------|------------|-------------|
| parents    | 0.925**  | 0.504      | -0.127      |
| students   |          | 0.686*     | -0.211      |
| principals |          |            | 0.056       |

\*\* p<.01 \* p<.05

#### 8.4.6. Factors that have affected immersion education most negatively

As far as negative perceptions about immersion success are concerned, only six parents out of 122 and one student out of 42 indicated that French immersion education was either not very successful or not successful at all. Considering their small numbers, only a brief summary should be sufficient about the parental responses concerning the negative factors affecting immersion education. Among the ten negative factors, “lack of opportunities to practice French” (84 points), “lack of motivation to study French” (57 points), and “lack of proper teaching materials” (38 points) were among the most serious factors affecting immersion programmes negatively. Since the research was carried out in Ottawa, which has a strong bilingual atmosphere with a large number of federal bilingual offices, it can easily be expected

that negative perceptions about immersion success would be greater in other parts of Canada, where the social atmosphere is not so bilingual as that in Ottawa.

## 8.5. Discussion

### 8.5.1. Major findings of the research

Several interesting facts have emerged out of the present research on stakeholders' perceptions on French immersion education. First of all, very positive perceptions about immersion success have been detected among all the groups of the participants contacted in the research. This great support for French immersion education, however, should be qualified to a certain degree simply because the participants for the questionnaires and interviews were those who are or were directly involved in French immersion education. It is quite probable that perceptions from those who are not involved in it or from those who oppose the idea of immersion education itself may be much less positive or rather negative from the start. A qualification should also be made because of the small size of the groups of principals and researchers contacted for this research. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the method of sampling those principals and researchers was not random, but opportunistic, relying on the researcher's personal connections. Even accepting these qualifications, the highly positive perceptions of immersion success obtained in this research are quite illuminating for those who are constantly under severe criticism from the public for failure to foster high-level communicative competence in English among young people in Japan.

Secondly, the research has also revealed substantial intragroup and intergroup variation in the perceptions of the scale of achievement in realizing the four goals of French immersion education. As far as the intragroup variation is concerned, linguistic and scholastic achievement tended to be more highly perceived than affective and societal achievement in all the groups of participants. As far as the intergroup variation is concerned, the perceptions by the researchers tended to be more positive than those by the parents and the students. This intergroup variation from one group to another can be related to the psychological distance between the participants and the immersion programmes; the shorter the distance is, the less positive the perceptions are. High expectations seem to be trimmed little by little by encountered realities.

Thirdly, the research has revealed substantial intergroup variation in perceptions of relative importance of the factors that have contributed to the success of immersion education. As a whole, the parents and the former students tended to value more highly the factors specific to the programmes while the researchers tended to value more highly the factors not directly related with the programmes. This variation in perception from one group of participants to another is most typically represented by the difference in the degrees of importance assigned to the teacher factors by the

participants. The teacher factors were the most important contributors among the parents and the former students while they were among the least important contributors among the researchers. Even the high evaluation of the societal factors as contributors to immersion success, which is shared by all the groups of participants, should be given a different interpretation. It is quite probable that parents and students tend to value societal factors in terms of practical benefits associated with the federal government's official languages policy while researchers are much more concerned with the logistic and financial support from the federal and provincial governments for French immersion education.

#### 8.5.2. Putting positive perceptions in a perspective

The present research has detected very positive perceptions of the success of French immersion education among stakeholders. Given these positive perceptions of immersion success together with the drastic increases in the numbers of schools offering immersion education and students learning in French immersion programmes since its inauguration in Quebec as well as the increase in the rate of bilingualism among young Canadians (Churchill, 1998),<sup>(3)</sup> there is no doubt that French immersion education in Canada has scored a major success as an educational enterprise both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Needless to say, this must of itself mean a great deal for Canadian educators, but for researchers outside Canada who have been following the development of French immersion education in Canada, it is more intriguing to find out what has brought about this huge success. The present research has tried to answer this question by eliciting and analyzing perceptions from stakeholders about possible contributors to immersion success. The obtained results have revealed that teacher factors and societal factors are perceived as vital contributors to the success of French immersion education as a whole. At the same time, different groups of participants have shown wide variation in the perceptions of what has contributed most to immersion success: parents and former students tend to acknowledge teacher factors most while researchers tend to acknowledge one of the institutional factors (i.e., initiation by grass-root parental movements) most, reflecting their educational stances.

The most important revelation obtained through the present research, however, is that positive public perceptions of French immersion success, in conjunction with the reported pedagogical success in fostering functional bilingualism in immersion students at no cost of their native language development and scholastic achievement, can be considered to have contributed to the enormous success of French immersion education as an alternative educational programme for young Canadians, as suggested by Ferguson, Houghton & Wells (1977, p.174) :

Ultimately, the success of bilingual education can be measured only in terms of specific goals, and it depends more on people's attitudes and expectations than on

pedagogical methods or on linguistic factors such as the degree of difference between languages or language varieties.

In Chapter 4, the success of French immersion education was divided into micro-level success and macro-level success. Krashen (1984)'s case for comprehensible input as a cause of immersion success is to be applied to the micro-level success on a personal level, while positive public perceptions of French immersion education should be regarded more as an instrument in achieving the macro-level success on a societal level as in the following figure:

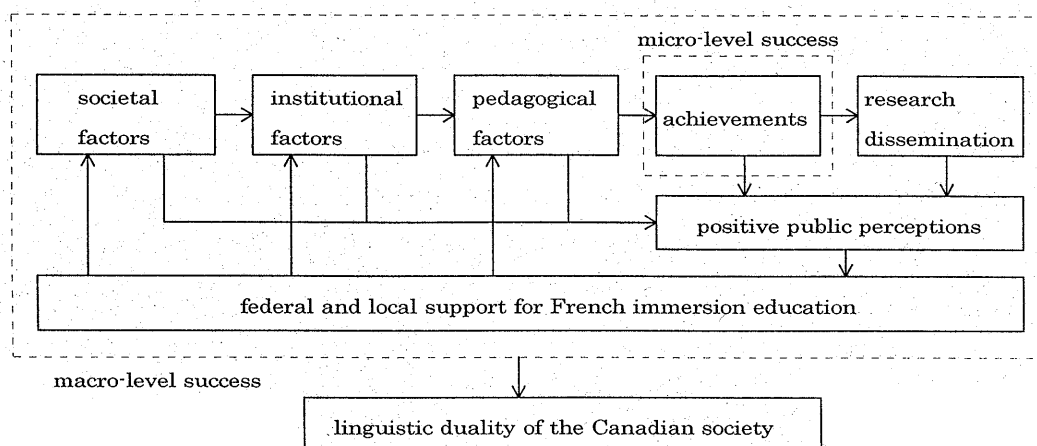


Figure 8-1: Success at Micro and Macro Levels

Figure 8-1 above, modelled on Wesche (2002)'s dichotomy between contextual factors and programme factors as contributors to French immersion success, shows that positive public perceptions (parental perceptions at the center) are formed through five different channels. People, especially parents, are well aware of the social value of the French proficiency that will be achieved through immersion experience (societal channel), and they are also aware that schools that offer French immersion programmes have well-qualified bilingual teachers (institutional and pedagogical channels). Linguistic and scholastic achievements of immersion students are much appreciated by people involved in immersion education (achievements channel), who are also much encouraged by evaluation reports about French immersion education issued by local school boards, researchers of immersion education, federal and provincial governments, and other organizations, including the Canadian Parents of French (research dissemination channel).

This last point was emphasized by several researchers in their interviews as a vital contributor to the success of French immersion education. The figure above also illustrates how positive public perceptions (often represented by stakeholders' perceptions) about French immersion education transform themselves into federal and local support for French immersion education, which in turn will materialize into societal factors and institutional factors that help immersion teachers and learners to foster functional bilingualism, completing the circulatory process of French immersion

success at the macro-level. The figure further implies the possibility that this circulatory process of French immersion success will help to consolidate the linguistic duality of the Canadian society. In this light, Collet (1997, p.17) is quite right when he asserts that “tomorrow’s Canada is built in today’s classrooms.” From an outsider’s perspective, it is evident that this circulatory process encompassing both the micro-level success and the macro-level success of French immersion education should be behind its huge expansion during the last four decades from its original model started at St. Lambert. This is exactly why French immersion education in Canada can be said to have “stood the test of time” (Wesche, 2002, p.357).

### 8.5.3. Current problems and future issues

The assessment that French immersion education has stood the test of time does not mean, however, that it is free from any problems or difficulties. The review of the literature on French immersion education and the field work conducted over the past several years in Ottawa as part of the present research have detected several problems to be solved immediately or in the near future.

The first of those current problems is the improvement of the French proficiency of immersion students, especially their productive proficiency. As is pointed out in Chapter 4, immersion graduates from secondary schools will develop a native-like proficiency in comprehending oral and written French, but not in productive skills of speaking and writing. Their oral or written utterances still include a considerable number of lexical and grammatical mistakes. It is argued that this will result partly from too much emphasis on comprehensible input and little emphasis on output, and partly from too much emphasis on meaning and little emphasis on form, in immersion classrooms. Swain (1996), who analyzed the utterances from Grade 6 immersion students in class, has found out that there existed relatively few chances for them to speak during the lessons, and that most of the utterances actually spoken in class were rather short, consisting of a few words. As a remedy for this situation, Swain (1998) proposes the use of collaborative language production tasks in immersion classes, reflecting a recent theoretical orientation toward more focus on form (Doughty & Williams, 1998).

The second current problem is the dispersion of educational resources through double-tracking or multiple-tracking of school education. French immersion education was started as an experimental FSL programme to improve students’ French proficiency, but today it is regarded as a legitimate alternative of school education. As a result, it often happens that a single school offers both a regular English programme and one or two (sometimes three) French immersion programmes. This means that two or three programmes compete with each other for better educational resources, including competent teachers, but the educational resources affordable for each school will basically remain the same because the student population does not change at all.

This will inevitably lead to the dispersal of limited educational resources.

The third current problem is the progression and promotion of selective education, i.e., education for a relatively small number of chosen or gifted students, despite intentions of individual school boards offering French immersion programmes. Setting aside the Ottawa-Carleton region where French immersion education is very popular with almost 50-percent enrolment among school-age children, French immersion education is functioning as a sort of gifted education for smarter children in most areas across Canada where French immersion education is still on the rise. One of the surveyed parents in the present research said in her free comment that she decided to enrol her child in the French immersion programme because she did not want her child to go to a near-by school where only a regular English programme was offered. There is no doubt that the psychological orientation of this kind is not peculiar to that particular parent, but is shared by many parents across Canada. This apparently contradicts the basic philosophy of Canadian education which aims at offering education of best quality to all the children studying at public schools.

The fourth problem is the ever increasing burden to be shouldered by regular English programmes. Most of this burden is created by the second and third problems mentioned above. If a school decides to offer a regular English programme and a French immersion programme, they will need twice the number of current teachers as long as they keep the number of classes for each grade intact. In practice, however, they are forced to combine classes of the same grade or, classes of adjacent grades in case the school in question is a small school with one class for each grade, sometime creating bigger classes than before. Teachers have to share the limited educational resources for doubled classes. This kind of emergency practice is more often directed toward regular English programmes than for immersion programmes. In addition to this institutional problem, regular English programmes are facing another serious problem, i.e., the existence of students of mixed scholastic abilities and diverse ethnic backgrounds. They also receive quite constantly a new flux of dropouts from French immersion programmes. It is obvious that this is making more and more challenging and consuming the task of teachers assigned to regular English programmes.

As far as future issues are concerned, schools offering French immersion programmes will be expected, first of all, to strengthen its autonomy and improve its administrative environment as the enrolment increases. As is already observable in the Ottawa-Carleton region which has almost 50 percent enrolment among school-age children, students of mixed scholastic abilities and of diverse ethnic backgrounds will participate in French immersion programmes as they get more and more popular. In the past, the homogeneity of students has been maintained in a way through natural attrition. From now on, however, immersion teachers will be expected to teach all the enrolled students instead of dropping out problematic students to regular English programmes, since teachers of regular English programmes are already loaded with

many problems, including problems of juvenile delinquency, racism, learning difficulties, to name just a few. French immersion education will stop being gifted education some day. When it happens, strong administrative teams will be needed for immersion programmes as well who can cope with problems in French so that the French-speaking atmosphere will be maintained nevertheless.

The second issue for the future is the optimal timing for introducing English language arts lessons into early French immersion programmes. At the moment, English language arts lessons are introduced at Grade 2 in most immersion programmes. However, recent emphasis on early literacy is redirecting researchers' and educators' attention to this issue (CAIT, 1995b). In the future, English language arts lessons may start at Grade 1, reducing the period of total immersion in French.

Thirdly, the optimal form of French immersion education is still to be decided, including the timing of starting immersion education itself. French immersion education is a very expensive educational programme for school boards. If it turns out that middle immersion or late immersion is as effective as early immersion in spite of less expenditure, school boards may opt for middle or late immersion, or some other form of immersion education. The Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board (OCCSB) is already experimenting on downsizing its partial (50/50) early French immersion programmes into Extended French programmes without lowering the level of French proficiency of immersion graduates (OCCSB, 2000).

Despite these current problems and issues for the future, it can be concluded that French immersion education in Canada has been very successful, if we consider the fact that it has grown from a tiny experimental programme for only 26 students at a school in Quebec into a nation-wide active programme in which more than 320,000 students are currently enrolled at more than 2,100 schools across the country, making a vital contribution to the increase in the bilingual rate among young Canadians.



Part 3

Crossroads between  
Immersion Education and English Language Education in Japan

## Chapter 9

### Globalization and School English Language Education

#### 9.1. English as a Global Language

##### 9.1.1. Globalization through English

Starting as a minor local language spoken by Germanic tribes who invaded England in the fifth century, the English language today “encompasses the globe” (Hasman, 2000, p.3). The present-day global status of English has primarily been brought about by two factors; firstly, the expansion of British colonial power which peaked towards the end of the nineteenth century, and secondly the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the twentieth century (Crystal, 1997). Today English is the language which not only has the second largest L1 population (approximately 337 million), but is also the most widely used as L2 (approximately 235 million) by non-native speakers. English is one of the six official languages of the United Nations, and functions as the common working language alongside French. According to the survey of major international organizations (Crystal, 1997), 85% of the surveyed organizations designate English as their official language, while only 49% designate French as such. The other major languages which enjoy over 10% recognition are Arabic, Spanish, and German. Furthermore, one third (33%) use only English to carry on their affairs. This reliance on English by international organizations is especially conspicuous in Asia and the Pacific, where 90% of the international organizations carry on their proceedings entirely in English.

Similarly, about a third of the world’s newspapers are published in English-speaking countries and those countries where the English language has a special social status. About a quarter of the world’s periodicals are published in English-speaking countries. Most academic journals with an international readership are published in English. For example, 80% of the academic journals in physics are published entirely in English, and even in the field of linguistics, the rate amounts to nearly 70%. In 1994 about 45% of the world’s radio receivers were in those countries where English has a special social status; in 1996, 80% of all feature films given a theatrical release were in English; in 1990, 99% of the world pop groups worked entirely or predominantly in English and 95% of solo vocalists sang in English. Today 75% of the world’s mail is in English; about 80% of the world’s electronically stored information is currently in English; about 77% of the world Internet hosts are located in English-speaking countries (Crystal, 1997). According to Graddol (1997, p.51), 84.3% of the world’s homepages on the Web use English. It is also worth noting that English has long been recognized as the international language of the sea and the air. All these facts endorse not only the solid status of English as a global language, but also the advance of globalization of the world through English.

### 9.1.2. Globalization of English

Kachru (1985) views the spread of English around the world in terms of three concentric circles representing different ways in which English is acquired and used. The inner circle encompasses such English-speaking countries as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The outer circle includes those countries where English has a special social status predominantly as a lingua franca among people with different backgrounds, such as Nigeria, Zambia, Singapore, India, and Malaysia. The expanding circle covers those countries where English has little social use and is normally learned as a foreign language, such as China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Germany, and Russia. The inner circle has the population of 320-380 million, the outer circle 150-300 million, and the expanding circle 100-1,000 million (Crystal, 1997).

The globalization of English furthermore necessitates both quantitative and qualitative developments within the population patterns mentioned above. On a quantitative side, it is predicted that by 2010 there will be more L2 speakers of English than L1 speakers if current population and learning trends continue (Crystal, 1997; Hasman, 2000). This means that the situation in which L2 speakers of English are engaged in cross-cultural communication with another L2 speakers will be much more common than it is today. In addition to the quantitative explosion of L2 speakers, i.e. the expansion of the outer circle and the expanding circle in Kachru's terms, we will witness major status shifts (i.e. qualitative developments) from the outer circle to the inner circle and those from the expanding circle to the outer circle. For example, Graddol (1997) nominates 19 countries, including Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, Denmark and others, as candidates which will shift from the expanding circle status to the outer circle status.

