INVESTIGATION OF HOW MUCH KNOWLEDGE OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF FRENCH CULTURE HAS BEEN ACQUIRED BY GRADE 9 STUDENTS, IN THE EARLY AND LATE FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAMS, IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

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by

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ABSTRACT

Although much study has been done on the language skills and attitudes of French immersion students, there has been very little assessment of the students' knowledge of French culture, even though many educationalists advocate such knowledge for second language learners. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education, Program of Studies, states as one of three objectives for French immersion, "the appreciation of French language and culture" (p.184). Thus the intention of this study was to find out if, indeed, early and late French immersion students in grade 9 in St. John's, Newfoundland, have any knowledge of French culture, and if so, how much and of what type; and a further aim was to measure differences, if any, in these areas between the students in the two programs. This study was carried out by means of a questionnaire devised by the researcher.

The questionnaire was designed in two parts, although the division was not obvious to the respondents. The first part was designed to create a profile of the respondents, and the second part was a test on French culture. This test was divided into three types of culture: behavioral culture is the typical behavior of the culture and involves such things as functional language, gestures and values; informational culture is facts that are cherished by the culture including history and geography, heroes and villains; and achievement culture is the artistic and literary accomplishments of the society.

The information gathered was used to address the following research questions:-- Do the students in the early French immersion and the late French immersion possess similar types of cultural knowledge and similar amounts of knowledge of the three types of culture: behavioral, informational, and achievement? Is there a correlation between

knowledge of French culture and, program, overall achievement, achievement in French, attitude towards French people and their culture? Are there any differences in the students' knowledge of French culture which might be attributed to gender? Is there a relationship between program followed or sex of the student, and language used to complete the questionnaire?

The main research findings in this study were as follows. The early and the late French immersion students demonstrated similar types of knowledge of French culture as tested in this study, but the late French immersion did significantly better on the overall test and on two of the subtests, namely behavioral and achievement culture. There was a strong negative correlation between the students' overall average and, total score and score on informational and achievement culture; and between the student's average in French and, total score and score on achievement culture. No correlation was found between the student's professed attitude towards French people and their culture and his/her score on the test or subtests. It was noted that some questions did seem to have a gender-bias and that this bias was in favour of empathy with the same sex. Hardly any of the late French immersion students answered the French version of the questionnaire but a sizeable number of the early French immersion students did, although among this group there were more females than males.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The French immersion program in Canada started as a pilot project in one school in St. Lambert, Québec, in 1965 (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). This was an early French immersion program where students are instructed totally in French for the first three years of their schooling. Subsequently, partial and late French immersion programs were developed (see Cummins and Swain, 1986; Rebuffot, 1993; Stern, 1978; Swain, 1978a; Swain, 1978b; Swain, 1980; and Swain and Lapkin, 1982). According to Day and Shapson (1993) there are now over 280,000 students enrolled in French immersion programs in Canada (p.447). Statistics Canada gave the figure of 284,503 French immersion students for the school year 1990-1991, and by the 1992-93 school year there were an estimated 291,650 students (Murphy and Netten, 1993, p.13). The reason for this explosion in the number of students enrolled in the program may be due to the fact, as put by LeBlanc, Courtel, and Trescases (1990) that "More and more parents, educators and students realize that French as a second language is taught in Canada for very important social, economic, and political, as well as educational reasons" (p.xi). This statement suggests that there is good reason for having a strong cultural component. Indeed, Bibeau (1982) states that the cultural component is the most important aspect of the bilingual program, for resolving socio-linguistic problems (p.36). This thesis attempts to measure the knowledge of implicit and explicit French culture retained by early and late French immersion students who have reached grade 9. Two-thirds of the test of knowledge of French culture that was administered was based on small "c" culture and the remaining third on capital "C" culture. The rational for this decision will be discussed later.

Reasons for Teaching Culture

In fact, the cultural knowledge of French immersion pupils has been a matter of some concern to those associated with the programs all across Canada. For instance, Genesee (1987), in summing up the objectives of most of the French immersion programs in Canada, gives as the fourth and final objective, "to instill in the students an understanding and appreciation of French Canadians, their language and culture, without detracting in any way from the students' identity with and appreciation for English-Canadian culture" (pp.12-13). However, a cultural syllabus, as such, has not been explicitly designated as a part of curriculum in Newfoundland, or elsewhere in Canada for that matter, although the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education, Program of Studies (1992-93), as one of three objectives for French immersion programs, states "the appreciation of French language and culture" as one of the aims of the program (p.184). Reasons for the lack of a detailed syllabus may include such things as concern that students do not lag behind their peers in the English program, lack of expertise in how to develop the culture component, a feeling that the subject is too politically "hot", or a mixture of all these reasons. Some also expressed concern that immersing children in a second culture might produce identity problems for the child (Calvé, 1986, p.26, reporting Bradley). However, cultural knowledge has been a part of many second language programs in the U.S.A. (Altman and Hanzeli, 1974; Brooks 1964, pp.82-96; Lafayette, 1975; Seelye, 1974).

There are other reasons for which, in various countries, a bilingual education has been provided for school children. Drastic attempts to stamp out minority languages and cultures in the former Soviet Union did not succeed. Indeed, as has been evident in recent years, nationalistic feelings are stronger than ever. The 1979 census of the former Soviet Union showed 104 distinct nationalities each with its own language and culture (Black,

1988). It was found that teaching children in Russian, only, when this was not their maternal tongue, delayed their academic progress, so a policy of bilingual education was developed for many areas. The general concensus among educators now is that where the language spoken at home is different from that of the school, it is advantageous to instruct the child also in his maternal language. Similarly in Canada, there are the bilingual English-Ukranian schools of Edmonton in Alberta (Cummins and Swain, 1986, p.82-85). The U.S.A. now has a bilingual system for its Hispanic population. As Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) and others pointed out, part of the poor achievement of Hispanic students may be due to low teacher expectation. The United Kingdom has been toying with the best educational situation for its Islamic population, among others (Baker, 1988, p.59). In fact, many countries, including Canada, are going to have to face this situation more and more, as immigrant populations increase. The real problem in these situations is not studying academic subjects in another language *per se*, as the success of students in the French immersion programs show, but the cultural differences associated with the languages. Thus if our French immersion students are to communicate successfully and to empathise with native French speakers, then surely they need cultural awareness too.

There has recently been a great interest in cultural studies in association with language learning in the European Economic Community (EC), as a means of promoting understanding and harmony. Byram (1989) points out that, as reported by van Els (1982), the Bellagio Declaration of the European Cultural Foundation states that, "for effective international co-operation, knowledge of other countries and their cultures is as important as proficiency in their language" (p.61). Surely this statement applies, even more so, for different cultures within the same country, as in Canada.