Needless to say, such quantitative and qualitative developments accompanying the globalization of English have significant implications concerning the ownership of English (Ito, 2002). According to Kachru (1985, p.11), the globalization of English naturally promotes the "englishization" of other world languages and the "nativization" of English. The latter process may be grasped as the deanglicization of English, which does not allow English-speaking people to "claim sole ownership" (Crystal, 1997, p.130) over English any more, because English today "ceased to be a vehicle of Western culture; it only marginally carries the British and American way of life" (Kachru, 1984, p.67). It is expected that by 2050 the size of L2 population of English will be 1.5 times as large as that of L1 population. Then "the only possible concept of ownership will be a global one" (Crystal, 1997, p.130). English belongs to the world, not to any individual states or nations. Consequently, no one needs to "become more like native English speakers in order to use English well" (Smith, 1981, p.10).

## 9.2. Current Issues of School English Language Education

As Graddol (1997) has suggested, the globalization through English has already sown in several countries in the expanding circle some seeds for a shift from the expanding circle status to the outer circle status, or a shift from an EFL country to an ESL country. Given that Japan is one of the key countries in the global economy and if Japan is to remain so in the future as well, the time will soon come when Japan will have to consider quite seriously the possibility of that shift, i.e., the possibility of joining the outer circle. However, the shift will be realized only when English comes to be used as a means of communication, learning and business by a substantial number of Japanese citizens. This will naturally arouse hope and challenge for school English language education.

Unfortunately enough, however, school English language education has not been so efficient in producing competent speakers of English, and as such has been under severe criticism from all quarters of the society. According to the latest TOEFL Data Summary (ETS, 2003), Japan is ranked at the 29th among the 30 countries in Asia, as Table 9-1 below shows:

Table 9-1: Mean TOEFL Scores of 30 Asian Countries (2002-2003)

| Rank | Country      | Examinees | Mean | Rank | Country     | Examinees | Mean |
|------|--------------|-----------|------|------|-------------|-----------|------|
| 1    | Singapore    | 519       | 255  | 16   | Indonesia   | 7,334     | 210  |
| 2    | India        | 62,761    | 246  | 17   | Hong Kong   | 9,271     | 209  |
| 3    | Philippines  | 13,877    | 230  | 18   | Myanmar     | 372       | 208  |
| 4    | Malaysia     | 3,162     | 228  | 19   | Korea(ROK)  | 73,093    | 207  |
| 5    | Pakistan     | 8,130     | 228  | 20   | Vietnam     | 2,120     | 207  |
| 6    | Sri Lanka    | 1,394     | 221  | 21   | Tajikistan  | 65        | 206  |
| 7    | Kryrgyzstan  | 153       | 220  | 22   | Afghanistan | 207       | 201  |
| 8    | Nepal        | 2,618     | 220  | 23   | Laos        | 65        | 198  |
| 9    | Armenia      | 551       | 219  | 24   | Macau       | 409       | 198  |
| 10   | Kazakstan    | 674       | 219  | 25   | Taiwan      | 25,443    | 198  |
| 11   | Azerbaijan   | 233       | 217  | 26   | Thailand    | 11,062    | 197  |
| 12   | China        | 22,699    | 214  | 27   | Cambodia    | 95        | 194  |
| 13   | Bangladesh   | 3,318     | 213  | 28   | Mongolia    | 211       | 193  |
| 14   | Turkmenistan | 42        | 212  | 29   | Japan       | 84,254    | 185  |
| 15   | Uzbekistan   | 510       | 211  | 30   | Korea(DPR)  | 4,412     | 179  |

Table 9-1 shows the mean scores of the computer-based TOEFL tests for each country in Asia. The maximum score of the test is 300, and the mean score for the 30 Asian countries is 199 while that for the world (153 countries) is 214. Japan's mean score is far below these two mean scores. Among the 30 countries in the table, Japan should be ranked at the top in the lump sum of financial expenditure for school English language education. It has to be admitted, therefore, that the low mean score of Japan is not proportional to the volume of financial and human resources spent on school English language education, nor is it to the economic status of Japan as one of the key players of global economy. The situation is no better in the international comparison of the TOEIC scores as is shown by Table 9-2 below:<sup>(1)</sup>

Table 9-2: Mean TOEIC Scores Across Major Participating Countries (1997-98)

| Rank  | Country     | Test-takers | %     | Listening | Reading | Total |
|-------|-------------|-------------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 1     | Germany     | 615         | 0.0   | 428       | 360     | 788   |
| 2     | Canada      | 549         | 0.0   | 399       | 323     | 722   |
| 3     | Malaysia    | 1,079       | 0.1   | 363       | 305     | 668   |
| 4     | Spain       | 514         | 0.0   | 339       | 301     | 640   |
| 5     | Switzerland | 3,412       | 0.2   | 348       | 292     | 640   |
| 6     | France      | 45,285      | 3.3   | 320       | 312     | 632   |
| 7     | Italy       | 2,337       | 0.2   | 304       | 295     | 599   |
| 8     | Brazil      | 2,121       | 0.2   | 312       | 258     | 570   |
| 9     | Venezuela   | 638         | 0.0   | 299       | 257     | 556   |
| 10    | Mexico      | 7,576       | 0.6   | 289       | 243     | 532   |
| 11    | Colombia    | 1,344       | 0.1   | 289       | 237     | 526   |
| 12    | China       | 3,529       | 0.3   | 256       | 246     | 502   |
| 13    | Thailand    | 27,330      | 2.0   | 272       | 215     | 487   |
| 14    | Korea       | 405,822     | 29.5  | 250       | 230     | 480   |
| 15    | Taiwan      | 11,462      | 0.8   | 257       | 218     | 475   |
| 16    | Japan       | 862,509     | 62.7  | 246       | 206     | 451   |
| Total |             | 1,376,122   | 100.0 | 311       | 269     | 579   |

NB: Scores of countries with more than 500 examinees

The data shown above is a little out of date, but still shocking enough for those who used to believe that Japanese learners of English were weak in listening and speaking but strong in reading and writing, especially in reading. However, the data above shows that Japan is ranked at the bottom both in listening and in reading among the 16 major participating countries.<sup>(2)</sup> This result is discouraging also because the TOEIC test was originally developed for Japanese EFL learners, especially for Japanese businessmen who would need English for their work.

In marked contrast to the discouraging situation in the international comparison of the TOEFL and TOEIC tests, Japanese junior high school students performed very well in the international comparisons of the common tests of mathematics and science. Table 9-3 below shows the results of the second assessment of the Third International Mathematics and Science Study conducted by IEA (International Evaluation Association) in 1999.<sup>(3)</sup>

Table 9-3: Third International Mathematics & Science Study

| Mathematics     | scores | Science         | scores |
|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
| 1. Singapore    | 604    | 1. Taiwan       | 569    |
| 2. Korea (ROK)  | 587    | 2. Singapore    | 568    |
| 3. Taiwan       | 585    | 3. Hungary      | 552    |
| 4. Hong Kong    | 582    | 4. Japan        | 550    |
| 5. Japan        | 579    | 5. Korea (ROK)  | 549    |
| 6. Belgium (Fr) | 558    | 6. Netherlands  | 545    |
| 7. Netherlands  | 540    | 7. Australia    | 540    |
| 8. Slovakia     | 534    | 8. Czech        | 539    |
| 9. Hungary      | 532    | 9. England      | 538    |
| 10. Canada      | 531    | 10. Slovakia    | 535    |
| World Mean (38) | 487    | World Mean (38) | 488    |

According to the table, Japan is ranked the fourth in science and the fifth in mathematics among 38 countries which participated in this international comparative study. This means that Japanese junior high school students are at the top level in mathematics and science, a very encouraging result indeed. Similarly, the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the international comparison of reading, mathematical and scientific literacy of fifteen-year-old students conducted by the OECD in 2000, paints another encouraging picture about the performance of Japanese senior high school students. Table 9-4 shows the results of the top 20 countries (43 countries in all) in reading, mathematical and scientific literacy.<sup>(4)</sup>

Table 9-4: OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA 2000)

|    | Reading Literacy |     | Mathematical Literacy |     | Scientific Literacy |     |
|----|------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1  | Finland          | 546 | Hong Kong-China       | 560 | Korea               | 552 |
| 2  | Canada           | 534 | Japan                 | 557 | Japan               | 550 |
| 3  | New Zealand      | 529 | Korea                 | 547 | Hong Kong-China     | 541 |
| 4  | Australia        | 528 | New Zealand           | 534 | Finland             | 538 |
| 5  | Ireland          | 527 | Finland               | 536 | United Kingdom      | 532 |
| 6  | Hong Kong-China  | 525 | Australia             | 533 | Canada              | 529 |
| 7  | Korea            | 525 | Canada                | 533 | New Zealand         | 528 |
| 8  | United Kingdom   | 523 | Switzerland           | 529 | Australia           | 528 |
| 9  | Japan            | 522 | United Kingdom        | 529 | Austria             | 519 |
| 10 | Sweden           | 516 | Belgium               | 520 | Ireland             | 513 |
| 11 | Austria          | 507 | France                | 517 | Sweden              | 512 |
| 12 | Belgium          | 507 | Austria               | 515 | Czech Republic      | 511 |
| 13 | Iceland          | 507 | Denmark               | 514 | France              | 500 |
| 14 | Norway           | 505 | Iceland               | 514 | Norway              | 500 |
| 15 | France           | 505 | Liechtenstein         | 514 | United States       | 499 |
| 16 | United States    | 504 | Sweden                | 510 | Hungary             | 496 |
| 17 | Denmark          | 497 | Ireland               | 503 | Iceland             | 496 |
| 18 | Switzerland      | 494 | Norway                | 499 | Belgium             | 496 |
| 19 | Spain            | 493 | Czech Republic        | 498 | Switzerland         | 496 |
| 20 | Czech Republic   | 492 | United States         | 493 | Spain               | 491 |
|    | Average (41)     | 473 | Average (41)          | 472 | Average (41)        | 474 |

Here again, Japanese high school students proved their high-level reading, mathematical and scientific literacy.

When we look at the performance of Japanese junior high school students in the first and second International Mathematics and Science Studies, however, the situation is not so encouraging as we assume. In the first study, Japan was ranked second in mathematics and first in science while in the second study Japan was ranked first in mathematics and second in science. Since there exists some variation in the list of the countries which participated in these three international studies, we cannot be so sure but it is quite probable that the performance of Japanese junior high school students in mathematics and science is on the decline.<sup>(5)</sup>

A comparison with the performance of Singaporean students in the third international tests, however, will reveal a very disturbing prospect for the future of

Japan in this global society. It is true that Japanese students performed almost as well as Singaporean students in mathematics and science, but there exists a fundamental and critical difference between them which does not appear in the table above; Singaporean students took the tests in English while Japanese students took the tests in Japanese. This difference in the language for the tests has nothing to do with the level of scholastic achievement in mathematics and science, but it will assume a very significant meaning once we put the difference in the context of globalization through English. Even today, English serves as a common language in the fields of mathematics and science in the world. According to Gladdol (1997), more than 90 % of the academic articles in natural science are published in English. Such being the case, it can easily be foreseen that Japanese students will need to have a good command of English if they wish to make the best of their mathematical and scientific knowledge in the global society. Otherwise, their excellence in mathematics and science will be wasted to a considerable degree, no matter how advanced it may be. Furthermore, people who wish to work actively in a global society will be expected to collaborate with people from different countries, using English as a common working language. This kind of international collaboration will also be common in the fields of mathematics and science.

If we take these into consideration, we must admit that Japanese junior high school students are already at a disadvantage in comparison with Singaporean students because they have ahead of them a formidable time-consuming task of mastering English while their Singaporean counterparts are already learning science and mathematics in English. It is true that the observed difference between Japanese junior high school students and Singaporean junior high school students in the third international mathematics and science tests is small enough to be ignored, but this small difference may be multiplied when they grow up to be task forces in the global economy or researchers in academic institutions. It is the responsibility of Japanese policy makers and English teachers to keep this gap as small as possible, or to eradicate it all together. This is a real challenge for all of us engaged in English language education in Japan. About a decade before the dawn of the 21st century, Andrade, Kretschmer, & Kretschmer (1989) listed up five qualities people in the 21st century are supposed to nurture for themselves: a healthy self-concept, a sensitivity to similarities and differences among peoples, a willingness to adapt to changes, a familiarity with technology, and, most importantly for our discussion here, an ability to communicate in more than one language. Their prospect seems to be assuming more and more reality today, making it more and more inevitable to reform the current system of school English language education.

### **9.3. Initiatives for Reform of School English Language Education**

Now that the globalization of the world society has been advancing quite rapidly in

which the knowledge of English and the Internet play a vital role, school English language education in Japan has come to a most significant turning point in its history, just like the Japanese economy which almost exclusively depends on global trading. Put in simple terms, school English language education is required to attain high-level educational accountability for fostering truly working communicative competence in English among the youth of Japan who are going to be key players in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global society (Ito, 2003).

In response to this new, but quite demanding challenge, the government of Japan has announced several important proposals and reform plans for school education, including English language education, during the past several years, and some of them have already been put into practice. First of all, a heated debate was triggered by the Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century when it suggested in its final report submitted to the then Prime Minister Obuchi on 18 January 2000 that Japan should consider making English an official second language in future as part of her strategic imperatives aimed at globalization. In the report, the Commission proclaimed the importance of English for Japanese citizens in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as follows:<sup>(6)</sup>

The advance of globalization and the information-technology revolution call for a world-class level of excellence. Achieving world-class excellence demands that, in addition to mastering information technology, all Japanese acquire a working knowledge of English.... In the long term, it may be possible to make English an official second language, but national debate will be needed. First, though, every effort should be made to equip the population with a working knowledge of English. This is not simply a matter of foreign-language education. It should be regarded as a strategic imperative.

Probably this was the first time English language education was explicitly linked with a strategic plan for globalization in a semi-official document. Naturally, it created mixed feelings among Japanese people engaged or interested in language education in general (PMCJG, 2000; Funabashi, 2000; Kunihiro, 2000; Chuko Shinsho La Clef Editorial Department & Suzuki, 2002).

The seed planted by the Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century was succeeded by the Ministry of Education, which announced a strategic plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities" in July 2002.<sup>(7)</sup> The essence of this strategic plan is its realistic reassessment of the traditional idealistic goal of English language education into attainable targets with its concomitant diversification of those targets into those for all Japanese nationals and those for professional people active in the international community. This is a very brave decision indeed, considering the fact that the Ministry of Education has long insisted on the equal attainment of the ability to communicate in English by all students learning English at school. As for the targets for all Japanese nationals, furthermore, the strategic plan has specified them quite explicitly in terms of the STEP test, one of the most popular standardized tests



of English proficiency in Japan as follows:<sup>(8)</sup>

On graduation from junior high school: Ability to hold simple conversation (and a similar level of reading and writing) comprising greetings and responses (English-language ability of graduates should be third level of the STEP (Eiken) test, on average).

On graduation from senior high school: Ability to hold normal conversation (and a similar level of reading and writing) on everyday topics (English-language ability of graduates should be the second level or semi-second level of the STEP test, on average).

This policy to reassess the idealistic goal into attainable targets has been extended to the linguistic qualification to be satisfied by Japanese teachers of English. Both prospective and practicing teachers of English are strongly expected to attain at least one of the three targets in English proficiency; pre-1st grade in the STEP test, 550 in the paper-based TOEFL test, and 730 in the TOEIC test. In order to fulfil this expectation, the Ministry of Education decided to provide in-service training to all the teachers of English at junior and senior high school for brushing up their English ability and professional competence within five years, starting in 2003. Prospective teachers of English are put to a harder test. The majority of the local boards of education have set up a level of English proficiency higher than that specified by the strategic plan of the Ministry of Education as a desired qualification to be satisfied by prospective teachers of English before applying for jobs under their jurisdictions.<sup>(9)</sup>

Thirdly, English language education was partly introduced into the primary school curriculum in 2002, not as a regular subject but as part of the activities to be conducted in the newly introduced subject of the Period of Integrated Studies from Grade 3 upward. The Ministry of Education has been very careful not to officially encourage primary school teachers to conduct English language arts lessons aimed at developing English communication skills as in junior high school English classes, but more and more primary schools are getting interested in offering English language arts lessons, foreseeing the official introduction of English into the primary school curriculum as a regular subject in the next revision of the Course of Study, which is likely to take place around 2008.

In addition to the efforts to reform the primary school education, considerable efforts are being made to reform English language education at senior high schools through the Super English Language High School Project (and partly through the Super Science High School Project as well), which was started by the Ministry of Education in 2002. In the first year (2002) of this unique project, 18 senior high schools were nominated as Super English Language High Schools, experimental schools to conduct three-year intensive programmes aimed at reforming their current English language teaching programmes and improving students' communicative competence in English through innovative approaches to teach English, including teaching regular subjects in English. In the second year (2003) another 35 senior high

schools were nominated for this project, and in the third year (2004) another 35 senior high schools were nominated, making the total number of senior high schools participating in this unique project eighty-eight, including one national senior high school and 25 private senior high schools.<sup>(10)</sup>

The fifth initiative for reform is observable in the policy of the Ministry of Education to create or approve of a new type of schools. For example, the Ministry of Education has created several six-year public secondary schools across the country where students can study the subjects under a single curriculum for six years consecutively. The Ministry of Education has also approved of the establishment of a private school in Okayama Prefecture by a team of corporations.<sup>(11)</sup> In the past, the Ministry of Education has limited the right to establish a new school to legally incorporated educational institutions and has very carefully scrutinized their applications every time they come up. Therefore, the establishment of this new corporate private school is epoch-making indeed. What is significant for us about this new movement is that English language education is very much emphasized in both types of new schools. Teaching regular subjects in English are already on the agenda for the reform at these schools. The recent decision by the Ministry of Education to open the door of the national universities to graduates from ethnic high schools, including so-called international schools, should be construed as a movement in the similar line for diversification of school education.

Finally, and probably most significantly, drastic reforms of school education are ongoing in several municipalities whose application for a status of the Special Zone for Structural Reform has been accepted by the government.<sup>(12)</sup> Although projects to teach English as a regular subject at primary schools are favourite reform schemes in these municipalities, Ota City in Gumma Prefecture proposed a much more drastic plan to reform its school education. Their plan to establish a K-G12 school and offer an English immersion programme has been accepted. The first cohort are going to enter their kindergarten in April 2005.<sup>(13)</sup> It is quite probable that several other municipalities will follow suit.

There is no doubt that immersion education is getting more and more realistic even in Japan. It is no exaggeration at all to say that it is already included in a work schedule for reforming our school education so that our students will be well prepared for the globalization of the society.

## Chapter 10

### Prospects of Immersion Education in Japan

#### 10.1. Immersion Education in a Japanese Context

The concept of immersion education itself, that is, education in a second language, is never foreign to Japan. People of higher social ranks in the Asuka and Nara Era (the 7th and 8th centuries) received education in Chinese from Chinese Buddhist priests who came to Japan. In those days, Buddhism was regarded not merely as a school of religion, but rather as a school of learning; reading Buddhism sutras was in a way an act of learning for young priests who represented the learned society in those days (Ishikawa, 1999). This immersion-type education in Chinese maintained its solid place in the education of the young elite in Japan thereafter until the end of the Tokugawa Era. The literacy in Chinese used to be regarded as a sign of sophistication among samurai people up until the fall of the Tokugawa Dynasty. These people with literacy in Chinese were bilingual in a way; they used Japanese in oral daily transactions while they used Chinese in written transactions.

After the Meiji Restoration, Chinese was replaced by English as a means of instruction for educating the young elite at those secondary and post-secondary educational institutions that were quickly established in order to modernize Japan. For the first twenty years of the Meiji Era, almost all post-secondary education (except medical education which was conducted in German) was conducted by English-speaking teachers who had been invited by the Japanese government from English-speaking countries (Takanashi & Omura, 1975). This was partly due to the lack of Japanese teachers who could teach at post-secondary educational institutions, partly due to the lack of Japanese textbooks by which to teach new advanced concepts and technologies from the Western World to the young Japanese elite, and, probably most importantly, due to the nature of the Japanese language spoken in those days; it simply lacked academic terms by which to discuss those new Western concepts and technologies. This heavy reliance on English as a means of instruction in post-secondary education was maintained for a while even after part of the post-secondary education was taken over by Japanese teachers, producing a number of outstanding Japanese nationals who played crucial roles in the modernization of Japan, such as Niitobe Inazo, Uchimura Kanzo, Okakura Tenshin, Natsume Soseki, just to name a few (Nihon no Eigaku 100 Nen, 1968).

There exists a fundamental difference between such immersion-type education in Japan as described above and French immersion education in Canada.<sup>(1)</sup> The immersion-type education in Japan briefly described above used to be in a way a makeshift until education in Japanese became possible. It was to be replaced by education in Japanese once the necessary personal and educational resources were

well prepared, and it was indeed. French immersion education in Canada, however, is conducted in an environment where education in a native language is already firmly established. It is pursued by parents and students as an added value. The French proficiency students will acquire through their immersion experience is regarded as an additional qualification which gives them a lot of enrichment and empowerment in terms of better job and education opportunities.

It is true that Japan is one of the few countries in the world which can offer even postgraduate education in the native language of its nationals. This should be taken pride in indeed as a rare achievement, and all the more so if we consider the fact that our public compulsory education was started only a little over a century ago. In the early stage of the Meiji Restoration, a proposal was stationed by the then Minister of Education, Mori Arinori for adopting English as the national language of Japan, because, Mori insisted, the Japanese language was totally unsuitable for the modernization (or Westernization) of the country (Lee, 1996). However, this proposal was ignored by the people at the top of the government who believed in the importance of fostering literacy in Japanese among Japanese nationals, especially children, in order to modernize and empower Japan as quickly as possible. Their decision proved to be right because Japan succeeded in the transition from an old-fashioned feudal system to a new modernized system in such a short time. It goes without saying that this quick transition was assisted tremendously by the high rate of literacy in the native language among Japanese nationals. This high literacy rate of the Japanese also assisted the dramatic expansion of the Japanese economy in the post-war period in the Showa Era.

It is also true, however, that the diffusion and enrichment of education in a native language is often accompanied by the slack or inactivity of second language education, as has been exemplified by developed countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan, which have succeeded in attaining high literacy rates among their nationals. The native language of American and British people, however, is English, a language globally used all over the world. On the other hand, the value of Japanese as an international currency is quite limited. The advance of globalization through English as is explained in Chapter 9 makes it more and more crucial for each government to foster among young people high-level communicative competence in English through school English language education programmes. This exactly explains why immersion education of Canadian type has been spreading quite rapidly not only to ESL countries but also to EFL countries like Finland, Germany and China (Johnson & Swain, 1997). The time will soon come when Japan has to consider seriously the feasibility of introducing immersion education into its public school system.

## 10.2. Implications from Canadian Immersion Education

Before discussing the prerequisites for the introduction of English immersion

education into school education in Japan, we might just as well consider implications from French immersion education in Canada since these implications will certainly help us to have a better view of the future of English language education in Japan.

#### 10.2.1. Importance of learning in a second language (English)

One of the most important implications for English language education from French immersion education in Canada is probably the importance of learning in a second language in achieving high-level communicative competence in a second language. So far both teachers and learners have been too much concerned about how English should be taught or learned. The Canadian experience teaches us, however, that learning English, not learning in English, can add to learners' existing knowledge of English as a linguistic system, but can rarely culminate into functional communicative competence in English. This has typically been exemplified by Canadian students who have learned French for almost 12 years in their Core French programmes, but can hardly communicate in French. In spite of the large number of French language instruction hours accumulated in their primary and secondary Core French programmes, which itself seems very enviable to Japanese learners of English, those Canadian students' French is often reported to be rather limited as a means of communication. On the other hand, immersion students' success in attaining functional bilingualism in French and English seems to underline the importance of learning in English in attaining truly functional communicative competence in English.

The experience of studying abroad in English-speaking countries is generally considered to be quite effective in improving learners' communicative competence in English. This efficacy of studying abroad may result not only from learners' exposure to a large amount of living English in everyday situations, but, more importantly, from their numerous experiences of learning new content materials in classes in English and of reporting what they have found out through their personal researches in classes and in constant written assignments. Thus the key for the success of studying abroad lies in making English the principal means of learning and studying. This explains why those Japanese ESL students enrolled in English language centres annexed to universities in North America, for example, will often fail in achieving functional communicative competence in English in spite of their long-term enrolment in those ESL programmes; they have learned English but have hardly learned in English. In order to improve their communicative competence in English, those ESL students will definitely need chances to study in English in regular academic courses. This is a common feeling shared by many Japanese students, including the present researcher, who have succeeded in attaining functional communicative competence in English through their study abroad experience.

Now that the importance of learning in a second language is acknowledged, the

next question to be asked is what should be learned or communicated in the second language classroom. The recent diffusion of the Communicative Approach in the profession of second language education has prompted second language teachers to focus more on communication in English than on English itself. This in turn has led to the popularity of various communication activities in the classroom which involve interpersonal transactions of information through English. However, relatively little attention has been paid to the quality of information to be transacted through those communication activities. Although many people talk about the importance of developing listening and speaking skills as essential ingredients of practical communicative competence, few people worry about what we should listen to and what we should speak in English as a non-native speaker of English or as a Japanese learner of English (Ito, 1994b).

In English lessons for primary school pupils, for example, situations of shopping are often utilized for communication tasks which do not involve any extensive use of language. In such situations, primary school pupils are encouraged to get engaged in communication activities which involve transactions of money, with teachers disguised as clerks at fast food restaurants or department stores. In reality, however, it is very rare that children of that age, whether native or non-native, are engaged in shopping alone with some cash. It is true that the scene of Japanese primary school pupils doing some shopping at duty-free shops at overseas airports is often encountered nowadays, but in most cases the transaction will be completed without any utterances from pupils. Even in situations that involve verbal transactions, the language spoken in such situations is usually Japanese. Such being the case, we should ask ourselves how much value the English will have for children which is transacted in the classroom in such pedagogical activities simulating shopping for instance.

The success of French immersion education in Canada suggests to us that what students learn in content subjects through a second language makes the most valuable learning material for them. In reality, it is very difficult for mathematics and science teachers at secondary schools in Japan to teach their content materials in English. However, those Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) who are assigned to secondary schools in Japan through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme are creating some space in our English language education at school in which English will become a means of learning, no matter how brief or unstructured it may be. Cultural information to be provided by ALTs about their home countries will be very valuable learning content material for Japanese students from the viewpoint of cross-cultural understanding or international understanding education (Ito, 1996). It will not do ALTs justice if we continue using them only in pronunciation drills or language games. Far more attention should be paid to the potential value of culture as information or culture as learning content. This will create the basis upon which to build authentic opportunities for Japanese students to learn anything worthwhile in the classroom.

One of the natural extensions of this is English immersion education.

### 10.2.2. Danger of too much easy expectation for an early start

Since April 2002, English language education has partly been incorporated into the primary school curriculum as part of the newly introduced subject called the Period of Integrative Studies from Grade 3 upward. Primary school teachers are now expected, as the pedagogical situation of their school dictates, to engage their pupils in English activities in the Period of Integrative Studies so that they can experience and feel what English is like. Although the Ministry of Education has repeatedly reminded primary school principals and teachers that this does not mean the official start of English language education at primary school, more and more primary schools are now offering English language arts lessons as in junior high schools. In fact, the Ministry of Education itself has selected several primary schools as experimental schools which are supposed to conduct an empirical research on the feasibility of introducing English as a regular subject into the primary school curriculum in the next revision of the Course of Study. It is clear that these new movements have been motivated by a common but not necessarily proven assumption that young children are usually better English learners than adolescents and adults. It is now commonly believed by parents in particular that the level of English proficiency to be attained by Japanese pupils will be dramatically improved once they start their learning of English at primary school.

The analysis of the reasons French immersion education has been successful in Canada, however, has taught us that we should not raise too much naïve expectation for the early start of English language education. As has been shown in Chapter 6, immersion students in Canada succeed in attaining high-level French proficiency, not because they start learning French at kindergarten but because they continue their immersion learning even at secondary school and thus accumulate a substantial number of French language instruction hours.

In Canada, well before the very first experimental immersion class was established at a primary school at St. Lambert in 1965, French had been taught at primary school for 20 to 40 minutes a day in Core French programmes as part of the FLES movement. The reason French immersion education was started was mainly because parents came to question the efficacy of the Core French programmes in fostering functional communicative competence in French. It should be noted, however, that even the Core French programmes would accumulate 1,490 hours of French language instruction by the end of secondary education, assuming that students start learning French at kindergarten. On the other hand, Japanese children can accumulate only 945 hours of English instruction by the time they graduate from secondary school, assuming, quite optimistically, that they receive an 45-minute English lesson once a week from Grade 1 to Grade 6, four 50-minute lessons a week from Grade 7 to Grade 9, and five 50-

minute lessons a week from Grade 10 to Grade 12 for 35 weeks per year respectively. This is well below the minimum benchmark of 1,200 hours, which is considered to enable learners to engage only in a very basic conversation in a second language. It is far below the benchmark of 5,000 hours which is regarded as the minimum threshold for immersion students. In the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, early immersion students will accumulate well over 7,000 hours of French language instruction, but they are still under criticism that their French hardly approximates native French. This clearly reminds us that we should not raise high expectation at all for our school English language education in fostering functional communicative competence in English simply because it is started early at primary school. The following comment by Lightbown & Spada (1999, p.68) is very appropriate for the present discussion:

School programmes should be based on realistic estimates of how long it takes to learn a second language. One or two hours a week will not produce very advanced second language speakers, no matter how young they were when they began.

In the past discussion on early English language education, people's attention has tended to be directed toward the optimum starting age or grade. The Canadian experience has shown us that when children should start learning English is less important than how many English instruction hours they will accumulate by the time they graduate from secondary school and what they have studied in class in the meantime. In fact, frequent observations of immersion classes in Ottawa have convinced the present researcher that immersion graduates' high-level communicative competence in French rests more upon French lessons at secondary school than upon those at primary school. This conviction is supported by empirical research findings that late immersion students will manage to develop high-level French proficiency which approximates the proficiency attained by students who have been enrolled in immersion education right from the start at kindergarten (cf. Chapter 4).

The corollary of this is another important implication concerning the early start of English language education. After English is introduced into the primary school curriculum, English language education at secondary school should also be reviewed carefully for its enrichment. Both the quantity and the quality of the secondary school EFL programme should be upgraded and made more accountable for its goal of fostering practical communicative competence in English. Mere remedial work of primary school education will not produce young people who will be active in a global society. A grand plan will be indispensable which covers both primary and secondary (and tertiary) education. Without such a grand plan, it would be impossible to "cultivate Japanese with English abilities," nor to foster "an ability to hold normal conversation (and a similar level of reading and writing) on everyday topics," much less to develop "English-language abilities demanded of those active in the



international community.”<sup>(2)</sup>

Now that English language education is partly introduced into the primary school curriculum, and is going to be introduced as a regular subject like mathematics and science by the forthcoming revision of the Course of Study, a lot of discussion is going on among those involved in English language education about such important issues as who is going to teach English at primary school and how prospective and practicing teachers should be trained for this new challenging task. It is the present researcher's conviction, however, that as much or more attention should be paid to the issue of professional development of secondary school and university English teachers, since the introduction of English into the primary school curriculum as a regular subject will inevitably demand a full-scale restructuring of the current system of English language education at secondary and tertiary education levels with much more focus on the content of learning in English.

### 10.2.3. Necessity for a clear language policy linked with English language education

As it is shown in Chapter 7, French immersion education in Canada has been conducted as a kind of national project in close linkage with the official languages policy and to a lesser degree with the multiculturalism policy of the federal government. Although neither policy has legally binding authority over the administration of French immersion education, both of them have acted as a lighthouse or an usher for those concerned in education. The federal government has contributed to the diffusion and expansion of French immersion education by subsidizing it abundantly in order to dissolve two solitudes between anglophones and francophones and thus consolidate the linguistic duality of Canada. Immersion graduates in turn have enjoyed a variety of socioeconomic benefits, taking advantage of the French proficiency they have acquired through their immersion experience at school. It can be said that a system is embedded into the Canadian society which shows certain guidelines for learners' efforts and acknowledges the successful efforts made by learners along these guidelines.

English language education in Japan, on the other hand, can be said to have been conducted, at least during the past half century, without a clear policy defining the place and role of English in the Japanese society, except the recent initiative by the government described in Chapter 9. There has been a lot of lip service to the cause of English language education with a frequent but superficial use of the term *globalization* or *internationalization* which sounds very comfortable to the ears of the general public. A tremendous amount of human and financial resources has been spent on English language education without sincere efforts to answer such important questions as what roles English should play for the globalization of Japan and what levels of English proficiency should be required of graduates from lower and upper secondary schools and those from universities until quite recently, when the strategic

plan to cultivate “Japanese with English abilities” was announced in July 2002.

This strategic plan specifies the proficiency of English to be attained by lower and upper secondary school students on graduation in terms of the levels of the STEP test: the third level for the former and the second or pre-second level for the latter. There are problems, however, with this specification of English proficiency. One problem is that this specification is not tested against any globally standardized proficiency tests such as the ACTFL proficiency guidelines (ACTFL, 1989) or TOEFL scores, although it claims that students who reach the specified levels can hold either “simple conversation comprising greetings and responses” or “normal conversation on everyday topics.” It only makes sense domestically, having no global currency at all.

Another problem with this specification is that it is not incorporated into or linked with the current curriculum for English language education as in the FSL curriculum in Canada, where students can obtain either the immersion certificate or extended certificate upon graduation from secondary school, depending upon the number of accumulated lesson hours in French. The specification above still remains basically as a kind of idealistic goals for students; it does not matter if they fail to attain the specified levels. What matters more to students is the scores they will get in English tests of entrance examinations for upper secondary schools and universities.

In short, it can be said that school English language education in Japan has been and is conducted with little consideration for its educational accountability (Ito, 2003). Little consensus exists indeed among people involved in school English language education in Japan as to realistic but globally acceptable goals to be attained by secondary school and university students in the time available to them. In North America, institutions of higher education specify the threshold of English proficiency for foreign students to clear in terms of certain TOEFL scores (usually between 550 and 600 on a paper-based test) before they are accepted into their academic courses. Those students who cannot clear this threshold are required to take rather intensive ESL courses at English language centres annexed to universities until their English proficiency level reaches certain desired standards. It is high time indeed that clear standards for English proficiency levels were established for school English language education in Japan. Let us take for example the English test in the National Centre University Entrance Examinations, which are taken by more than half a million university candidates across the country each year. The scores to be obtained by examinees will only be used as criteria for screening them in a heated competition to enter universities. They are never used as criteria to endorse examinees’ English proficiency. It is not clear at all what points out of the full 200 points examinees should score if they wish to be active in a global society, for example, despite enormous amount of human and financial resources poured into this nation-wide test.