These considerations present a rationale for bilingual education with a strong cultural component in Canada. Here we have two, main cultures each with its own

language. The options open to Canada are to have "two solitudes", as Hugh MacLennan (1945) put it, where neither shall communicate or mix with the other, or else, by teaching of the other language, to have a bilingual population.[1] This latter option is politically popular, and as a 1985 survey for the Commissioner of Official Languages shows: seventy-one percent of the population, and a much larger proportion in the fifteen to thirty-nine age bracket, support bilingualism (Fraser, 1988 section D, p.1).

Culture and Language

In *Soviet Approaches to Bilingual Education,* Bartley (1971) accepts Brook's (1964, p.268) definition of culture as "the total belief and behaviour patterns of a language community" (p.132). These aspects are often called small "c" culture. Others would add to this, achievements in the arts, sciences and history, now often called capital "C" culture, and in the past "civilization". In fact small "c" culture was completely neglected until anthropologists such as Margaret Mead made us more aware of cultures and their importance. Today, the view that culture and language are closely intertwined is generally accepted by linguists, sociologists, and anthropologists, but to what extent the active teaching of cultural knowledge is considered as part of the curriculum by educationalists writing textbooks or designing courses varies greatly.

As we have seen, language and culture are closely intertwined. Therefore, the question arises, "How much of the French culture do our bilingual students know?" Is it being actively taught to them or is it being imbibed from materials used in teaching? The target culture is actively borne in mind when constructing textbooks for the foreign

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[1] Even if Québec should choose independence or, sovereignty association, its location in the middle of Canada will necessarily mean close economic ties, so that the arguments here presented, on bilingual education, will still apply.

language programs in Russia, albeit sometimes bent to Soviet ideology (Bartley, 1971, p.268). The target culture is now a component of the curriculum for foreign language study in many programs in the U.S.A. too, due to the realisation that teaching a student to say a phrase if he does not know in what context to use it is not enough. Mr. Edmund Glenn, chief of Interpreting Services for the U.S. Department of State, succinctly puts it thus: "If you want to be understood, truly understood, by people of a different culture, of a different language, it is not enough to use their vocabulary, their grammar, and their pronunciation. You also have to use their logic. Otherwise, they will not understand you." (Ladu, 1974, pp.129-130). An example may be given from some manuals provided with some Japanese laboratory equipment I was once using. An instruction tells the user to "terminate the machine" for "switch off". Although "terminate" and "switch off" both mean to "stop the action", the former has somewhat sinister overtones. This sort of pitfall has always dogged the translator. Pierre Daviault (1972) reversed this example by showing that much of the reading material that French Canadians receive is translated so poorly from English, that it is the English thought-processes that are conveyed, not the French.

Gestures and other body language are also an important part of culture that accompanies language. For instance, an up and down nod of the head accompanies "yes" in our own culture, but "no" in, for example, Greek. A journalist in *The Globe and Mail* was reporting on the European Airbus and recorded that the assembly team leader in Toulouse, France, "wiggled two fingers under his nose to illustrate the quality of the Airbus jet", and went on to explain that "this odd gesture signifies something of superior quality". A gesture "odd" obviously to North American readership, not to the French! (Greenspoon, 1988, section B, p.1).

Customs are another aspect of culture. Seelye (1976) gives the example that whereas in North America to present a pot of "mums" to your hostess is very acceptable, chrysanthemums, in France, are used for funerals (p.108). So it can be seen that transferring one's own cultural practices to another culture can lead to a lot of misunderstanding and, possibly, unintentional offence.

The Present Status of Research on the Fench Immersion Program in Canada

However, as mentioned above, the tendency has been in Canada with bilingual French immersion programs, to be concerned, understandably, about the academic achievement of those in such programs as compared with their unilingual counterparts. This concern was so extreme that some of the first French immersion programs were partial immersion. However, assessments of these programs have allayed these fears and indeed show total immersion to be more successful than partial, both linguistically and in academic achievement (Cummins and Swain, 1986). Cummins and Swain (1986) gave an up-to-date review of immersion programs in Canada from the point of view of academic achievement. For other reviews see Genesee (1983 and 1987), Safty (1988), and Swain and Lapkin (1982). None of these reviews treat the cultural aspect in any detail. Genesee (1983) cites "some degree of cross-cultural communication" (p.34) as a goal of the French immersion program, and Safty (1988) mentions that the program "can strengthen cultural self-awareness" (p.244). The March/mars 1989 issue of Canadian Modern Language Review was devoted totally to Immersion French but dealt solely with aspects of language aquisition or lack thereof, without a single reference to culture. For academic assessments of programs in Newfoundland, see Netten, Netten and Spain, and Netten, Spain and Heffernan (see appendix C). Research on the French immersion program has been succintly summed up by Safty (1989), who states that "Over the past twenty years literature on French immersion has mainly focussed on the linguistic development of French

immersion students' first language (English); their linguistic achievement in the second language (French); their academic achievements in subject matters taught in French--generally mathematics and social studies--and occasionally on the socio-psychological impact of bilingual education on immersion students" (p.545). So, still, the emphasis in French immersion program development has neglected the culture-aspects. There have, however, been some attempts at introducing some cultural components. Duquette (1985) surmised that a cultural understanding of why certain words are used would enable students to better remember the French version of the Canadian national anthem. Some appropriate cultural activities have also been published by such people Wulff Martin and Kohn (1993). Teacher's Resource Books entitled *Ensemble culturel*, were produced by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education in the past for elementary core French, and some of this material has been transferred and amplified in the French immersion language arts guide (1992). Alberta Education (1987) likewise produced a guide called *Integrating Cultural Concepts into Second Language Instruction* for their second language teachers.

As for the ethnic identity of immersion students, Cziko, Lambert, and Gutter (1979), Genesee (1987, pp.104-105), Genesse, Tucker and Lambert (1978) and Lambert and Tucker (1972) investigated the ethnic identity of English-Canadian students in a French immersion program, compared with those who were in the regular program. They found that although both the French immersion and non French immersion students identified primarily with English Canadians, the French immersion students viewed themselves as more similar to French Canadians, and especially bilingual French Canadians, than did the non French immersion students. This closeness was more pronounced in French immersion students that had contact with French speakers, showing the importance of physical contact between French immersion students and French Canadians. This research

also shows that French immersion students retain their English ethnic identity. So fears that the French immersion students would suffer an "identity crisis" seem to be unfounded.