Now it is time for us to dissociate ourselves from school English language education which makes sense only in screening examinees. For this task, a clear language policy

will be indispensable on the part of the government which will realistically but clearly specify the levels of English proficiency to be attained by secondary school and university students at several crucial points of time, keeping rapidly advancing globalization in sight, and will properly acknowledge efforts of students who have successfully attained those levels.

#### 10.2.4. Importance of strong linkage between research and practice

In Canada, ever since the inception of French immersion education, close cooperation has been earnestly sought between university researchers and practitioners at schools. It should be noted here that the very first French immersion programme was born out of the discussion in a small study circle in St. Lambert, composed of local parents and researchers. Starting with this first experimental programme, university researchers have been actively involved in programme evaluations in order to verify their efficacy, promoting the linkage between universities and schools. Working together on an equal basis, university researchers, school board officers, practicing teachers and parents have made a joint contribution to the diffusion and expansion of French immersion education. This reflects a basic frame of reference among Canadian educators which cherishes both theories based upon practice in the classroom on one hand and classroom practice supported by theories on the other.

It is unfortunate that the relation between university researchers and practicing school teachers in Japan is not so collaborative as it is in Canada. It is no exaggeration to say that there exists an invisible wall between them. In the past, the wall between university researchers and school teachers was much lower than it is today. It often happened that school teachers were offered opportunities to get a job at university, but now it is getting more and more difficult for school teachers to find a job at university. Quite ironically, the recent movement to upgrade the studies of English language education into an independent field of scientific inquiry has contributed to the widening of the gap between university researchers and school teachers. The advancement of specialization of English language education research has naturally prompted the publication of more and more research articles which are hardly readable for those without special training in statistical analyses. Needless to say, this has contributed to a considerable degree to the estrangement of university researchers from English classrooms at school. Furthermore, a recent movement, especially among mass media people, to spotlight a small number of school English teachers for their excellence in teaching has also helped more and more practicing teachers to dissociate themselves from university researchers and their research activities and products, contributing to the estrangement of school English teachers from university researchers. Although we can witness several productive attempts for more collaboration between university researchers and school teachers, gaps

between them seem to be widening. It is clear that this unhappy situation will not be conducive to the sound development of the science of English language education.

In Canada, once an experimental educational programme is put into practice at a school, the programme will be reviewed quite constantly by the school board in charge for its efficacy in attaining its proposed educational goal or goals over an extended period of time. This kind of professional review by a school board is regarded as a duty on the part of the school board against the provincial and federal government that have subsidized the programme and against local people who have paid their educational taxes. Furthermore, the review of the efficacy of an experimental programme is usually external in nature; it is usually conducted by those like university researchers who are not directly involved in the programme (e.g., Barik & Swain, 1976a, Barik & Swain, 1976b; Barik & Swain, 1978; Bruck, Lambert & Tucker, 1976) This has been quite instrumental in creating a collaborative relation between research and practice.

When an experimental programme is put into practice at a Japanese school, on the other hand, such an external review for the efficacy of the programme as is common in Canada is quite rare. A review is usually internal in nature; it is conducted by those directly involved in the programme, and is usually accompanied with a lot of anecdotal evidence, but supported by little empirical evidence. In addition, the term of review is rather short, usually three years long; it is conducted only during the period in which a specific programme is subsidized by the Ministry of Education. Once the appointment for an experimental programme is terminated, a further review of the programme's efficacy over an extended period of time is quite rare. This is simply because an execution of an experimental programme is much more emphasized than its empirical review for its efficacy. This does not make it essential for an experimental school to ask for professional assistance from university researchers in their review process. However, this does not mean that university researchers seldom participate in experimental programmes. Actually, they do participate in them quite often, but usually as an adviser or a counselor, or even just as a token of collaboration between research and practice. They are rarely asked to assist or conduct an empirical review of the efficacy of the experimental programme in which they are involved. In short, an experimental educational programme in Japan is under little pressure for educational accountability supported by empirical evidence.

Now that the research focus in the field of second language acquisition has shifted from what happens in the street onto what happens in the classroom, there is a growing demand for action research to be conducted by second language teachers. (Wallace, 1998; Sano, 2000) Accordingly, the role of a classroom teacher as a researcher is getting more and more crucial. On the surface, this seems to make it less necessary for university researchers to collaborate with school teachers, but in

reality it is working for the opposite. That is because the research field in second language education is getting wider and more complex than it used to be, and as a result team-based projects are gaining its importance year after year as a way to solve current issues and problems. This makes the collaboration between university researchers and school teachers via school boards all the more needed and inevitable. In this sense, it can be said that French immersion education in Canada, with its collaborative network between universities and schools via school boards incorporated into the total system of educational accountability, can make an excellent prototype for the much needed research collaboration between universities and schools in Japan as well as an excellent prototype for English immersion education.

### 10.3. Prerequisites for Introducing English Immersion Education

A simple comparison of the lesson hours in a second language to be accumulated by the end of secondary education (cf. Chapter 6) will immediately tell us that we cannot necessarily expect our students to acquire functional communicative competence in English even if they start learning English at primary school. There are two options for us to take. One option is to introduce a new system of English language education by which to increase the accumulated lesson hours in English. China is far ahead of us in this point. Primary school children in Beijing are having three to four English classes a week in addition to a special tutoring class on weekends. Some secondary schools in Shanghai are already teaching mathematics and science in English.<sup>(3)</sup> The other option is to improve the current strategy to teach English so that we can make the best of the limited instructional hours available to us. Here we will focus our discussion on English immersion education as a promising approach for the first option. At present, English immersion education is being partly introduced only into our private system of primary education (Bostwick, 1999, 2001a, 2001b; JACET, 2003). There are two private primary schools that have adopted immersion education on a full scale: Kato Gakuen in Shizuoka Prefecture and Seiko Gakuen in Tokushima Prefecture.<sup>(4)</sup> Thus the concept of immersion education is still foreign to public schools, which represent more than 99% of all the primary schools in Japan.<sup>(5)</sup> This section will then discuss major prerequisites for introducing English immersion education into our public system of school education.

#### 10.3.1. Establishment of a clear language policy in view of globalization

The first prerequisite for the introduction of English immersion education in Japanese public schools is the establishment of a clear language policy by the government in view of fast-advancing globalization, a policy which can be compared to the official languages policy of Canada. This policy is expected to define unambiguously not only the place and role of English in Japanese society but also

the importance of English to individual members of the society.

Japan is one of the few countries that can offer even postgraduate education in the native language of the majority. We have been duly rewarded by and proud of this achievement, but we may have been too complacent about this monolingual nature of our society. This kind of pride in monolingualism has come to be challenged by the globalization which is advancing quite rapidly both inside and outside Japan. The sight of foreigners on the street is no longer a surprise, nor the existence of international students at primary and secondary schools. As far as the mass media is concerned, English is still being used as a sort of cosmetics to their programmes and commercials in particular, but an increasing number of companies are adopting English as their working language, and are recruiting people who can use English for their work. Even in the mass media, English has come to play some role as a means of communication as in their bilingual new programmes.

This does not mean, however, that the need of bilingualism has come to widely acknowledged by the general public. Even against the partial introduction of English language education into the primary school education, a substantial number of people, including educators, have expressed their fear and concern that it might spoil or hinder the sound development of children's first language (Otsu & Torikai, 2002). The major reason for this fear is because Japan does not have a clear language policy in view of globalization, just like the official languages policy in Canada, which will support English language education at school. The establishment of such a language policy is urgently needed, but it is still unclear which department in which ministry is responsible for its planning and administration, and more importantly, who is going to take the initiative or leadership. As things stand as they are now, the establishment of such a policy will be delayed for a substantial period of time, just as the introduction of English language education into primary school has been delayed and is still under consideration. This will not only delay the introduction of English immersion education but will cast dark clouds over the future of Japan, which will definitely need a substantial number of people who can use English for their work.

The introduction of English immersion education is quite different in nature from the introduction of English language education into primary school. It is a matter of selection of the means of instruction for Japanese children, and naturally will trigger a great deal of psychological commotion among parents and educators. In Canada, much of the commotion among concerned parents has been dissolved or canceled out by the social benefits promised by the official languages policy. The establishment of such a supporting policy is urgently needed in Japan as well.

### 10.3.2. Revision of school curriculum

As is shown in Chapter 6, the quality of school curriculum is partly responsible for the success of French immersion education in Canada. In the past, the school

curriculum in Canada used to be much knowledge-oriented and compartmentalized for specific subjects comprising the curriculum, just like the current curriculum in Japan. The reform of school education has changed such knowledge-oriented curriculum into child-centered or learner-centred curriculum which emphasizes experiential learning closely connected with students' daily experiences. The curriculum does not specify the learning contents of each subject, but instead specifies the expectations to be achieved for each subject at each grade. Students are not encouraged to accumulate discrete pieces of knowledge; they are expected to learn how to learn and how to be an autonomous learner who can use available information in order to realize their goal.

This educational philosophy is carried over into daily lessons in the classroom, where students are mostly engaged in a variety of pedagogical activities. Teachers are not under pressure to cover the pre-determined pages of the textbooks. The observation of several early immersion classes gave the present researcher an impression that almost all lessons for early immersion children are just like lessons of the Period of Integrated Studies at Japanese primary schools in that both are activity-oriented and very enjoyable. In short, in Canadian immersion education, there is a lot of room or space for learning incorporated into daily lessons and programmes as a whole just as there is a lot of physical space in the classroom. This kind of space for learning must have made a major contribution to the success of French immersion education.

The Japanese primary school curriculum, on the other hand, lacks this kind of space for learning. The curriculum is still very much knowledge-based, and the traditional framework of nine key subjects which was adopted soon after the end of World War II is still firmly maintained in spite of the social changes in the meantime. The recent initiation of the five-day weekly schedule has further reduced the limited amount of space for learning in Japanese schools. It will be very difficult for children to learn content subjects in English within this kind of tightly knit curriculum with very little space for learning. At present a serious discussion on the introduction of English into the primary school curriculum is under way in the Ministry of Education, and naturally it has triggered a lot of opposition that it will squeeze the already heavily-loaded curriculum with very little space for learning. This argument is to the point as long as we keep the traditional nine-subject framework. The introduction of English immersion education will demand far more space for learning than that available within the current system. This makes it inevitable for us to wait until the Ministry of Education carries out a drastic reform of the current school curriculum, including the revision and amalgamation of subjects, especially at primary school level.

### 10.3.3. Value system to acknowledge diversity in education

It is years since the uniformity of Japanese education has come to be criticized. This is in a sharp contrast with Canadian education which is characterized by its decentralization. Uniformity in general depends upon sacrifice by individuals. It will work as a catalyst for the quick development of a country. Once the country is developed, however, people start asking for privacy and room for their own enrichment. The quest for uniformity on the side of authorities will come to be challenged by the desire for diversification in every aspect of social life on the side of the general public. School education is no exception.

Education in Japan has already responded to this new trend by diversifying the education after compulsory education, but compulsory education at primary and lower secondary school is still very uninformative or uniformity-driven. All across the country the same set of authorized textbooks are used to teach the same set of subjects whose contents are mostly specified by the Course of Study. The programmes at lower secondary schools are not streamed for academic and vocational courses as they are in some countries in the world. Diversification in compulsory education is not so much appreciated. It is clear that this psychology among the public for compulsory education will be a big hurdle for English immersion education which presuppose and promote diversification in education.

The above discussion, however, mostly applies to the public system of education. The diversification in compulsory education is already under way even in Japan if we include private schools in our discussion. It is more appropriate to say that private primary schools have spearheaded the diversification process of Japanese education mostly by their English language education programmes. At present almost all private primary schools are offering English lessons to their students, making their programmes appear more attractive to parents than public school programmes without regular English lessons. If the psychology to accept or acknowledge the diversification of education in public schools is not nurtured among the general public, English immersion education will be doomed to be a patent of private schools which demand high tuition. Such being the case, English immersion education will be an elitist programme which will cater for only rich families. French immersion education in Canada, too, has often been criticized for its elitist nature, but it is free for everybody. In order to avoid this discriminatory situation concerning English immersion education, it will be inevitable that a psychological frame of reference should be created among the public that will accept and acknowledge the diversification in compulsory education so that English immersion education will be smoothly introduced into the public system. This is because English immersion education will be expected to remain as a special programme even after it is introduced into the public school system. It is meant for a small number of children (and parents) who are really interested in the concept of immersion and its expected achievements. However, it is crucial to make English immersion education a



programme open and free to everyone who is interested in achieving functional bilingualism, just as French immersion education in Canada is.

#### 10.3.4. Promotion of deregulation in education

It is a long time since the Japanese society was exposed to criticism from abroad, especially from foreign companies interested in investments in Japan, for its maintenance of a variety of restrictive regulations. Some regulations are indispensable for more than 130 million people to live in a small country while others have been installed in order to protect domestic industries from aggressive foreign companies. There are even some other regulations which have lost their cause or *raison d'être* due to the changes in the world economic structure or regulations whose *raison d'être* itself has become unknown. Setting aside the last group of regulations, it is true that these restrictive regulations have contributed to the development and expansion of Japanese economy. However, it is equally true that these regulations are hindering the development of Japanese industries that have to depend on the collaboration with foreign companies for their business activities due to the globalization of their industries. Given this economic situation, the Japanese government is expected and has promised to review those restrictive regulations. This is needed not only to avert criticism from abroad but also to revitalize the domestic economy. The same applies to school education.

School education in Japan is surrounded by a variety of restrictive regulations. Just as those regulations on economic activities have helped to prevent the intrusion of foreign companies, those regulation on school education may hinder the introduction of innovative educational programmes like English immersion education into schools in Japan. One of the major restrictive regulations which may hinder the smooth introduction of English immersion education is a regulation concerning the qualifications of primary and secondary school teachers. In order to become a public school teacher in Japan, people are supposed to have a teaching licence and Japanese nationality. Those Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) who have come to Japan on the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme have neither, and therefore they are not expected to teach alone, but are always supposed to team teach with Japanese teachers of English (JTEs). Recently this restriction has come to be relaxed to a certain degree, but still it is most likely to become a major hurdle for the introduction of English immersion education into public schools since it will be extremely difficult to recruit JTEs who can teach content subjects in English as well, making it inevitable for interested schools to hire native speakers of English with suitable teaching licence as immersion teachers for the time being.

Some other possible restrictions to be cleared before English immersion education is introduced into public schools are those concerning school zones, class sizes, textbooks, school curriculum, etc. The government is now considering the review of

those restrictive regulations surrounding school education in Japan, but what is needed now is positive actions. It is clear that the relaxation of those regulations will be necessary not only for the smooth introduction of English immersion education but also for the revitalization of Japanese education which has been showing the signs of gradual deterioration in quality. In this sense, a recent initiative by the government for “Special Zones for Structural Reform” is very promising.<sup>(6)</sup>

#### 10.4. Strategies for Introducing English Immersion Education

##### 10.4.1. Drastic introduction through Special Zones for Structural Reform

The bottom-up approach to introduce an innovative programme, which has played a vital role in the expansion of French immersion education in Canada, is not likely to work in Japan, since the Japanese system of school boards is completely different from the Canadian system which is expected to be very sensitive to the voices of local taxpayers. Although the Japanese government has shown their willingness to promote the decentralization of some of its political and administrative functions, the hierarchical structure of the educational administration is still firmly maintained. To make matters worse, there still exist a lot of restrictive regulations which may hinder the smooth introduction of English immersion education as mentioned in the previous section. It is true that the relaxation of those restrictive regulations is one of the major prerequisites for the introduction of English immersion education, but the fundamentally hierarchical nature of the educational administration will be quite at odds with the bottom-up approach for some time in the future.

What is more promising is a drastic approach to introduce English immersion education through the Special Zones for Structural Reform scheme. For example, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, the city of Ota in Gumma Prefecture is going to introduce English immersion education into one of its primary and secondary schools under its jurisdiction through this Special Zones for Structural Reform scheme.<sup>(7)</sup> According to its plan, the city is setting up a K-12 English immersion programme at an experimental school which is to be newly established for the sake of this ambitious experiment. Although this new school is to be established by the city, it will be a private school by nature which will demand fairly high tuition. Thus the accessibility of immersion education will be severely restricted, but it is still an ambitious experiment worthy of careful monitoring.

##### 10.4.2. Gradual introduction through content and language integrated learning

Another promising strategy available to us is a gradual introduction of immersion concept through CLIL (content and language integrated learning) approach, which is gaining a world currency in the profession of second language education. CLIL shares the basic tenet of immersion education that content material in regular subjects will make excellent comprehensible and meaningful input for second language learners

(Nikula & Marsh, 1998; Sjöholm & Bjorklund, 1999), and put into practice this basic tenet on a limited scale just like Extended French in Canada. It will be made compatible with the current system of English language education with only minor reform.