Some research has also been done on how sympathetic the student is to French Canadians *via-à-vis* the hours spent studying French (Lambert and Tucker, 1972 and Cziko, Lambert and Gutter, 1979). Feeling sympathetic towards the French culture, however, is not synonymous with knowledge about it. Our French immersion students might well have this knowledge but, as yet, it remains unassessed.

The trend mainly to ignore the cultural content of bilingual education has continued in recent work, such as Baker (1993), who has a short discussion on functional language, (p.219), and on the aims of multiculturalism, (pp.267-277), but does not discuss a culture-curriculum or its assessement for a French immersion program. Similarly, the various articles on French immersion, in Reynolds (1991), do not address the culture-curriculum, but concentrate on the aspects already mentioned above. In Newfoundland, the assessments done by the Institute for Educational Research and Development of Memorial University of Newfoundland, St.John's, Newfoundland, and various school boards in the province by Netten, Netten and Spain and Netten, Spain and Heffernan have concentrated on the achievement by French immersion students in reading, English, and mathematics as compared with a peer group in an all-English instruction program, and, also, on the achievement of the French immersion students in the French language. This research focus was largely determined by the need to address the concerns of parents and administrators who feared that the experimental bilingual program might have some negative academic, linguistic and social effect on the students in the program.

Thus there has been much evaluation of the linguistic abilities of early and late French immersion students, but very little assessment of their cultural knowledge. In their update of French tests, Lapkin, Argue and Foley (1992) do not list one test that is truly a

test of culture. Although there are many publications on the subject of language testing, most cover validity issues and the testing of the four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking, but not cultural knowledge. If culture is mentioned at all, it is in the context of picking suitable authentic passages. Davies (1990) also falls into this category, as does Portal (1985). However, the Ottawa Board of Education published a test for the "survey of French cultural awareness" devised by Kirby (1976-1977) which is listed in Bramwell and Vigna (1979). The Ottawa Board graciously sent me a copy of this test to which I will refer further later in this study. Valette (1977, pp.263-281) has a chapter, which is re-published in Valdes (1986, pp.179-197), where she reviews methods of testing a student's knowledge of French culture. Testing cultural knowledge has been considered an integral part of testing knowledge of a foreign language by such people as Lafayette and Schultz (1975, pp.104-118), Nostrand and Nostrand (1970), Seelye (1976) (reprinted in a revised version 1984), Upshur (1966), and it has recently been advocated by the Canadian National Core French Study, Culture Committee (1990)--though, as mentioned above, is still ignored by French immersion specialists, even in recent times (Flewelling, 1993, p.338).

The intention in this thesis is to discuss the relationship between language and culture[2] and the value to the second-language learner, of a knowledge of the culture associated with the target language. Although cultural awareness has been cited as part of the early and late French immersion programs in Newfoundland, so far no study has been done to determine how much knowledge of French culture or of what aspects of French culture have been retained by the student. Therefore, this study will investigate the level of knowledge of French culture that has been imbibed by grade 9 students in the French

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[2] This relationship will be discussed further in chapter 2, The Review of the Literature, (pp. 13-48).

immersion programs in St. John's, Newfoundland, an aspect so far not studied in Newfoundland, and studied very little in Canada. Grade 9 was chosen so that the late French immersion students will have had two years in the program. The word "imbibed" is used deliberately, as cultural knowledge has not been a designated part of the curriculum in Newfoundland, although the program guide, as mentioned above (p.2), encourages cultural awareness.

Research Method

A written questionnaire was used to gather information from the students. An English and a French version of the questionnaire were joined back to back so that the students had the choice of reading and answering the questionnaire in either English or French. The first part of the questionnaire was designed to develop a profile of the respondent. The students were asked their age, sex, program (i.e. early or late French immersion), and their French activities outside school. For the latter, questions were designed to elicit information concerning the following areas: watching French television, watching French videos, listening to French singers, reading French books and magazines, and length and type of visit (if any) to a French speaking area. Then the students were asked to record their overall academic achievement, their achievement in French, their confidence in their abilities in French, and their attitude to French culture. The second part of the questionnaire tested the level of knowledge of certain aspects[3] of French culture acquired by these grade 9 early and late French immersion students in St. John's, Newfoundland.

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[3] The reasons for the aspects chosen are discussed in chapter 2, The Review of the Literature, (p.18 and p.37).

The information gathered from the students was used to address the following research questions:--

1. Do the students in the early French immersion and the late French immersion possess similar types of cultural knowledge?

2. Do the students in the early French immersion program and the late French immersion program possess similar amounts of knowledge of the three types of culture: behavioral, informational and achievement?[4]

3. a) Is there a correlation between knowledge of French culture and program (i.e. early French immersion or late French immersion) followed?

b) Is there a correlation between knowledge of French culture and overall achievement?

c) Is there a correlation between knowledge of French culture and achievement in French?

d) Is there a correlation between knowledge of French culture and attitude towards French people and their culture?

4. Are there any differences in the students' knowledge of French culture which might be attributed to gender?

The opportunity was also taken to address the following questions:--

1. Is there a relationship between program followed and language used to complete the questionnaire?

2. Is there a relationship between sex of the student and language used to complete the questionnaire?

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[4] For the rational for this classification of cultural knowledge, see chapter 2, The Review of the Literature, (p.18 and p.37).

The more general questions of the relationship between culture and language are addressed in chapter 2 through the review of the literature.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It is proposed, in this chapter, to focus on culture and its relationship to language and second language learning and teaching. Accordingly the following topics will be reviewed: what culture is, as revealed by both social theorists and by various experts on the relationship between language and culture; various issues associated with the teaching and learning of culture in second language programs, and especially French immersion programs; the views held by various experts on how a culture-syllabus in a second language should be organised together with the implications for French immersion programs in Canada; the teaching of culture in second language programs and French immersion programs in particular, now and in the past; the question of the assesessing the individual student's knowledge of the culture of the target language; and finally, selected research findings on the French immersion programs in Canada, as they pertain to this study.

Definitions of Culture

Before we can teach culture, we need to know what it is. There have been many definitions of culture; Kroeber and Kluckholn (1952) collected several hundred. Thus the word culture means many things to many people.

According to Social Theory

Various social theories, depending as they do upon different analyses of society, give divergent definitions to culture and its function. Functionalism takes a macro-view of society. That is to say that it views society as a whole. The tenets of functionalism arose from the work of the Frenchman, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). He drew upon Auguste

Compte (1798-1857), who emphasised the scientific nature of sociology, and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), who saw similarities between an organism and society. Just as an organism consists of inter-related organs, each of which is essential to the function of the whole, so according to this theory, society consists of various structures, such as schools or families, which are inter-related and inter-dependent. Each part has a function to perform in society. Durkheim called this concept organic solidarity. As an extentsion of this concept, he also developed the idea of collective conscience, by which he meant that there are shared social values, a kind of instinctive consensus, which controls society. The individual internalises these norms as a child by a process of enculturation, and thereby accepts his/her function in society. Since the French immersion student has not grown up in French society, he/she will not instinctively know the social values of that society, which, even if they are similar to those of the student's own society, are not identical with them. For example, in a store of any kind in France, one is expected to address the sales assistant with "bonjour monsieur" or "bonjour madame" before making any kind of request. The French immersion student will also not be instinctively aware of the social strata in French society. For this reason, in any French course for anglophones, the distinction between 'tu' and 'vous' must be taught. From this sociological concept comes part of the idea of functional language. That is, one uses different language according to the social situation one is in. The language used at a business meeting, for instance, will be different from that used by the same people in an informal social gathering.

Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) continued the functionalist tradition and emphasised enculturation. He saw four functional prerequisites (AGIL) to any society. These prerequisites (AGIL) are: adaptation to the environment; goal attainment which is the means by which the society is organised and run, that is the political institutions; integration which is necessary to deal with the competing demands of the various

institutions; and latency to enable the individual to cope with conflicting demands and so motivate him/her to remain within the society. According to Parsons, society has solved AGIL through culture. Culture, in his view, is the set of values and beliefs of a society. By holding these values and beliefs, the individual is persuaded to fulfil his role in the society. By his/her fitting into a role, others know what to expect of the person in that role. From this point of view, it follows that, when communicating with a francophone, the French immersion student may not fill the role that the francophone person expects of him/her. The following problem then arises. If we teach our French immersion students to take up a francophone role, will this acquired role conflict with their own pre-existing anglophone role and cause an identity crisis in the student? For a long time, this fear of conflict has inhibited the teaching of behaviour and values in any cultural instruction that exists. Research by Lambert and Tucker (1972) and others tended to allay these fears. The topic will be looked at in more detail later in this chapter.

Robert Merton, who also accepted the functionalist concept of society, recognised that conflict exists because there are subgroups that suffer as a result of the needs of the majority being met. Conflict can be viewed as functional, enabling society to evolve, or as dysfunctional, as in the Marxist view. This raises the question: which groups are in conflict in French society, and should our students be aware of these conflicts? Merton also introduced the concept of manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions are the overt concepts recognized by the society, whereas latent functions are covert and are not recognised but they are nevertheless present in the society. Thus an outside observer often sees things in a culture that its members do not realise exist. This, too, is something one must be aware of when teaching culture. A stereotype of a culture created by an observer outside the culture may not actually be common in the culture. A French example would be the eating of frogs' legs. Many anglophones would identify this activity with the French,

whereas, in fact, they are not that often eaten in France. It seems, rather, that the anglophones notice this aspect of French life because it does not occur in their own culture.

The concept of symbolic interaction was developed by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) and Herbert Blumer. Symbolic interactionists believe that since the individual interprets the world fom his/her own observations and acts accordingly, sociologists should look at "actions" occurring in different contexts, not at social structures. According to Mead, a person develops a concept of self through role-playing in childhood. The child first takes the role of one person (the particular other) and then, later, by taking the role of many at once, he/she learns about the generalised other. Through symbolic interaction a person develops self-awareness and takes into account the feelings of others. Obviously, in these terms, the French immersion students have developed their self-awareness from the anglophone society that they have lived in. No one would want to interfere with this. But the question arises: is it necessary for the French immersion students to know how a francophone person views him/herself? Certainly feelings are important; and if acting in a state of unawareness, the French immersion students could cause offence where none is meant. Fortunately, there is some evidence that bilingual children do develop some increased sensitivity. Bain (1975) found that bilinguals were significanly more sensitive on the Portrait Sensitivity Test than unilinguals. Recently, Heffernan (1995) looked at the historical-cultural perspectives embraced by the history curriculum of French immersion students and anglophone students in Alberta, and francophone students in Alberta and Québec. This he did by examining the teaching manuals and by interviewing teachers. He found that although the French immersion history curriculum mainly reinforced anglo-Canadian perspectives, the "hidden curriculum" made French immersion students more aware of alternative historical-cultural perspectives than students in the other programs. Indeed, an unexpected bonus of the widened horizons of the French immersion students

according to Van der Kielen (1995) is a more positive attitude than that of students taught in the English program, towards other ethnic groups besides the French. According to Blumer children learn cultural meanings by such means as role play and observation. If this is indeed the case then there is support here for the teaching method of role play.

Functional language can, however, also be explained in terms of the theory of symbolic interaction. One must use the expected language in a given situation in order to be understood and accepted; grammatically correct language is not sufficient. A simple example would be the one given from my own experience on p.5 above, where the word "terminate" was used instead of "turn off " in the translation, from Japanese, of the instructions for using a piece of laboratory equipment. The shared meanings of members of a culture enable them to understand each other. Therefore, our language students must have insight into these shared meanings, in order to participate fully in linguistic interactions with the people with which they are speaking a second language. Germain (1993) mentions "adequate" language and "appropriate" language as necessary, in order to learn to communicate effectively.

Ethnography "attempts to make explicit what is implicit and tacit to informants and participants in the social situations being studied" (Tardif and Weber, 1987, p.70). This is what needs to be done for students of French as a second language. An ethnographic approach is favored by Guthrie and Hall (1981) in which the student / observer starts at the etic level to begin to obtain an understanding of the various cultural phenomena in relation to the language, and then proceeds to the emic level. Byram and Esarte-Sarries (1991) also favour this approach as do Firges and Melenk (1982), as Byram (1989) notices.

<u>According to Linguists</u>

Others have defined culture as they see it. To some it is the literature, music and art, of the language community, to others the history and great deeds that have shaped the

people, and yet others will say that it is the present way of life of the people. As mentioned above (p.4), this last view was expressed by Bartley (1971, p.206), who accepted Nelson Brooks' (1964, p.268) definition of culture as "the total belief and behaviour patterns of a language community". This is sometimes known as small "c" culture. Hoopes and Pusch (1979, p.3) similarly summarise culture as " the sum total ways of living", but make the important point that culture is not static. The National Core French Study (NCFS) defines culture as "le cadre de vie, le mode de vie et les façons de se comporter, de penser d'unc communauté dont l'histoire, la géographie, les institutions et les signes de reconnaissance sont distincts et la distinguent, à un degré plus ou moins grand, de toute autre communauté" (LeBlanc, 1990b, p.45); English version: "a general context and way of life. It is the behaviors and beliefs of a community of people whose history, geography, institutions and commonalities are distinct and distinguish them to a greater or lesser degree from all other groups" (LeBlanc, 1990a, p.44). Brooks (1975, p.22) separated culture and civilisation by saying that culture began the moment language began, whereas civilisation began when agriculture began.