CLIL presupposes a fairly good command of English on the part of learners and an excellent command of English and expertise in a target content subject on the part of teachers. Once English language education is introduced into primary schools, CLIL will be possible at lower and upper secondary schools, and in some cases, even at primary schools. The current Super English Language High School project can be regarded as an attempt to introduce CLIL into secondary school education in a limited way. CLIL is also being attempted at several secondary schools selected for the Super Science High School project, where science is being taught in English. It is also attempted at some of the newly-established six-year public secondary schools. Thus the base for a gradual introduction of English immersion education through CLIL is expanding steadily.

The greatest interest in CLIL, however, is being shown by universities. Today more and more universities are incorporating CLIL programmes into their curriculum, and most of those universities are successful in recruiting more secondary school graduates than they expected.<sup>(8)</sup> In fact, CLIL will be introduced more successfully at universities than at primary or secondary schools because universities are relatively free from those restrictive regulations that have constrained innovative and experimental approaches to teach English at primary and secondary schools. Given that school education in Japan is oriented toward university entrance examinations for better or worse, working at the top may be a more efficient approach to gradually introduce English immersion education through CLIL.

Another quite promising approach to incorporate CLIL in our school education is to include a question or two in English in a test (e.g., mathematics or science) of the National Centre University Entrance Examination other than the English test. For better or for worse, many university-bound secondary school students are studying hard in order to score high marks in the National Centre University Entrance Examination. Even if only one question is asked in English in this examination, it will substantially change not only the way students prepare for this examination but also the way English is taught at secondary school. It will promote collaboration between content teachers and English teachers. Considering the fact that English is a common language in the field of mathematics and science, one English question either in the mathematics test or in the science test should be worthy of serious consideration on the part of those in charge of the Examination.

#### 10.4.3. Introduction through experimental programmes

The most difficult but most significant strategy to introduce English immersion

education into public education in Japan is through experimental programmes of early English immersion at public primary schools. For this is indispensable substantial assistance from the Ministry of Education and prefectural and municipal school boards. Witnessing the recent popularity of so-called international schools where Japanese children are receiving all education in English, this challenging strategy is worth attempting at public primary schools as well. In fact, English immersion education will be regarded as an educational reform only after it is incorporated into the public school system because of its sheer volume and effect on school education in general. As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, public primary schools represent more than 99% of all the primary schools in Japan.

Being experimental in nature, this strategy will target only a limited number of primary school children at first. Thus it may be dubbed as being elitist, but it should be remembered that the first French immersion programme in Canada was also set up for only 26 students in Quebec (Genesee, 1987). The success of this experimental programme can be said to have laid the basis for the current popularity of French immersion education in Canada as a legitimate option of school education.

Some people may oppose experimental programmes of early English immersion by arguing that we are not ready yet for the whole concept of immersion education. They may be right, but experimental programmes are, as a rule, started when we are not fully ready. In this point, we can learn a lot from those politicians in the Meiji Era who insisted on the early introduction of compulsory education on the basis of their own long-term vision for the future. Actually, the introduction of compulsory education in 1872 may have been premature in many parts of Japan, but it is also true that it spearheaded the later development of the country. Nothing innovative will happen if we wait for everyone to be ready. Witnessing the rapid spread and expansion of immersion education overseas in recent years, the case for an experimental English immersion programme is never too early at all. It is time that the Ministry of Education should cast the die.

## Conclusion

The present study has focused on French immersion education in Canada, and has analyzed the reasons for its success as an experimental educational project by specifying the pedagogical, institutional and societal factors which have contributed to the success on micro and macro levels. The argument presented in the study is based upon the premise that French immersion education has been successful, and several convincing quantitative and qualitative evidences have also been presented in the study. It should be noted, however, that this premise is not unanimously shared by educators and researchers in Canada. Some people argue that the reported success should be qualified as being politically correct while others (e.g., Hammerly, 1987, 1989a, 1989b) insist that it was a failure. Although the present study has detected very positive perceptions about the success of French immersion education among stakeholders, it is very likely that people not involved in French immersion education may have different perceptions. The study has also pointed out problems that remain to be solved in the future, such as the further improvement of the French proficiency of immersion graduates, or problems that have been created by the current expansion of French immersion education, such as the dispersion of educational resources through double-tracking or multiple-tracking of school education and the progression and promotion of selective education.

In spite of these problems and issues, the successfulness of French immersion education is remarkable, considering the fact that it was started as a tiny experimental programme for only 26 students at a small school in Quebec in 1965, and that currently more than 320,000 students are enrolled in French immersion programmes which are being offered at more than 2,100 schools across Canada. There is also a good prospect that it is going to expand from now on (CPF, 2003).<sup>(1)</sup> This kind of general grass-root support can sometimes be more convincing than sophisticated research reports. That is exactly why Canadian-type immersion education is spreading quite rapidly to countries outside Canada on a global scale.

With increasing international interdependence, it is getting more and more important for educators across the world to ensure that children will acquire an ability to communicate with people from other cultures through school education. Fairchild & Padilla (1990, p.246), for example, regards such ability as "a requirement for living and working in the modern world." Similarly, Andrade, Kretschmer & Kretschmer (1989, p.111) includes an ability to communicate in more than one language among the essential qualities to be nurtured in children who are to live in the twenty-first century, along with a healthy self-concept, a sensitivity to similarities and differences among peoples, a willingness to adapt to changes, and a familiarity with technology. At present, more and more countries are coming to view second language competence "as a national natural resource to be nurtured and sustained" (Tucker & Crandall,

1989, p.50).

In Japan, too, the Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century emphasized in its final report that in order for Japan to achieve a world-class excellence in the 21st century, it is imperative that "in addition to mastering information technology, all Japanese acquire a working knowledge of English—not as simply a foreign language but as the international lingua franca" (cf. Chapter 9).<sup>(2)</sup> The Commission considers that this should be regarded as a strategic imperative, not simply as a matter of foreign language education, and even suggests that in the long term it may become necessary to make English an official second language. This appeal for more effective English language education has been succeeded by the current strategic plan by the Ministry of Education to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities."<sup>(3)</sup>

We are already in the 21st century. It is quite certain that cross-cultural interaction between peoples will be boosted up through the further improvement in transportation and communication technology. English language education in Japan, like any other second language education overseas, has a grave responsibility to foster cross-cultural communicative competence in English, which will undoubtedly function as a global language in the 21st century. Such being the case, immersion education in Canada will provide us with a lot of useful implications as a successful strategy to foster communicative competence in a second language.

When the success of an educational programme is discussed among researchers of English language education in Japan, the discussion has tended to focus on the success on a micro level, i.e., ultimate learning outcomes. This is mainly because the success on a micro level is more susceptible to empirical studies that have been emphasized and acknowledged in the studies of English language education. This has been quite appropriate for the development of the studies of English language education as an independent science of education. However, it has to be admitted that this emphasis on empirical data has also narrowed considerably the scope of the studies on English language education. It is the present researcher's conviction that both macro-level and micro-level researches will be needed for the sound development of the studies of English language education. Therefore, it will be a great honour for the present researcher if this study will make some contribution not only to the advance of English language education in the 21st century but also to the further development of the studies of English language education in Japan.

## Notes

### Introduction

- (1) Information about the International Literacy Year is available at the website of the United Nations, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/44/a44r127.htm>, and about the International Mother Language Day is at the website of the UNESCO, [http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php.URL\\_ID=27387&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=279.html](http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php.URL_ID=27387&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=279.html).
- (2) Information about "a strategic plan to cultivate Japanese with English abilities" is available at the website of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Ministry of Education hereafter), <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/news/2002/07/020901.htm>.
- (3) Information about "an action plan to cultivate Japanese with English abilities" is available at the website of the Ministry of Education, <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/topics/03072801.htm>.
- (4) Information about the Super English Language High School project is available at the website of the Ministry of Education, [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/houdou/16/04/04040501/008.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/16/04/04040501/008.pdf) (in Japanese).
- (5) Information about the Super Science High School project is available at the website of the Ministry of Education, [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/houdou/16/04/04040701/004.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/16/04/04040701/004.pdf) (in Japanese).

### Chapter 1

- (1) This information is from the website of the United Nations, <http://www.un.org/Overview/unmember.html>.
- (2) This information is from *Multiculturalism: A policy response to diversity*, retrieved 21 February 2000 from the website of the UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/most/sydpaper.htm>.
- (3) In Canada, "minorities" often refer to French-speaking Canadians, who are clearly distinguished from other minorities often referred to as visible minorities.

### Chapter 2

- (1) According to Obadia (1995), the very first French immersion programme was started in Toronto at a private school there. However, it is generally assumed in Canada that the programme started at St. Lambert in Quebec was the first French immersion programme in Canada, at least in the public system.
- (2) In the early 1960s, French-speaking Quebecers started to express their dissatisfaction about the unprivileged position of French in Quebec publicly, sometimes violently. This social unrest manifested in this period is called the Quiet Revolution (Brown, 1987, p.500) in the history of Canada.
- (3) According to Genesee (1987), the enthusiasm among parents for this experimental programme was so great that the registration for the quota of 26 children was finished in only five minutes, from 1:00 pm to 1:05 pm.
- (4) It is noteworthy here that Stern used to be one of the staff members of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), which played crucial roles in the development of French immersion education in Canada mainly through its contribution to the evaluation of the programmes across Canada.

### Chapter 3

- (1) Retrieved 2 September 2002 from Department of Justice Canada Internet site, <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/index.html>.
- (2) Cited from *Education Indicators in Canada 1999* by Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. Retrieved 22 March 2004 from <http://www.cmec.ca/stats/pceip/1999/Indicatorsite/english/pages/page35e.html>.
- (3) cf. The CMEC website at <http://www.cmec.ca/index.en.html>.
- (4) The summary of the 2001 census lists up 15 non-official languages that have a substantial number of native speakers living in Canada. More information is available at the website of Statistics Canada at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb>.

(5) In Ontario, FSL (Core French, Extended French or Immersion French) is compulsory from G4 to G9. In Ottawa, FSL is compulsory from SK to G9.

(6) According to Cummins (1994, p.453), the term *heritage language* is usually used to refer to “all languages other than the Aboriginal languages of First Nations peoples and the ‘official’ Canadian languages (English and French).”

#### Chapter 4

(1) This information is collected from the annual reports of the Commissioner of Official Languages and the Department of Canadian Heritage.

(2) Counter-argument for Hammerly’s criticism of French immersion is presented by Allen, Cummins, Harley, Lapkin & Swain (1989) and Obadia (1995).

#### Chapter 5

(1) In *Guidelines for a successful French immersion program* (CAIT, 1994) are listed up 37 “essential elements of a successful French Immersion programme” under 8 headings (Teachers, Curriculum, Organization of the Program, Physical Resources, Human Resource Services, Administrative and Support Personnel, Professional Development Activities, and Teaching Strategies).

(2) These ten techniques were originally proposed by M. Snow in her booklet, *Immersion teacher handbook* (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1987).

(3) This does not mean that francophone children are completely excluded from immersion classes. It sometimes happens that francophone parents enrol their children in French immersion programmes because there are no schools for French-speaking children in their areas.

#### Chapter 6

(1) If no French immersion programmes are available in their area, parents can apply for the enrolment at a school outside their school zone. If their application is accepted, transportation by school bus will be available for those students living far away from schools they intend to attend.

(2) For example, a strategic plan to cultivate “Japanese with English abilities” proposed by the Japanese Ministry of Education has set up two goals of English language education; English-language abilities demanded of all Japanese nationals and English-language abilities demanded of those active in the international community. More information is available at the website of the Japanese Ministry of Education, <http://www.mext.go.jp/English/news/2002/07/02901.htm>.

(3) Edmonton Public Schools (2002) lists a well-planned articulation between primary and secondary education among the 14 characteristics of successful French language programs. More detailed information is available at their website, <http://www.caslt.org/research/characteristics.htm>

(4) This information was obtained from the programme officers of French immersion education at the OCDSB. The information about the French immersion programmes of the OCDSB is also available at their website, [http://www.ocdsb.edu.on.ca/General\\_Info/Fact\\_Sheets/French\\_Immersion/FSL.htm](http://www.ocdsb.edu.on.ca/General_Info/Fact_Sheets/French_Immersion/FSL.htm).

(5) For example, there are listed up 27 secondary schools in the jurisdiction of the Ottawa-Carleton District School Board. Of these 27 schools, only eight schools have bilingual programmes in which students can obtain the minimum number of credits required for the French immersion certificate with relative ease. More information is available at the OCDSB website, <http://www.ocdsb.edu.on.ca>.

(6) cf. Cited from the website of the Canadian Parents for French, <http://www.cpf.ca/english/About%20Us/Index.htm>.

(7) The provincial tests were introduced by the Ontario Ministry of Education in 1996 in order to assess Ontarian students’ scholastic achievements in key three school subjects of reading, writing and mathematics. This province-wide assessment requires Grade 3 and Grade 6 students to be tested in reading, writing and mathematics, Grade 9 students to be tested in mathematics, and Grade 10 students to be tested in English literacy. Passing this literacy test is a prerequisite for high school diplomas.



This provincial assessment takes place annually at the end of the school year. The Ontario Ministry of Education also established the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) as an arm's-length agency of the provincial government which takes full responsibility for the preparation, administration and evaluation of the provincial tests. More information about the EQAO and the provincial tests is available at the website of the EQAO, [http://www.eqao.com/categories/educator\\_e.aspx?Lang=E](http://www.eqao.com/categories/educator_e.aspx?Lang=E).

(8) The 17 June 2003 edition of the Ottawa Citizen reported the school ranking results covering 2,885 primary schools in Ontario. This ranking was prepared by the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute, "a conservative think tank that supports free-market solutions to what it sees as problems in public policy" (the Ottawa Citizen) on the basis of the scores of Grade 3 and Grade 6 provincial tests compiled by the EQAO.

#### Chapter 7

(1) Retrieved 12 June 2000 from the website of the Department of Justice Canada, [http://canada.justice.gc.ca/cgi-bin/folioisa.dll/const\\_e.nfo/query=\\*/doc/{@186}?](http://canada.justice.gc.ca/cgi-bin/folioisa.dll/const_e.nfo/query=*/doc/{@186}?)

(2) Retrieved 12 June 2000, from the website of the Department of Justice Canada, [http://canada.justice.gc.ca/cgi-bin/folioisa.dll/const\\_e.nfo/query=\\*/doc/{t390}?](http://canada.justice.gc.ca/cgi-bin/folioisa.dll/const_e.nfo/query=*/doc/{t390}?)

(3) The Multiculturalism Act itself was enacted in 1988 (cf. Canadian Heritage, 1999).

(4) This information is collected from the website of Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca>.

(5) Cited from the website of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), <http://www.cmec.ca/index.en.html>.

(6) More information on this matter is available at the website of the Department of Canadian Heritage, [http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/progs/index\\_e.cfm](http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/progs/index_e.cfm).

(7) The points for the selected reasons were calculated in the following manner: 3 points were given to each most important reason, 2 points to each second most important reason, and 1 point to each third most important reason. All the points were then added up for each reason presented in the questionnaire.

#### Chapter 8

(1) This research in Ottawa was made possible by the research grant received through the Faculty Research Programme sponsored by the government of Canada, and by the hospitality of the Institute of Canadian Studies of the University of Ottawa, which kindly accepted the present researcher as a visiting researcher, and allowed the researcher to use all the facility and service of the institute to conduct the interview and questionnaire studies in Ottawa.

(2) The present researcher would like to express his sincere gratitude to Ms Lucy Miller of the Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board, who helped the researcher with the questionnaire for the parents, to Professor Mari Wesche of the University of Ottawa and Ms Yoko Azuma Prikryl of Carleton University, who both helped with the questionnaire for the former immersion students, and all other people who helped with and responded to the questionnaires and the interviews.

(3) According to the results of the 1981-1996 censuses published by Statistics Canada, the bilingual rates of the Canadian population increased steadily during this period: 15.3% in 1981, 16.3% in 1991, and 17.0% in 1996 (cf. Ito, 2003). Churchill (1998) detected much bigger increases in the bilingual rates of the teenagers (15-19 years old) during the same period of time, from 17.7% in 1981 to 24.4% in 1996. It is quite probable that FSL programmes, especially French immersion programmes across Canada contributed significantly to this increase in the bilingual rate of the Canadian population, especially of the young Canadians.

#### Chapter 9

(1) The scores on this table were tabulated from *TOEIC @ report on test-takers worldwide 1997-98*, available at <http://ftp.ets.org/pub/toefl/TOEICreporttesttakers.pdf>.

(2) The situation has not been improved at all in the latest report, *TOEIC@ report on test-takers worldwide 2002-03*. Among the 29 countries with more than 500 test-

takers, Japan was ranked 26th in listening, 26th in reading, and 26th in the total scores. More information on this latest report is available at <http://ftp.ets.org/pub/toefl/TOEIC0203report.pdf>.