Authors, interested in the culture/language relationship, have themselves subdivided culture. Lado (1964, p.27) separated "technical" culture, which is needed for professional activies, and "non-technical" culture, needed for everyday living. Saville-Troike (1975, p.83) distinguished "material" manifestations of culture that are readily seen, such as buildings, clothes and so forth, and "non-material" ones which are harder to observe, such as values, customs and the like. Hammerly (1982, p.513-515) divided culture into three aspects that he felt are "languistically" important. "Behavioral culture", for this author, is the "typical" behavior of the culture and not individual variations. It includes such things as conversation formulas and kinesics, plus attitudes and values. Not just a knowledge, but a performative knowledge of this type of culture is essential for communicative

competence. His "informational culture" embraces facts that are cherished by the people of the second culture, such as items of history and geography, heroes and villains; and finally "achievement culture" is his term to denote the artistic and literary accomplishments of the society.

Relationship Between Culture and Language

Just as there have been many definitions of culture, so there have been many statements defining culture in relation to language. One such was made by Lado (1964): "A language is part of the culture of a people and the chief means by which the members of a society communicate. A language, therefore, is both a component of culture and a central network through which the other components are expressed" (p.23). Hammerly (1982, pp.43-44) coins the term languistics, to cover this synthesis of language and culture.

One can, indeed, often deduce something of the beliefs or attitudes of a culture from the language. Some cultures refer to the past as ahead, as one knows what happened in the past and can therefore "see it", whereas the future is unknown, and therefore not "seeable", and is viewed as being behind (Saville-Troike, 1979, p.140). The language of a community also affects the culture. For instance, although scientifically the rainbow is said to consist of seven colours, red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet, some cultures do not have all these distinctions of colour in their vocabulary, and so see fewer colours in the rainbow (Saville-Troike, 1975, p.84). Along with the language goes a whole array of body language (kinesics), such as how close one stands when one speaks, eye contact or not, and gestures with the head and hands. The meaning of the same gesture can be different in different cultures, for example the same nod of the head can mean yes or no, depending on which culture you are in. North Americans would interpret lack of eye contact as shyness, shiftiness, or rebellion, whereas it is a sign of respect in some other

cultures. These differences have led, on occasions, to the attitude that our culture is correct or good, and that other cultures are wrong or bad.

Reasons for Teaching Culture in a Second Language Program

Calvé (1986) succintly summarised the views in regard to the teaching of culture in a second language program. With French immersion in mind, he said that they range from the notion that, "c'est la langue qui compte et que la culture n'y a pas sa place.....la culture est inséparable de la langue... et un parent anglophone, qui disait: "I want my kids to learn French but don't make French-Canadians out of them" (p.26). The view that culture and language can not be separated has been advocated by Lado (1964) as follows:

> One cannot understand a language fully without understanding at least some of the distinct cultural meanings expressed through it. This involves knowledge of specific facts concerning the culture and some understanding of the major patterns of thought, beliefs, traditions, and values that account for the way the people live and behave and give significance to their accomplishments" (pp.9-10),

and by Hammerly (1982):

> Knowledge of a language must entail, to be functionally adequate, knowledge of the cultural connotations of words, the gestures, and the appropriate verbal and nonverbal behavior for the various situations in which the language is used in the second culture" (pp.43-44).

And has been expressed recently by LeBlanc (1990c),

> Par exemple, il n'est pas possible de dissocier langue et culture sur le plan de la communication. Les deux sont essentielles à l'interprétation correcte des contextes et partant, des messages. Il devient donc irréaliste d'enseigner exclusivement à l'aide d'exemples et de structures en espérant que toutes les étapes nécessaires à la bonne compréhension des messages seront franchies autrement. Apprendre la

> langue, c'est apprendre tout ce qui en fait l'outil de communication qu'elle est" (p.34). He continues, "La culture constitue un des fondements de l'interprétation juste des messages. C'est qu'une grande partie des présuppositions, des croyances et des attitudes laissés implicites dans la formulation d'un message proviennent justement du fait que les personnes en preesence partagent la même culture. L'apprenant de langue seconde ne fait pas partie de ce groupe. Il se doit donc d'en acquérir un bon niveau de compréhension".

McLeod (1976) believed that "by teaching language.....one is inevitably already teaching culture implicitly" and should therefore "teach culture explicitly" (p.212). For these writers then, teaching culture is not a choice but an essential.

This view, in fact, was expressed as early as 1955 when Fries stated that, "To deal with the culture and life of a people is *not just an adjunct* of a practical language course, something alien and apart from its main purpose, to be added or not as time and convenience may allow, but an *essential feature of every stage of language learning*...(Lado, 1964, p.149). Lado (1964) stated that

> Every time that the textbook or the teacher mentions a word or describes or refers to something that the American student does not understand culturally or misunderstands because its cultural content differs from his native patterns, there is immediate need to deal with the cultural difference involved. This need is present even if we teach the language exclusively as a tool and not as a complete educational experience. When the language is taught for its educational value, understanding cultural content is much more important" (p.149).

He gave the simple example of wine at the table indicating a special occasion in the United States but not in Spanish culture. The concept of the cultural connotation of everyday vocabulary has recently been revisited by Wulff Martin and Kohn (1993), who pointed out

that students must realise the cultural implications that surround French word equivalents, for example, "le foie" (liver), when referring to the delicacy, "foie gras", and in expressions such as "avoir les foies" (to be scared to death). Even such simple words as colours can carry "cultural baggage". The word "jaune" (yellow) is also used for scab labour, and for a person who looks ill. In contrast in English, a person who looks ill, looks green, but the French are "vert de peur" (green with fear) and the English are "green with envy". Wulff Martin and Kohn (1993) also pointed out that the student must be aware of false cognates e.g. "rester"; and realise that some expressions have no English equivalent e.g. "Ça me casse les pieds". So the question arises: Can even beginners' vocabulary be taught without the cultural implications that the words carry? For Lado (1964), there is no choice involved. He stated "Whenever the native and target words differ significantly in content, we should teach the target cultural content; when they do not so differ, we may present the linguistic item without further ado" (p.151-152).

But, as has been pointed out above, social theories suggest that there is more to communication than just the words. It is a complex matter as Robinson (1987) pointed out: "The psychology of personal perception teaches us that the success of encounters largely depends on how all parties in the interaction behave and how the behavior is perceived by the viewer, listener or speech partner. To the degree that we perceive the speech style of another people as similar to our own, we tend to evaluate those people positively and behave toward them favorably. In turn, such positive attitudes and behaviors trigger positive reactions and behaviors on the part of our speech partners. In interaction of people of different cultures, speech style differences may be more readily perceived than similarities, with negative reactions as a result" (p.141). She continued, "Paralinguistic factors such as pitch, stress, intonation, speed of speech, and the frequency with which certain meanings are conveyed. For example, the frequency of status markers

within a conversation (be it through level of speech, lexicon, or tense markers) conveys the importance of status within particular cultural settings. Equally important is body language, such as posture, facial expressions, and gestures, which may accompany speech or convey messages directly without speech at all. Additionally, different cultural assumptions about the purpose of different interactions and expected outcomes of encounters affect interactions" (pp.141-142). Even the length of speech is open to different interpretations by different cultures.

Problems Raised in Relation to Teaching Culture in a Second Language Program

Some have been wary of teaching culture because of the need to deal with values. There is the obvious opportunity with cultural studies to use them for indoctrination. They were emphasised in the teaching of English in the former West Germany, after the Second World War, to introduce democratic ideas (Byram, 1989). And, as mentioned earlier (page 4, above) they were twisted to support communist ideals, in Russia (Bartley, 1971). For these reasons, dealing with values is often seen as a problematic area but an "agnostic" approach, as Kerl (1979, p.157) put it, to values does not give a realistic view of the whole culture; it presents an idealistic or stereotyped view of the culture being studied, such as, in the case of English as a Second Language, "Merry Olde England" and America, "the land of opportunity", or, in the case of French, France as the land of "eating, drinking wine and romancing". There is also the danger that unless the teachers are adequately familiar with the culture, they also will give an imbalanced, and perhaps stereotypical, view of the culture. Recently, Nemni (1992) has warned against the teaching of culture on the ground that, because so little is agreed upon about culture, it is premature to design a culture syllabus and methods of assessment. She also feels that culture changes so rapidly in today's world, and as a result, if we teach culture, all that we will achieve will be the promotion of stereotypes.

Concern has been raised also that "culture" is poorly treated by many textbooks. For example, many school texts portray a "typical" family but in fact, this family may only be "typical" of the middle class or else be a "blend" and so not trully represent any aspect of the culture. Thus more than one aspect of the same topic needs to be presented to give a balanced view of the different strata in the target culture. Rappaport (1990), from her personal anthropological research, criticised Seelye, saying that his vignettes may be true only for one level or group of the foreign society and the same action could be disasterous in another level or group.

As mentioned earlier (p.2, above), in the early days of French immersion there was concern that "immersing" students in another culture would involve them an identity crisis, while at the same time, one of the main aims of the program was to improve the attitude of anglophone Canadians towards francophone Canadians. The fear that an "identity crisis" would happen may have arisen because some minority groups taught in English developed an ambivalent attitude to their own culture. Lambert and Tucker (1972) found that early immersion students and English-educated students viewed themselves and English-Canadians similarly, but the early French immersion students in the early grades were more favorable towards French-Canadians. This favorability had disappeared by grade 5. However, when asked how they would feel if they had been born into a French-Canadian family, a much larger number of the immersion students than their English educated counterparts answered, "just as happy". Similarly, Genesee (1977), and Cziko, Lambert, and Gutter (1979) looked at the attitudes of grade 5 and 6 students. They found that early immersion students felt themselves to be closer to French-Canadians and to bilingual French-Canadians especially than did either late French immersion students or core French students. Swain (1980) asked grade 5 and 6 immersion students and an English cohort to write an essay entitled "Why I like (or do not like) being Canadian". She found that three

times more French immersion students compared with English educated students wrote about multiculturalism as a positive aspect of Canada, and only immersion students commented on the opportunity in Canada of being able to speak more than one official language. In contrast, the English-educated students tended to write about the natural beauty of Canada. As a result, Lambert (1980) inferred that if, as the French immersion students are, the second language learner is a member of the dominant or majority ethnolinguistic group he/she will develop an "additive" form of bilingualism. It is only true for students belonging to minority groups, who learn the dominant language, that bilingualism may be "subtractive", and that the learner rejects either the minority culture or the dominant culture, even both cultures.

As mentioned above, the early positive attitude of immersion students towards French-Canadians had dissipated by late elementary grades, in the case of early French immersion (Lambert and Tucker, 1972), and by grade 11 in the late French immersion students (Genesee, Morin and Allister, 1974, as reported by Genesee, 1987, p.105). On the other hand, the immersion students' attitudes in this area were always more positive than those of the core French students with whom they were compared. As Genesee (1987, p.106) points out, it may be that social contact with francophones is needed to maintain a more positive attitude.

Teachers also need to be aware that the student's own values can affect how the student views the culture. Seelye (1966) observed that the social background of the student can affect how he/she answers a question. Lower class students in Guatemala saw public school teachers as middle-middle class, whereas, upper class students viewed them as upper-lower class.

It has also been recognised that learning about another culture has psychological aspects to it akin to those involved in socialisation into one's own culture (Kramer, 1976,

as reported by Byram, 1989). When interpreting a foreign culture in the classroom, the student's stage of socialisation into his own culture as well as his/her level of psychological development must be considered. Triandis (1975, as reported by Byram, 1989) based his analysis of intercultural relations on "psychological differentiation", which differentiates two kinds of people: "those who perceive the world wholistically without differentiation of figure and ground, and those who discriminate, analyze, and differentiate" (p.61). He concluded that people from two cultures in which similar differentiations in a particular aspect of culture are made will find it easier to equate with this aspect than with those aspects where the differentiations differ. In the latter case, students can be taught to be receptive to the different perceptions of the target culture.

Advantages of Teaching Culture in a Second Language Program

So what do researchers see as the educational advantages, if any, of teaching culture in a second language course? Many feel that studying another culture gives the student the opportunity both to see the world from a different perspective than his own, and to separate universal aspects of the human condition from culturally induced values and assumptions, witness the proliferation of multi-cultural activities in our schools, in recent years. Wulff Martin and Kohn (1993) saw advantages in "enabling students to detect stereotyping". They also counted it as a gain that students "learn that there is no right or wrong culture, things are just done differently; learn to analyse their own culture; learn that gestures and other body language may have a different meaning in another culture from the meaning in their own; they learn to deal with the cultural shock that occurs when someone finds that behavior in another culture is different from that in his/her own".