(3) Information about the IEA (International Evaluation Association) is available at its website, <http://www.iea.nl/iea/hq>. The results of the third international mathematics and science study are available from the *TIMSS 1999 technical report* (edited by M.O.Martin, K.D.Gregory & S.E.Stemler); at [http://timss.bc.edu/timss999i/tech\\_report.html](http://timss.bc.edu/timss999i/tech_report.html). The results of the first and second international mathematics and science studies are summarized in Jijitsushin (2000).

(4) Information of the OECD Programme for International student assessment is available at <http://www1.oecd.org/els/pisa/index.htm>. The data of the PISA 2000 is available at [http://www1.oecd.org/els/pisa/Docs/download/pisaplus\\_eng01.pdf](http://www1.oecd.org/els/pisa/Docs/download/pisaplus_eng01.pdf).

(5) According to the 15 December 2004 edition of the Asahi Shimbun, this decline tendency was confirmed by the international assessment conducted in 2003. The Japanese junior high school students dropped from the 4th to 6th in science although they remained in the 5th in mathematics. Similarly, the 8 December 2004 edition of the Asahi Shimbun reported the results of the PISA 2003, confirming the decline in the performance of Japanese 15-year-old students. Although they remained 2nd in scientific literacy, they dropped from the 8th to the 14th in reading literacy and from the 1st to the 6th in mathematical literacy.

(6) Retrieved 2 September 2002 from the *Frontier within: Individual empowerment and better governance in the new millennium*, available at the website of the Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, <http://www1.kantei.go.jp/jp/21century/report/htmls/index.html>.

(7) Information is available at the website of the Ministry of Education at <http://www.mext.go.jp/English/news/2002/07/02901.htm>.

(8) Retrieved 8 December 2004 from the website of the Ministry of Education at <http://www.mext.go.jp/English/news/2002/07/02901.htm>.

(9) For example, Tokushima Prefectural Board of Education does not require applicants for teaching positions to sit for the English screening test if they have either the scores of over 816 in TOEIC or over 600 in TOEFL, or the first degree in STEP.

(10) More information about *Super English Language High School* is available at the website of the Ministry of Education, [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/houdou/16/04/04040501/001.htm](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/16/04/04040501/001.htm).

(11) The name of the school is Asahijuku Junior High School. Information about this unique school is available at <http://www.asahijuku.com>.

(12) Information about the Special Zone for Structural Reform Experimental Schools System is available at the website of the Ministry of Education, <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/councils/72.htm>.

(13) More information about this school, Gunma Kokusai Academy, is available at the website of the City of Ota, Gumma Prefecture, <http://web01.city.ota.gunma.jp/gyosei/0020a/001/02/eigotokku.htm>.

## Chapter 10

(1) From the discussion in this chapter are excluded those immersion-type education programmes that were conducted outside Japan in such areas as Korea, Taiwan, China, and other countries in South Pacific before and during the Second World War, since those programmes were essentially submersion programmes, not immersion programmes, which aimed at developing Japanese proficiency at the cost of children's native language proficiency. Information about those Japanese language education programmes is available from Shiota (1955, 1973) and Shi (2003).

(2) Retrieved from the website of the Ministry of Education website at <http://www.mext.go.jp/English/news/2002/07/02901.htm>.

(3) This information was obtained from Chinese educators during the present researcher's recent visit to Beijing in September 2004.

(4) Information about Kato Gakuen and Seiko Gakuen are available at their websites, <http://www.kato-net.ac.jp/Elementary/index.htm> and <http://www.seikogakuen.ac.jp>.

(5) According to the latest statistics announced by the Ministry of Education (<http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/struct/013/001.htm>), there are 413,890 primary schools in Japan, of which only 3,364 schools are private, representing less than 1%.

(6) Special Zones for Structural Reform are areas where, through establishing special measures accordingly to regional characteristics and promoting structural reform on the initiative of each region, the economy of Japan and regional Japan will be revitalized (cited from <http://http://www.mext.go.jp/english/org/councils/72.htm>).

(7) Information about this school is available at the website of the City of Ota, Gumma Prefecture, <http://web01.city.ota.gunma.jp/gyosei/0020a/001/02/eigotokku.htm>.

(8) Among those universities which have introduced successful CLIL programmes are Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University ([http://www.apu.ac.jp/home/index.php?sel\\_lang=english](http://www.apu.ac.jp/home/index.php?sel_lang=english)), Waseda University (School of International Liberal Studies) (<http://www.waseda.jp/sils/en/index.html>), and Aki International University (<http://www.aiu.ac.jp/jp>).

### Conclusion

(1) According to CPF (2003, p.18), which surveyed the perceptions of educators about the future of French immersion education, 17% of the respondents predicted the future increase in the enrolment for Core French, 30% predicted the decrease, and 53% predicted no net change while 43% predicted the future increase in the enrolment for French immersion, 7% predicted the decrease, and 50% predicted no net change.

(2) Retrieved 2 September 2002 from Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century Internet site, [http://www1.kantei.go.jp/jp/21\\_century/report/htmls/index.html](http://www1.kantei.go.jp/jp/21_century/report/htmls/index.html).

(3) Cf. The strategic plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities," by the Japanese Ministry of Education, whose information is available at <http://www.mext.go.jp/English/news/2002/07/02901.htm>.

## Bibliography

- ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages). 1989. *ACTFL proficiency guidelines*. Yonkers, NY: Author.
- Andersson, T. 1969. *Foreign languages in the elementary school: A struggle against mediocrity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Andrade, C., Kretschmer, R.Jr., & Kretschmer, L. 1989. Two languages for all children. In J.Oller, Jr. (ed.), *Methods that work* (2nd ed.) (pp.99-112). Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle, 1993.
- Asher, J.J. 1969. The total physical response approach to second language learning. *Modern Language Journal*, 53(1), 3-17.
- Ayabe, T. (綾部恒雄編) 1989. 『もっと知りたいカナダ』 東京：弘文堂.
- Ayabe, T. & Iino, M. (綾部恒雄・飯野正子編) 2003. 『カナダを知るための60章』 東京：明石書店.
- Baker, C. 1993. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. & Jones, S.P. 1998. *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Barik, H. & Swain, M. 1975. Three-year evaluation of a large scale early grade French immersion program: The Ottawa study. *Language Learning*, 25(1), 1-30.
- Barik, H. & Swain, M. 1976a. Primary-grade French immersion in a unilingual English-Canadian setting: The Toronto study through grade 2. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 1, 39-58.
- Barik, H. & Swain, M. 1976b. A Canadian experiment in bilingual education: The Peel study. *Foreign Language Annals*, 9, 465-479.
- Barik, H. & Swain, M. 1978. Evaluation of a French immersion program: The Ottawa study through grade five. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 10(3), 192-201.
- Barik, H., Swain, M. & Gaudino, V. 1976. A Canadian experiment in bilingual schooling in the senior grades: The Peel study through grade 10. *International Review of Applied Psychology*, 25(2), 99-113.
- Barik, H. C., Swain, M. & Nwanunobi, E. 1977. English-French bilingual education: The Elgin study through grade five. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 33(4), 459-475.
- Beaujot, R. 1998. Demographic considerations in Canadian language policy. In T.Ricento & B.Burnaby (eds.), *Language and politics in the United States and Canada* (pp.71-83). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Beynon, J. & Toohy, K. 1991. Heritage language education in British Columbia: Policy and programs. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 47(4), 606-616.
- Bostwick, M. 2001. English immersion in a Japanese school. In D. Christian & F. Genesee (eds.), *Bilingual education* (pp.125-137). Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

- Bostwick, M. (ボストウィック, M.) 1999. 「日本におけるイマージョン教育」 山本雅代編『バイリンガルの世界』(pp.181-218) 東京：大修館書店.
- Bostwick, R.M. 2001. Bilingual education of children in Japan: Year four of a partial immersion programme. In M.G.Noguchi & S.Fotos (eds.), *Studies in Japanese bilingualism* (pp.272-311). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bournot-Trites, M. & Reeder, K. 2001. Interdependence revisited: Mathematics achievement in an intensified French immersion program. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 58(1), 27-43.
- Breen, M. 1984. Process syllabuses for the language classroom. In C.Brumfit (ed.), *General English syllabus design* (pp.47-60). Oxford: Modern English Publications.
- Breen, M. 1985. Authenticity in the language classroom. *Applied Linguistics*, 6(1): 60-70.
- Brinton, D., Snow, M. & Wesche, M. 1989. *Content-based second language instruction*. New York: Newbury House.
- Brown, C. (ed.) 1987. *The illustrated history of Canada*. Toronto: Lester Publishing.
- Bruck, M., Lambert, W. & Tucker, G. 1976. Cognitive consequences of bilingual schooling: The St. Lambert project through grade six. *International Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 6(1), 13-33.
- Burstall, C. 1970. *French in the primary school: Attitudes and achievement*. Slough: NFER.
- Burstall, C., Jamieson, M., Cohen, S. & Hargreaves, M. 1974. *Primary French in the balance*. Slough: NFER.
- CAIT (The Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers). 1984. *National study of French immersion teacher training and professional development*. Ottawa: Author.
- CAIT (The Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers). 1994. *Guidelines for a successful French immersion program*. Nepean, Ontario: Author.
- CAIT (The Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers). 1995a. *Instructional strategies in French immersion: An annotated bibliography*. Nepean, Ontario: Author.
- CAIT (The Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers). 1995b. *Introducing English language arts in early French immersion*. Nepean, Ontario: Author.
- Campbell, R., Gray, T., Rhodes, N. & Snow, M. 1985. Foreign language learning in the elementary schools: A comparison of three language programs. *Modern Language Journal*, 69(1), 44-54.
- Canadian Heritage (ed). 1997. *The Canadian experience in the teaching of official languages*. Ottawa: Author.
- Canadian Heritage. 1999. *10th annual report on the operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1977-1988*. Ottawa: Author.
- Choko Shinsho La Clef Editorial Department & Suzuki, Y. (中公新書ラクレ編集部・鈴木義里編) 2002. 『論争・英語が公用語になる日』 東京：中央公論新社.

- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Christian, D. 1994. Two-way bilingual education: Students learning through two languages. *Educational Practice Report* (Santa Cruz, CA: National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning) 12, 1-23.
- Churchill, S. 1998. *Official languages in Canada: Changing the language landscape*. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage.
- Clift, D. 1984. Towards the larger community. *Language and Society*, 12(Winter), 65-68.
- CMEC (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada). n.d. *Report on French- and English-language education in minority settings and the teaching of English and French as second languages 1995-96*. Toronto: Author.
- Cohen, A. 1973. Successful immersion education in North America. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 5, 39-46.
- COL (Commissioner of Official Languages). 1985. *Official language act*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada.
- COL (Commissioner of Official Languages). 1998. *Annual report 1997*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- COL (Commissioner of Official Languages). 1999. *Official languages act*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- Collet, R. 1997. Social stakes of English and French teaching in Canada over the last 25 years. In Canadian Heritage (ed), *The Canadian experience in the teaching of official languages* (pp.13-17). Ottawa: Author.
- Collier, V. 1992. The Canadian bilingual education debate: A synthesis of research findings. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 14, 87-97.
- CPF (Canadian Parents for French). 2000. *The state of French second language education in Canada 2000*. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French.
- CPF (Canadian Parents for French). 2001. *The state of French second language education in Canada 2001*. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French.
- CPF (Canadian Parents for French). 2002. *The state of French second language education in Canada 2002*. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French.
- CPF (Canadian Parents for French). 2003. *The state of French second language education in Canada 2003*. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French.
- Crystal, D. 1997. *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cummins, J. 1979. Cognitive/academic language proficiency, linguistic interdependency, the optimum age question and some other matters. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 19, 197-205.
- Cummins, J. 1980. Ancestral-language maintenance: The roles of school and home. *Multiculturalism*, 4(2), 23-27.
- Cummins, J. 1994. Heritage language learning and teaching. In J.W.Berry &

- J.A.Laponce (eds.); *Ethnicity and culture in Canada* (pp.435-456). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cziko, G., Lambert, W. & Gutter, R. 1979. French immersion programs and students' social attitudes: A multidimensional investigation. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 19, 13-28.
- Das, B. (ed.) 1985. *Communicative language teaching*. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional language Centre.
- Dewey, J. 1966 (c.1916). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: Free Press.
- Doughty, C. & Williams, J. (eds.). 1998. *Focus on form in classroom second language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edmonton Public Schools. 2002. *Program review: French as a second language summary report*. Edmonton: Author. Available at <http://french.epsb.ca/docs/FSL-Summary.June-10.pdf>.
- ETS (Educational Testing Service). 2003. *TOEFL test and score data summary: 2002-2003 test year data*. Princeton, NJ: Author. Retrieved 22 September 2004 from [http://ftp.ets.org/pub/toefl/0203test\\_year\\_data.pdf](http://ftp.ets.org/pub/toefl/0203test_year_data.pdf).
- Fairchild, H. & Padilla, A. 1990. Innovations in bilingual education: contributions from foreign language education. In A.Padilla, H.Fairchild & C.Valadez (eds.), *Bilingual education: Issues and strategies* (pp.244-254). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Fathman, A.1975. The relationship between age and second language productive ability. *Language Learning*, 25, 245-253.
- Ferguson, C.A., Houghton, C. & Wells, M.H. 1977. Bilingual education: An international perspective. In B.Spolsky & R.Cooper(eds.), *Frontiers of bilingual education* (pp.159- 174). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J. 1982. Sociolinguistic foundations of bilingual education. *The Bilingual Review*, 9(1), 1-35.
- Fishman, J. & Lovas, J. 1970. Bilingual education in sociolinguistic perspective. *TESOL Quarterly*, 4(3), 215-222.
- Freire, P. 1972. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Fries, C.C. 1945. *Teaching and learning English as a foreign language*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Funabashi, Y. (船橋洋一) 2000. 『あえて英語公用語論』 東京 : 文藝春秋.
- Gary, J.O. 1975. Delayed oral practice in initial stages of second language learning. In M.K.Burt & H.C.Dulay (eds.), *New directions in second language learning, teaching and bilingual education* (pp.89-95). Washington, D.C.: TESOL.
- Gary, J.O. 1978. Why speak if you don't need to? The case for a listening approach to beginning foreign language learning. In W.C.Ritchie (ed.), *Second language acquisition research: Issues and implications* (pp.185-199). New York: Academic Press.

- Gaudet, A. & Pelletier, G. 1993. English and mathematics achievements in French immersion programs. *The Canadian School Executive*, May, 15-17.
- Genesee, F. 1978. A longitudinal evaluation of an early immersion school program. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 3(4), 31-50.
- Genesee, F. 1981. A comparison of early and late second language learning. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 13(2), 115-128.
- Genesee, F. 1983. Bilingual education of majority-language children: The immersion experiments in review. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 4(1), 1-46.
- Genesee, F. 1987. *Learning through two languages*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.
- Genesee, F. 1991. Second language learning in school settings: Lessons from immersion. In A. G. Reynolds (ed.), *Bilingualism, multilingualism, and second language learning* (pp.183-201). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Genesee, F., Holobow, N., Lambert, W. & Chartrand, L. 1989. Three elementary school alternatives for learning through a second language. *Modern Language Journal*, 73(3), 250-263.
- Genesee, F., Holobow, N., Lambert, W., Cleghorn, A. & Walling, R. 1985. The linguistic and academic development of English-speaking children in French schools: Grade 4 outcomes. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 41(4), 669-685.
- Genesee, F., Polich, E. & Stanley, M. 1977. An experimental French immersion program at the secondary school level 1969 to 1974. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 33(3), 318-332.
- Genesee, F., Tucker, G. & Lambert, W. 1975. Communication skills of bilingual children. *Child Development*, 46, 1010-1014.
- Geva, E. & Clifton, S. 1994. The development of first and second language reading skills in early French immersion. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 50(4), 646-667.
- Government of Canada. 2003. *The next act: New momentum for Canada's linguistic duality*. Ottawa: Author.
- Graddol, D. 1997. *The future of English?* London: The British Council.
- Grosjean, F. 1982. *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Halsall, N. & O'Reilly, E. 1995. *Introducing English language arts in early French immersion*. Nepean, Ontario: Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers.
- Hammerly, H. 1987. The immersion approach: Litmus test of second language acquisition through classroom communication. *Modern Language Journal*, 71(4), 395-401.
- Hammerly, H. 1989a. *French immersion: Myths and reality*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.
- Hammerly, H. 1989b. French immersion (Does it work?) and the development of bilingual proficiency report. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 45(3),



567-578.