As regards the French immersion students, in Canada, Calvé (1986) believes that if French culture is ignored in the French immersion program, "c'est qu'on peut se retrouver un jour avec les deux même solitudes, à cette seule exception près qu'elles seront bilingue"

(p.26). And that without culture, the students are led to believe that "le français et l'anglais représentent deux ensembles d'étiquettes interchangeables, apposées aux même réalités et que deux langues, c'est simplement deux façons de dire la même chose" (p.27).

Some see lack of cultural knowledge as a reason for the immersion students' reticence to initiate a conversation with francophones. Bibeau (1991, p.128) put it down to the immersion students' lack of "la compétence extralinguistique" of francophone children. Or as MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) saw it, the lack of seeking situations in which to speak to francophones is due to immersion programs not providing "the shared experience and emotional involvement with members of the other linguistic community necessary to foster interaction" (p.254). In this same study based on the replies of graduates from early immersion progams, thirty-eight percent said that there should be more opportunities to speak French in immersion programs--as one put it "to prepare us to socialise with the French" (p.268), and some also added that there should be "more emphasis on culture--especially that of French Canadians" (p.269).

Others believe that through the French immersion program, the students have become less ethnocentric (see Genesee, 1978, and Cziko, Lambert and Gutter, 1979, above p.24). Indeed, according to recent research by Van der Kielen (1995), this reduced ethnocentricity extends beyond the immersion students' attitude to the French to other ethnic groups. Heffernan (1995), as mentioned above p.16, found that although the French immersion students followed a curriculum which presented the anglophone perspective, they had a wider view of alternative historical-cultural perspectives due to the "hidden curriculum" presented to them by their teachers.

Cultural Syllabuses up to the Present

When there has been a culture component to a second language course, what has been taught? As noted by Flewelling (1993, p.339), our definition of culture has changed

over time. What used to be taught was "culture with a capital C", concerning the literature, art, music and so on, of the native speakers of the language. Whereas now what is advocated is "small c culture" which concentrates on "the study of a people's customs, manners, values and beliefs". Thus, prior to the 1960s, learning a foreign language was viewed as a means of access to the literature of that language. Necessarily then, the cultural component consisted of reading such literary works as the student's linguistic competency allowed. Then, in the 1960s came the audiolingual approach with its emphasis on functional language. Lado (1964, p.153) discussed teaching the relevant cultural content that the language being taught required. Thus, the language curriculum dictated the culture curriculum. So the change of emphasis from the study of capital "C" culture to small "c" culture has been brought about by the changed focus in language teaching away from it being the means of reading the literature, to language as the means of communication. The small "c" culture is thought to be more important for communication. Nelson Brooks (1964) was an early advocate of the shift from literary study to small "c" culture. But as Lado (1964, p.10) noted as early as 1964, that in addition to small 'c' culture, "an over-all acquaintance with the great acheivements of culture is also necessary, for their memory is also part of the present."

This emphasis on small "c" culture led to various proposals on how to teach it. Lado (1957) advocated a "Contrastive Analysis" based on differences between the two cultures. Upshur (1966) posed the theoretical question: if we assume that the cultural stranger can act on similar patterns to those found in his/her own culture, and therefore does not need instruction on similarities, can we assume he/she will never make mistakes by extension of this knowledge to a different situation? Upshur envisaged the following hypothetical situation: if in two cultures termed A and B, ladies are presented to men first in an introduction, but in culture A gentlemen follow ladies through the door whereas in B

they precede them, then the cultural patterns surrounding introductions need not be taught but the question of priority through an open doorway should be. However, if a student from culture A sees a man from culture B precede a lady, might he then assume the same priority applies to the matter of introductions? Upshur admitted that how likely this is to occur is unknown. Brooks (1964, pp.90-95) published a list of cultural topics that he felt were appropriate for the second language classroom. Later (1968, p.212), he stated that his fourth culture category, "patterns for living", is the most important for second language students, but that as they progressed students would be able to deal with inclusions from his third culture category, "literature and the fine arts" and fifth culture category "the sum total of the way of life". Nostrand (1967) had already proposed some materials for the teaching the culture of twentieth century France, using the thirty headings he placed under his four subheadings, namely: the culture, the society, the individual, and the ecology, all of which he called the "emergent model". Taylor and Sorenson (1968) and Nostrand (1968) produced elaborate schemes of headings as to what should be covered in a culture syllabus. Nostrand and Nostrand (1970) listed nine objectives, in apparent order of difficulty, that should be accomplished from the teaching of culture (the list is abbreviated by Lafayette and Schultz (1975, p.106). Seelye (1974, reprinted 1984, p.29) based his suggestions for cultural instruction on Maslow's model of human needs. He also modified Nostrand and Nostrand's nine goals into seven goals of teaching culture (Seelye, 1974, p.7). Lafayette and Schultz (1975), following the Nostrands and Seelye, further reduced these ideas to three goals, namely (i) knowledge, which is the ability to recognise cultural information or a cultural pattern; (ii) understanding, which is the ability to explain cultural information or a cultural pattern; and (iii) behaviour, which is the ability to use the cultural information or cultural pattern. These objectives included some analysis and critiscism of the target culture, but as Lafayette and Schultz (1975, p.106) pointed out, the teacher has to

be careful to see that the goals he/she is aiming at in teaching culture are appropriate for the age of the students. Allen (1985, pp. 159-160) listed what she saw as the main methods of teaching culture-teaching in second language courses, in the United States. 1. *The culture capsule* (Taylor and Sorenson, 1961) develops a cultural topic lasting about ten minutes, usually with some small difference in the target culture, from American culture. 2. *The culture cluster* (Meade and Morain, 1973) is a group of related culture capsules, which are brought together at the end. 3. *The culture assimulator* (Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis, 1971) invites students to study a situation which for Americans is confusing or produces conflict. The student has to choose from four plausible explanations why the problem arose. 4. *The cultural mini-drama* (Gordon, 1974) consists of three to five episodes each with a cultural misunderstanding related to interference from the mother culture. The teacher holds a discussion with the students after each episode and the full explanation is reserved until the last episode. 5. *The micrologue* (Rassias, no date given) consists of a short, culturally relevant text which the teacher reads to the students and then poses them questions on it. The text is then used as a dictation piece. 6. *The cultoon* (Morain, 1979) is a cartoon strip which contains visual clues for interpreting the cultural aspect depicted, so developing the student's "visual literacy". 7. *The audio-motor unit* (Elkins, Kalivoda, and Morain, 1972) is a technique, developed from Asher's "Total Physical Response" method, whereby the students follow pre-recorded commands in relation to which the teacher has already mimed the action.