- Hammerly, H. 1989c. Toward fluency and accuracy: A response to Allen, Cummins, Harley, Lapkin and Swain. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 45(4)776-783.
- Harley, B. 1984. How good is their French? *Language and Society*, 12(Special Issue), 55-60.
- Harley, B. 1992. Patterns of second language development in French immersion. *Journal of French Language Studies*, 2, 159-183.
- Harley, B., Hart, D. & Lapkin, S. 1986. The effects of early bilingual schooling on first language skills. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 7, 295-322.
- Harley, B & Swain, M. 1978. An analysis of the verb system used by young learners of French. *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin*, 3, 35-39.
- Harley, B. & Swain, M. 1984. The interlanguage of immersion students and its implications for second Language teaching. In A.Davies, C.Criper & A.P.R.Howatt (eds.), *Interlanguage* (pp.291-311). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hart, D., Lapkin, S. & Swain, M. 1988. *Early and middle immersion programs: Linguistic outcomes and social character*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 1990. A study of language policy and language education in Canada. 『カナダ研究年報』 10号, 36-52.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 1995. 「カナダの多文化主義と言語教育」 『東洋学園大学紀要』 第3号, 83-99.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 1999. 「カナダの言語政策□：二言語多文化主義への通」 『英語教育』 1999年10月号, 30-31.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 1999. 「カナダの言語政策□：二言語多文化主義と言語教育」 『英語教育』 1999年11月号, 30-31.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 2000. 「カナダの多文化主義と遺産言語教育、多文化サービス」 大学英語教育学会言語政策研究会編 『日本の地方自治体における言語サービスに関する研究』 (pp.117-131) 東京：大学英語教育学会.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 2000. 「二言語多文化主義とカナダの言語教育」 多文化社会研究会編 『英語圏における多文化社会についての学際的比較研究－カナダ・アメリカ・イギリス・オーストラリアの多文化主義－』 (pp.23-33) 東京：青文社.
- Hasegawa, M. (長谷川瑞穂) 2002. 「カナダの多言語主義の政策と言語教育」 河原俊昭編 『世界の言語政策』 (pp.161-188) 東京：くろしお出版.
- Hasman, M. 2000. The role of English in the 21st century. *English Teaching Forum*, 38(1), 2-5.
- Hayashida, K. (林田享子) 1985. 「第2言語としてのフランス語教育」 関口礼子編著 『カナダの多文化主義教育に関する学際的研究』 (pp.65-83) 茨城県谷田部町：図書館情報大学.
- Hayashida, K. (林田享子) 1988. 「英語系住民を対象としたフランス語教育」 関口礼子編著 『カナダ多文化主義教育に関する学際的研究』 (pp.257-282) 東京：東洋館出版社.

- Higuchi, Y. & Yoshida, Y. (樋口陽一・吉田善明) 1994. 『解説世界憲法集』東京：三省堂.
- Honna, N. (本名信行編著) 2002. 『アジアの最新英語事情』東京：大修館書店.
- Honna, N. (本名信行) 1999. 『アジアをつなぐ英語－英語の新しい国際的役割－』東京：アルク.
- Hornberger, N. 1991. Extending enrichment bilingual education: revisiting typologies and redirecting policy. In O.Garcia (ed.), *Bilingual education: Focusschrift in honor of Joshua A. Fishman* (pp.216-234). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Husum, R. & Bryce, R. 1991. A survey of graduates from a Saskatchewan French immersion high school. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 48(1), 135-143.
- Ishikawa, K. (石川九楊) 1999. 『二重言語国家・日本』東京：日本放送出版協会.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1980. 「英語学習入門期の指導についての一考察－Comprehension-oriented Approach の立場から－」『中国地区英語教育学会研究紀要』NO.10, 25-33.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1982. 「英語学習入門期におけるCOMPREHENSION APPROACHの実験的試み」『広島大学附属中学校研究紀要』第28集, 19-46.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1994a. 「海外の教授法と日本の教授法」『現代英語教育：創刊 30 周年記念号』(研究社出版) 30(13), 40-43.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1994b. 「「コミュニケーション」活動とは」『英語教育』(大修館書店) 43 巻 4 号, 8-10.
- Ito, H. 1996. A case for integrating communication and culture in team teaching. *Annual Review of English Language Education in Japan*, 7, 1-9.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1997. 「カナダの公用語政策とバイリンガリズム」『奈良教育大学教育研究所紀要』第 33 号, 9-20.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1997. 「カナダのイマーシオン・プログラム」『現代英語教育』(研究社出版)33 巻 11 号, 22-26.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1997. 「カナダの教育制度と第 2 言語教育」『奈良教育大学実践研究指導センター研究紀要』No.6, 1-13.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 1997. 『カナダのバイリンガル教育－イマーシオン・プログラムと日本の英語教育の接点を求めて－』広島：溪水社.
- Ito, H. 2000. Canadian immersion education in a theoretical perspective. *Bulletin of Nara University of Education*, 49(1), 55-70.
- Ito, H. 2001. Canada's official languages policy and its implications for debates over English as an official second language.『中部地区英語教育学会紀要』第 30 号, 231-238.
- Ito, H. 2002. A new framework of culture teaching for teaching English as a global language. *RELC Journal*, 33(2), 36-57.
- Ito, H. 2002. On the linkage between the official languages policy and second language education in Canada. 『四国英語教育学会紀要』第 22 号, 1-10.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 2003. 「カナダの公用語政策と第二言語教育の連携の背景と実際」『カナダ研究年報』(日本カナダ学会) 第 23 号, 1-18.
- Ito, H. 2003. Accountability in second language education in a Canadian perspective. 『四国英語教育学会紀要』第 23 号, 1-10.

- 『四国英語教育学会紀要』第23号, 1-10.
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 2003. 『カナダの公用語政策と第二言語教育の連携についての調査・研究』平成13年度～平成14年度科学研究費補助金(基盤研究(C)(2)研究成果報告書).
- Ito, H. (伊東治己) 2004. 「カナダでのイマージョン教育の成功実態と成功要因の分析—関係者に対する意識調査を中心に—」『カナダ研究年報』(日本カナダ学会)第24号, 1-18.
- Ito, H. 2004. Parental evaluative perceptions of immersion education in Canada. *JACET Bulletin*, No.39, 123-135.
- Iwasaki, M. (岩崎美紀子) 1991. 『カナダ現代政治』東京: 東京大学出版会.
- JACET (JACET バイリンガル研究会編) 2003. 『日本のバイリンガル教育—学校の事例から学ぶ—』東京: 三修社.
- JACS (Japanese Association for Canadian Studies, 日本カナダ学会編) 1997. 『史料が語るカナダ』東京: 有斐閣.
- Jijitsushin (時事通信社) 2000. 「理数嫌い目立つ日本の中学生—IEA 第3回調査の第2段階調査結果速報—」『内外教育』平成12年12月8日号.
- Johnson, F. (ジョンソン, F.・鹿毛基生訳) 1984. 『カナダ教育史』東京: 学文社.
- Johnson, K. 1982. *Communicative syllabus design and methodology*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Johnson, R.K. & Swain, M. (eds.). 1997. *Immersion education: International perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. 1984. Regional norms for English. In S.J.Savignon & M.S. Berns (eds.), *Initiatives in communicative language teaching* (pp.55-78). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Kachru, B. 1985. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. Widdowson (eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp.11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kanamaru, F. (金丸芙美) 1999. 「香港の英語教育の特色—英語イマージョン教育の可能性をめぐって—」『国際教育』(日本国際教育学会), No.6, 96-114.
- Kato, H. (加藤普章) 1990. 『多元国家カナダの実験』東京: 未来社.
- Kato, H. (加藤普章) 2002. 『カナダ連邦政治—多様性と統一への模索—』東京: 東京大学出版会.
- Kawai, T. & Nakabayashi, M. (河合忠仁・中林眞佐男) 2002. 「第7章カナダ」大学英語教育学会(JACET)関西支部「海外の外国語教育」研究会編『「先進国」の外国語教育—日本の外国語教育への示唆—』(pp.117-130) 東京: 大学英語教育学会.
- Kimura, K. (木村和男編) 1999. 『カナダ史』東京: 山川出版.
- Kobayashi, J., Sekiguchi, R., Namida, K., Ogawa, H. & Mizoue, C. (小林順子・関口礼子・浪田克之介・小川洋・溝上智恵子編著) 2003. 『カナダの教育2: 21世紀にはばたくカナダの教育』東京: 東信堂.
- Kowal, M. & Swain, M. 1994. Using collaborative language production tasks to promote students' language awareness. *Language Awareness*, 3(2), 73-93.

- Krashen, S. 1982. *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Krashen, S. 1984. Immersion: Why it works and what it has taught us. *Language and Society*, 12 (Winter), 61-64.
- Krashen, S. 1985. *The input hypothesis: Issues and implications*. New York: Longman.
- Krashen, S. 1993. The case for free voluntary reading. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 50(1), 72-82.
- Krashen, S. & Terrell, T. 1983. *The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Kroehler, W.G. 1993. 「英語イマージョン教育」 『聖学院大学総合研究所 News Letter』 Vol.2-3, 20-23.
- Krueger, M. & Ryan, R. (eds.). 1993. *Language and content: Discipline- and content-based approaches to language study*. Lexington, MA: D.C.Heath.
- Kunihiro, M. (國弘正雄) 2000. 『英語が第二の国語になるってホント！？』 東京：萩原印刷.
- Kunitake, T. (国武輝久編) 1994. 『カナダの憲法と現代政治』 東京：同文館出版
- Lado, R. 1964. *Language teaching: A scientific approach*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Lambert, W. & Tucker, G. 1972. *Bilingual education of children: The St. Lambert experiment*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Lamendella, J. 1977. General principles of neurofunctional organization and their manifestations in primary and non-primary acquisition. *Language Learning*, 27, 155-196.
- Lapkin, S. (ed.), *French second language education in Canada: Empirical studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lapkin, S. 1984. How well do immersion students speak and write French? *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 40(5), 575-585.
- Lapkin, S., Hart, D. & Swain, M. 1991. Early and middle French immersion programs: French language outcomes. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 48(1), 11-39.
- Lapkin, S., Swain, M. & Shapson, S. 1990. French immersion research agenda for the 90s. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 46(4), 638- 674.
- Lapkin, S., Swain, M., Kamin, J. & Hanna, G. 1983. Late immersion in perspective: The Peel study. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 39(2), 182-206.
- Lee, Y. (イ・ヨンスク) 1996. 『国語という発想—近代日本の言語認識—』 東京：岩波書店.
- Lenneberg, E. 1967. *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Lightbown, P. M. & Spada, N. 1999. *How languages are learned* (revised edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lindholm, K. 1990. Bilingual immersion education: criteria for program development.

- In A. Padilla, H. Fairchild & C. Valadez (eds.), *Bilingual education: Issues and strategies* (pp.91-105). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lyster, R. 1987. Speaking immersion. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 43, 701-711.
- MacFarlane, A. 2001. Are brief contact experiences and classroom language learning complementary? *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 58(1), 64-83.
- MacFarlane, A. & Wesche, M. 1995. Immersion outcomes: Beyond language proficiency. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 51(2), 250-274.
- Mackey, W. 1970. A typology of bilingual education. *Foreign Language Annals*, 3, 596-608.
- Makino, A. (牧野篤) 1999. 『多文化コミュニティの学校教育—カナダの小学校より—』 東京：学術図書出版.
- Marmen, L. & Corbeil, J. 1999. *New Canadian perspectives: Languages in Canada: 1996 census*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- Matsukawa, R. (松川礼子) 1994. 「小学校における英語教育カリキュラムの構成—加藤学園におけるイマージョン・プログラム—」 『岐阜大学教科教育学研究』 第3号, 1-10.
- McEachern, W. 1980. Parental decision for French immersion: A look at some influencing factors. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 36, 238-246.
- McGrath, E. 1952. Language study and world affairs. *Modern Language Journal*, 36(5), 205-209.
- McNaught, K. (マクノート, K.・馬場伸也監訳) 1977. 『カナダの歴史』 東京：ミネルヴァ書房.
- Miller, J. 1988. *The holistic curriculum*. Toronto: OISE Press.
- Mohan, B. 1986. *Language and content*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Nakajima, K. (中島和子) 1998. 『バイリンガル教育の方法 (増補改訂版)』 東京：アルク.
- Nakano, H. (中野秀一郎) 1999. 『エスニシティと現代国家—連邦国家カナダの実験—』 東京：有斐閣.
- Neustupny, J.V. (ネウストプニー, J.V.) 1995. 「イマージョン・プログラムについて」 ネウストプニー, J.V. 著 『新しい日本語教育のために』 (pp.75-91) 東京：大修館書店.
- Nihon no Eigaku 100 Nen (日本の英学 100年編集部) 1968. 『日本の英学 100年—明治編—』 東京：研究社出版.
- Nikula, T. & Marsh, D. 1998. Terminological considerations regarding content and language integrated learning. *Bulletin Suisse de Linguistique Applique*, 67, 13-18. Available at the ERIC Database, [http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal?\\_nfpb=true&\\_pageLabel=Home\\_page](http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=Home_page).
- Nunan, D. 1989. *Designing tasks for the communicative classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Obadia, A. A. 1995. Thirty years of French immersion programs in Canada. Are they adding value to children's education? *Immersion Journal*, 18(3), 6-9.

- OBE (Ottawa Board of Education). 1996. *Comparative outcomes and impacts of early, middle and late entry French immersion options: Review of recent research and annotated bibliography*. Ottawa: Author.
- OBE (Ottawa Board of Education). n.d. *Number of hours of French instruction*. Ottawa: Author. (mimeo).
- OCCSB (Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board). 2000. *French as a second language (FSL) review*. Nepean: Author.
- OCCSB (Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board). 2004. *Continuing and community education: Connections*. Nepean: Author.
- OCOL (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages). 1996. *Our two official languages over time*. Ottawa: Author.
- OECD. 2003. *Literacy skills for the world of tomorrow: Further results from PISA 2000*. Retrieved 22 September 2004 from <http://www1.oecd.org/els/pisa/Publicatn/Literacy.htm>.
- Ohya, M. (大家麻里子) 1995.「カナダにおけるイマージョン教育について」『上越教育大学大学院学校教育研究科言語系コース(英語)研究論集』No.10, 23-27.
- Okado, H. (岡戸浩子) 2002.『「グローバル化」時代の言語教育政策—多様化の試みとこれからの日本—』東京：くろしお出版.
- OME (Ontario Ministry of Education). 1977. *Teaching and learning French as a second language*. Toronto: Author.
- OME (Ontario Ministry of Education). 2000a. *The Ontario curriculum grades 11 and 12: French as a second language: Core, extended, and immersion French*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- OME (Ontario Ministry of Education). 2000b. *The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 to 12: Program planning and assessment*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- OME (Ontario Ministry of Education). 2001. *The Ontario curriculum: French as a second language: Extended French grades 4-8 French immersion grades 1-8*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- OMET (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training). 1995. *The common curriculum: Policies and outcomes grades 1-9*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- OMET (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training). 1998a. *The Ontario curriculum: French as a second language: Core French grades 4-8*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- OMET (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training). 1998b. *The Ontario curriculum grades 1-8: Science and technology*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- OMET (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training). 1999. *The Ontario curriculum grades 9 and 10: French as a second language: Core, extended, and immersion French*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.
- Oshima, M. (大島 真) 2003.『バイリンガリズムと小学校英語教育』東京：リーベル出版.

- Otheguy, R. & Otto, R. 1980. The myth of static maintenance in bilingual education. *Modern Language Journal*, 64(3), 350-356.
- Otsu, Y. & Torikai, K. (大津由記雄・鳥飼玖美子) 2002. 『小学校でなぜ英語?』東京: 岩波書店.
- Parkin, M., Morrison, F. & Watkin, G. 1987. *French immersion research relevant to decisions in Ontario*. Ottawa: Ottawa Board of Education.
- Paulston, C. 1988. *International handbook of bilingualism and bilingual education*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Penfield, W. & Roberts, L. 1959. *Speech and brain mechanism*. New York: Atheneum.
- PMCJG (Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century 「21世紀日本の構想」懇談会・河合隼雄監修) 2000. 『日本のフロンティアは日本の中にあるー自立と協治で築く新世紀ー』東京: 講談社.
- Postovsky, V. A. 1974. Effects of delay in oral practice at the beginning of second language learning. *Modern Language Journal*, 58 (5&6), 229-239.
- Postovsky, V. A. 1977. Why not start speaking later? In M.Burt, H.Dulay & M.Finocchiaro (eds.), *Viewpoints on English as a second language* (pp.17-26). New York: Regents.
- Prabhu, N. 1987. *Second language pedagogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reeder, K., Buntain, J. & Takakuwa, M. 1999. Intensity of L2 instruction and biliterate proficiency in the intermediate years of a French immersion program. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 56(1), 49-72.
- Ricker, J. & Saywell, J. (リッカー, J.・セーウェル, J./馬場伸也・井上真蔵・野林健・砂田一郎訳) 1978. 『カナダの政治』ミネルヴァ書房.
- Rivers, W. 1968. *Teaching foreign-language skills*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Romaine, S. 1995. *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Safty, A. 1989. Some reflections on a decade in the French immersion classroom. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 45(3), 549-560.
- Sakurada, D. (櫻田大造) 2003. 『誰も知らなかった賢い国カナダ』東京: 講談社.
- Sano, M. (佐野正之) 2000. 『アクション・リサーチのすすめー新しい英語授業研究ー』東京: 大修館書店.
- Saywell, J. (セイウエル, J./吉田善明監修吉田健正訳) 1987. 『カナダの政治と憲法』東京: 三省堂.
- Scarcella, R.C. & Oxford, R.L. 1992. *The tapestry of language learning: The individual in the communicative classroom*. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.
- Sekiguchi, R. (関口礼子編著) 1988. 『カナダ多文化主義教育に関する学際的研究』東京: 東洋館出版社.
- Shi, G. (石 剛) 2003. 『植民地支配と日本語ー台湾、満洲国、大陸占領地における言語政策ー』東京: 三元社.
- Shinpo, M. (新保 満) 1989. 『カナダ社会の展開と構造』東京: 未来社.

- Shiota, N. (塩田紀和) 1955. 『言語政策史概説』 東京：教育図書研究会.
- Shiota, N. (塩田紀和) 1973. 『日本の言語政策の研究』 東京：くろしお出版.
- Sjoholm, K. & Bjorklund, M. 1999. Content and language integrated learning: Teachers' and teacher educators' experiences of English medium teaching. *Publication No.4*. Available at the ERIC Database, [http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal?\\_nfpb=true&\\_pageLabel=Home\\_page](http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/Home.portal?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=Home_page).
- Smith, L. 1981. English as an international language: No room for linguistic chauvinism. In L. Smith (ed.), *Readings in English as an international language* (pp.7-11). Oxford: Pergamon, 1983.
- Snow, C. & Hoefnagel-Höhle, M. 1978. The critical period for language acquisition: evidence from second language learning. *Child Development*, 49, 1114-1128.
- Snow, M.A. & Brinton, D.M. (eds.) 1997. *The content-based classroom: Perspectives on integrating language and content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Stern, H. 1967. *Foreign languages in primary education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stern, H. 1980. Some approaches to communicative language teaching in Canada. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 3(1), 57-63.
- Stern, H. 1981. Communicative language teaching and learning: toward a synthesis. In J.Alatis, H.Altman & P.Alatis (eds.), *The second language classroom: Directions for the 1980's* (pp.133-148). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stryker, S.B. & Leaver, B.L. (eds.). 1997. *Content-based instruction in foreign language education*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Suefuji, M. (末藤美津子) 2002. 『アメリカのバイリンガル教育』 東京：東信堂.
- Sugiyama, M. (杉山 充) 2000. 「イマージョン美術科による実践：「パズルペインティング」の取り組み」 『在外教育施設における指導実践記録』（東京学芸大学海外子女教育センター編），第23集，31-35.
- Swain, M. & Lapkin, S. 1982. *Evaluating bilingual education: A Canadian case study*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Swain, M. & Lapkin, S. 1991. Additive bilingualism and French immersion education: The roles of language proficiency and literacy. In A. G. Reynolds (ed.), *Bilingualism, multilingualism, and second language learning* (pp.203-216). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Swain, M. 1974. French immersion programs across Canada: Research findings. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 31(2), 117-129.
- Swain, M. 1975. Writing skills of grade three French immersion pupils. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 7, 1-38.
- Swain, M. 1978a. French immersion: Early, late, or partial? *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 34(3), 577-585.
- Swain, M. 1978b. Bilingual education for the English-speaking Canadian. In J.E.Alatis (ed.), *Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics*



- 1978 (pp.141-154). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Swain, M. 1985. Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In S.Gass & C.Madden (eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp.235-253). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Swain, M. 1993. The output hypothesis: just speaking and writing aren't enough. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 50(1), 158-164.
- Swain, M. 1995. Three functions of output in second language learning. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (eds.), *Principle and practice in applied linguistics: Studies in honour of H.G. Widdowson* (pp.125-144). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swain, M. 1996. Integrating language and content in immersion classrooms: Research perspectives. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 52(4), 529-548.
- Swain, M. 1998. Focus on form through conscious reflection. In C.Doughty & J.Williams (eds.), *Focus on form in classroom second language acquisition* (pp.64-81). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swain, M. 2001. Integrating language and content teaching through collaborative tasks. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 58(1), 44-63.
- Swain, M., Lapkin, S. & Andrew, C. 1981. Early French immersion later on. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 2, 1-23.
- Tabunkashugikenkyukai (多文化主義研究会編訳) 1997. 『多文化主義—アメリカ・カナダ・オーストラリア・イギリスの場合—』東京：木鐸社.
- Takanashi, K. & Omura, K. (高梨健吉・大村喜吉) 1975. 『日本の英語教育史』東京：大修館書店.
- Tanaka, K., Yamawaki, N. & Kasuya, K. (田中克彦・山脇直司・糟谷啓介編) 1997. 『言語・国家そして権力』東京：新世社.
- TBE (Toronto Board of Education). 1993. *FSL learning French matters in Toronto schools: Report of a survey of graduates of extended and immersion programs in Toronto schools*. Toronto: Author.
- Terasawa, Y. (寺澤芳男) 1997. 『英語オンチが国を亡ぼす』東京：東洋経済新報社.
- Tohoku (東北産業活性化センター) 2000. 『国益を損なう英会話力不足』東京：八朔社.
- Tomozawa, A. (友沢昭江) 2000. 「アメリカの言語政策をめぐる動き—英語公用語化運動とバイリンガル教育を中心として—」 『香川大学教育学部研究報告』No.80, 63-88.
- Tosu, N. (唐須教光) 2002. 『なぜ子どもに英語なのか—バイリンガルのすすめ—』東京：日本放送出版協会.
- Tsuda, Y. (津田幸男) 1990. 『英語支配の構造』東京：第三書館.
- Tucker, G. & Crandall, J. 1989. The integration of language and content instruction for language minority and language majority students. In J.E.Alatis (ed.), *Language teaching, testing, and technology: Lessons from the past with a view toward the future* (Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics ; 1989) (pp.39-50). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Turnbull, M., Lapkin, S. & Hart, D. 2001. Grade 3 immersion students' performance

- in literacy and mathematics: Province-wide results from Ontario (1998-99). *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 58(1), 9-26.
- Turnbull, M., Lapkin, S., Hart, D. & Swain, M. 1998. Time on task and immersion graduates' French proficiency. In S. Lapkin (ed.), *French second language education in Canada: Empirical studies* (pp.31-55). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- UNESCO. 1953. *The use of vernacular languages in education: Report of the UNESCO meeting of specialists 1951*. Paris: UNESCO. Also in J.A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the sociology of language* (pp.688-716). New York: Mouton Publishers, 1968.
- Ushida, C. (牛田千鶴) 2002. 「カリフォルニア州におけるバイリンガル教育の新潮流－「双方向イマージョン式バイリンガル教育」の有効性を中心に－」 『比較教育学研究』 第28号, 113-128.
- van der Keilen, M. 1995. Use of French, attitudes and motivations of French immersion students. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 51(2), 287-304.
- Wallace, M. J. 1998. *Action research for language teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watanabe, T., Sakai, H., & Urano, K. 1996. Teacher talk in kindergarten immersion program: Input and the development of spontaneous production ability. *Annual Review of English Language Education in Japan*, No. 7, 101-110.
- Wesche, M. 1993. French immersion graduates at university and beyond: What difference has it made? In J. Alatis (ed.), *Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics 1993* (pp.208-240). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Wesche, M. 2002. Early French immersion: How has the original Canadian model stood the test of time? In P.Burmeister, T.Piske & A.Rohde (eds.), *An integrated view of language development: Papers in honor of Henning Wode* (pp.357-379). Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.
- Wesche, M., Morrison, F., Pawley, C. & Ready, D. 1990. French immersion: Postsecondary consequences for individuals and universities. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 46(3), 430-451.
- Wilkins, D. 1976. *Notional syllabuses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Winitz, H. (ed.) 1981. *The comprehension approach to foreign language instruction*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Winitz, H. & Reeds, J. 1973. Rapid acquisition of a foreign language (German) by the avoidance of speaking. *IRAL*, 11(4), 295-317.
- Winitz, H. & Reeds, J. 1975. *Comprehension and problem solving as strategies for language training*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Yagi, K. (八木邦明) 1999. 「ロンドン・イマージョン教育：在外教育施設におけるイマージョン教育の可能性」 『在外教育施設における指導実践記録』 (東京学芸大学海外子女教育センター編), 第22集, 84-87.

- Yamada, Y. (山田雄一郎) 2003. 『言語政策としての英語教育』 広島：溪水社.
- Yamamoto, M. (山本雅代) 1991. 『バイリンガル—その実像と問題点—』 東京：大修館書店.
- Yamamoto, M. (山本雅代) 1996. 『バイリンガルはどのようにして言語を習得するか』 東京：明石書店.
- Yamamoto, M. (山本雅代) 2000. 『日本のバイリンガル教育』 明石書店.
- Yoshida, A. (吉田敦彦) 1999. 『ホリスティック教育論：日本の動向と思想の地平』 東京：日本評論社.
- Yoshida, K. (吉田一衛) 1988. 「カナダにおける Immersion Program」 『九州英語教育学会』 第 16 号, 87-93.
- Yoshida, K. (吉田一衛) 1989. 「カナダにおける Immersion Program の社会的、心理的特徴」 『九州英語教育学会』 第 17 号, 9-15.
- Yoshida, K. (吉田健正) 1998. 『カナダ 20 世紀の歩み』 東京：彩流社.

## Appendix A

### List of the Schools Visited for the Research

Castor Valley Elementary School, Greely  
Henry Larsen Elementary School, Gloucester  
Hopewell Avenue Public School, Ottawa  
Knoxdale Public School, Nepean  
Le Phare Elementary School, Gloucester  
Manordale Public School, Nepean  
Merivale Public School, Nepean  
Overbrook Community School, Ottawa  
Parkwood Hills Public School, Nepean  
River Heights School, Saskatoon  
Stephen Leacock Public School, Kanata  
St. Marguerite d'Youville Elementary School, Ottawa  
St. Thomas More School, Ottawa  
Woodroffe Elementary School, Ottawa  
Glebe Collegiate Institute, Ottawa  
Holy Trinity High School, Kanata  
Immaculate High School, Ottawa  
Lisgar Collegiate Institute, Ottawa  
St. Peter High School, Ottawa

## Appendix B

### List of the Educational Institutions Visited for the Research

Carleton Board of Education, Nepean  
Conseil des écoles publiques d'Ottawa-Carleton, Ottawa  
Ottawa Board of Education, Ottawa  
Ottawa-Carleton Catholic School Board, Nepean  
Ottawa-Carleton District School Board, Nepean  
Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board, Ottawa  
Saskatoon Public Schools, Saskatoon  
Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, Ottawa  
Canadian Parents for French, Ottawa  
Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa  
Carleton University, Ottawa  
University of Ottawa, Ottawa  
University of Toronto, Toronto  
Institute of Canadian Studies, Ottawa  
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto

## Appendix C

### Questionnaire for Parents of French Immersion Students

A. Information about your child or children. Please write 'x' in ( ) of your choice.

- Q1. My child is now ( ) an elementary school student.  
( ) a secondary school student.  
( ) a college or university student.  
( ) graduated from college or university.

- Q2. My child (was / is) enrolled in ( ) early immersion.  
( ) middle immersion.  
( ) late immersion.

Note: In case you have more than one child enrolled in an immersion programme, please write numbers in ( ) [e.g. 1 for 1st child, 2 for 2nd child, etc.] instead of 'x'.

B. Information about yourself

Q1. What motivated you most to enroll your child in the French immersion programme? Please choose the three most important reasons out of the list below, and indicate their importance by writing numbers in ( ) [1 stands for the most important, 2 for the second most important, etc.].

Note: In case you have more than one child enrolled in the French immersion programme, please answer for your first child.

- ( ) future advantage for your child to get a good job  
( ) intrinsic value in learning an additional language  
( ) reputation of an excellent learning environment provided by immersion  
( ) location of the school  
( ) desire of your child to study in an immersion programme  
( ) greater access to higher education  
( ) intrinsic value in learning the francophone culture in Canada  
( ) reputation of an excellent teaching staff in immersion  
( ) reputation of the school for its excellent education  
( ) desire of your child to attend the school  
( ) others (e.g. )

Additional free comment if any:

Q2. Are you satisfied with the French immersion programme your child took or is taking?

1. quite satisfied                      2. fairly satisfied                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very satisfied                      5. not satisfied at all

Additional free comment if any:

Q3. Are you satisfied with the French proficiency your child achieved at school?

1. quite satisfied                      2. fairly satisfied                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very satisfied                      5. not satisfied at all

Additional free comment if any:

Q4. Do you think that the French immersion programmes have been successful as a whole?

1. quite successful                      2. fairly successful                      3. can't tell for sure  
4. not very successful                      5. not successful at all

Additional free comment if any:

(Please answer either 5a or 5b)

Q5a. If you agree that the French immersion programmes have been quite or fairly successful, what do you think has contributed most to their success? Please choose the five most important contributors out of the list below, and indicate their importance by writing numbers in ( ) [1 stands for the most important, 2 for the second most

important, etc.].

- logistic support from the official languages policy by the federal government
- initiation of programmes by grass-root parental movements
- the experiential nature of the curriculum itself which does not focus on minute details
- employment of qualified teachers of bilingual competence
- homogeneity of students with the same culture and null French proficiency at the start
- socio-economic status of the French language as the official language of Canada
- voluntary enrollment in programmes
- availability of good teaching materials and other resources
- respect for students' native language (i.e. English) and its culture
- high motivation and advanced study-skills of immersion students
- others (e.g. )

Additional free comment if any:

Q5b. If you do not agree that the French immersion programmes have been successful, what do you think has affected the French immersion programmes most negatively? Please choose the five most negative factors out of the list below, and indicate their seriousness by writing numbers in ( ) [1 stands for the most serious, 2 for the second most serious, etc.].

- lack of support from educational authorities
- negative (e.g. elitist) associations with immersion programmes
- too much emphasis on French and too little emphasis on English
- lack of qualified teachers of bilingual competence
- classes composed of students with mixed French proficiencies
- lack of opportunities to practice French in the communities
- assignment of wrong subjects to French instruction
- lack of proper teaching materials and resources
- high staff turnover, causing inconsistencies in programmes
- lack of motivation to study French among students
- others (e.g. )

Additional free comment if any:

As a follow-up to this survey, I would like to interview a limited number of parents. If you would agree to be interviewed, please complete the following contact information.

Name:

Address:

Phone number:

E-mail:

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

## Appendix D

### Interview Questions for Principals and Researchers

Q1. According to your own observations, what do you think has motivated students most to enroll in French immersion programmes? Or what do you think has motivated parents most to enroll their child or children in French immersion programmes? Please name the three most important reasons you think have influenced their decision in priority order. Possible reasons are:

- future advantage to get a good job
- intrinsic value in learning an additional language
- reputation of an excellent learning environment provided by immersion
- location of the school
- desire to study in an immersion programme
- greater access to higher education
- intrinsic value in learning the francophone culture in Canada
- reputation of an excellent teaching staff in immersion
- reputation of the school for its excellent education
- desire to attend the school

Q2. How far do you think the French immersion programmes have been successful in achieving the following objectives?

- Fostering functional bilingualism among immersion graduates
- Guaranteeing the same level of scholastic achievements as the regular English programmes
- Fostering empathy toward francophone people and francophone culture among immersion graduates
- Promoting the rapport between English Canada and French Canada

Q3. Do you think that the French immersion programmes have been successful as a whole?

Q4a. If you agree that the French immersion programmes have been quite or fairly successful, what do you think has contributed most to their success? Please name the five most important contributors to the success of French immersion programmes in priority order. Possible contributors are:

- logistic support from the official languages policy by the federal government
- initiation of programmes by grass-root parental movements
- the experiential nature of the curriculum itself which does not focus on minute details
- employment of qualified teachers of bilingual competence
- homogeneity of students with the same culture and null French proficiency at the start
- socio-economical status of the French language as the official language of Canada
- voluntary enrollment in programmes
- respect for students' native language (i.e. English) and its culture
- availability of good teaching materials and other resources
- high motivation and advanced study-skills of immersion students

Q4b. If you do not agree that the French immersion programmes have been successful, what do you think has affected the French immersion programmes most negatively? Please name the five most negative factors which worked against French immersion programmes in regressive order. Possible negative factors are:

- lack of support from educational authorities
- negative (e.g. elitist) associations with immersion programmes
- too much emphasis on French and too little emphasis on English
- lack of qualified teachers of bilingual competence
- classes composed of students with mixed French proficiencies
- lack of opportunities to practice French in the communities
- high staff turnover, causing inconsistencies in programmes
- assignment of wrong subjects to French instruction
- lack of proper teaching materials and resources
- lack of motivation to study French among students

Q5. If you think there is still some room for improvement in French immersion programmes, in what areas do you think improvement is most needed? Please name the five areas in which improvement is most needed in priority order. Possible areas are:

- support from the federal and provincial government
- support from the school board
- support from parents
- ratio of French instruction hours
- subjects to be taught in French
- grades in which immersion is started
- teaching staff
- teaching materials and resources
- teaching strategies
- evaluation strategies

Q6. Concerning the future of the French as a Second Language programmes, do you think that French immersion programmes should be expanded further, should be maintained as they are, should be reduced in number and volume, or should be cut altogether?

Q7. If you had a chance to give advice to someone who is wondering whether s/he should enroll her/his child into a French immersion programme, what advice would you give to her/him? Would you advise him or her to enroll her/his child into the programme, or not to enroll her/his child into the programme?

Q8. A number of schools in Japan have introduced or are going to introduce an English immersion programme, being inspired by the Canadian experiment on immersion education. What do you think?