The debate in the 1970s was how to mesh the language and the culture syllabus. The 1972 Northeast Conference (Dodge, 1972) was devoted to the "language-in-culture" concept. The 1975 Northeast Conference (Born, 1975) suggested a thematic approach, meshing together speaking, listening, reading, writing and culture. These themes could be used at any level and could be used with any textbook. Triandis (1975, p.61)

recommended the method of presenting a situation in which two people do not understand each other and asking students to try to explain the misunderstandings. In this way the students can be made aware of ways in which the perceptions of members of the target culture differ from their own. Kramer (1976) advocated an approach to cultural studies based on the social sciences. The "Core Plus Open Time Approach" was devised by Lafayette (1978), where the core could be either language or culture and the enrichment the other, whichever the case maybe. Since, at the time, it seemed that high school teachers, on average, were only spending ten percent of instructional time on culture, Strasheim (1981) proposed a ten year plan to change this. In 1982, Crawford-Lange (1982) suggested a problem-solving approach, using the second language in such a way that the student would discover the relationship between language and culture.

The late H.H. Stern for many years promoted the inclusion of a cultural component in the core French program. Stern (1982) proposed four syllabi as essential to a French second language program: language, culture, communicative activity and general language education. These are similar to the syllabi proposed by the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) as noted by Lange (1980). Carey (1984, p.258), commenting on the French immersion programs, observed that much more effort needs to be put into cultural studies and cultural contact if these programs are to develop to their full potential.

Then came the "communicative approach" to second language instruction. Saville-Troike (1983, p.131) said that "communicative competence.....involves having appropriate sociocultural schemata, or the social and cultural knowledge and expectations that speakers/hearers/readers/writers are presumed to have which enables them to use and interpret communicative forms". Consequently, this new teaching approach led to a rethinking of the culture syllabus.

Cultural studies associated with language learning are usually called "Landuskunde" (knowledge of the country) in Germany (Byram, 1989, p.58). This author (1989, p.60) built upon Buttjes (1982), who commented that there exists three levels of Landuskunde: the first level, "pragmatic-communicative orientated" aids communication when the language learner meets native speakers. This level has been called "tourist level" by Byram, (1989, p.60) and consists mainly of functional language and some informational and achievement culture. The second level termed "ideological-understanding orientated" shows how the second language speakers view themselves and what their values are. Some of this level comes across in behavioral culture. Finally, there is the level called "political-action orientated" which goes beyond acceptance of the second language culture to a critical approach towards it, which in turn leads to a critical analysis of one's own culture. This level is rarely dealt with in schools. However, Keller (1983) developed this into a three levels approach to cultural study which he believed could be appropriate for students of different ages. Firstly, he spoke of the "behaviorist approach", which looks at patterns of behavior. This type of study, according to Keller, is suitable for younger students. This is the type of activity which was proposed by Seelye (1974) and Oksaar (1983). Next comes the "functionalist approach", which looks at the causes and interdependence of cultural phenomena, and, being a more in depth approach, is therefore suitable for older students. Lastly, a Marxist approach looks at conflict of interest and resistance in the culture being studied. This type of study, also, would of necessity, be done by older students. A similarly "layered" approach has been proposed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), in this case one based on the increasing competence of the student rather than on social theory (for details see Omaggio, 1985, pp.204-205)

Allen (1985, p.153) gave an outline of what she thought should be included in the culture syllabus at various levels, under her three headings: information, experience, and authenticity. As with "Landuskinde" and Keller's scheme, the levels are ordered so that the student starts with the simpler and concrete aspects of culture and moves on to the more abstract and complicated. Allen's (1985, pp.152-153) "information" is information about the particular culture and the organization of this information into a coherent whole, broken down into sucessive stages; "experience" is a cognitive process by means of which the learner approaches and comes to know the particular culture; "authenticity" is the effect upon the learner in terms of socio-economic behavior and attitude that results from an increasing, deepening knowledge of the culture. Thus, for Allen, behavior is part of a whole affective aspect of learning about another culture. Krasnick (1988) mentioned four aspects to cultural competence: attitude (cultural sensitivity), knowledge (cultural awareness), skill (ability), and traits (e.g.tolerance and willingness) in interaction. Thus, according to both of these authors, culture learning involves cognitive and affective aspects.

This view is supported by Rappaport (1985, p.249) who, by quoting Ortner (1984), points out that anthropologists now concentrate on "the nature of practice in society, the means by which cultural and historical knowledge influence strategies for living, and the social, political, and historical constraints which act upon this store of memory." According to Rappaport, the significance of this approach for language teachers is that cultural instruction is not a phenomenological activity, that is to say the study and analysis of rules and prescriptive behaviors of everyday life, but "the interaction of behavior, values and history in situations which are more important to the target culture than is the meeting of foreign tourist or language student and native." In other words, teachers should no longer teach a lot of content and rules but, rather, should make students

sensitive to cultural differences and be able to ask appropriate questions in order to learn about the second-language society. She suggested (p.251) that this be done by the study of themes such as the nature of family and sex roles, the relationship beween society and the environment and so on. This approach equates somewhat with that advocated by Bryam (1989). This author realised that what students in England now need is the ability to be sensitive to other cultures and analyse them for themselves, since with the changing politics of the European Union, many are likely to immigrate at least for some portion of their working life, rather than just be tourists. In his view the situational language that is taught is only of value at a tourist level. It is important that the speaker of a second language understands how the native speaker views himself and is, for example, cognisant of what could offend.

LeBlanc (1990b), in the national core French syllabus, suggested that the teacher starts with the francophone presence in the student's community. This presence can involve individual francophones, local street names, or the like. From the local level the study of French culture can proceed to the surrounding area, then the province, Canada, and finally international French culture.

This survey shows that much thought has been given to analysing culture and its relationship to language, and the teaching and learning of a second language. Various methods and suggestions, to a great extent influenced by the method of language teaching in vogue at the time, have been put forward as to what to teach and how to teach culture. To what extent these ideas have been put into practice in second language classrooms seems to be mainly unknown for all second-language teaching. There has, however, been some relevant research on the French immersion, in Canada.

The Teaching of Culture in French Immersion Programs

The Ottawa Board of Education (Kirby, 1976-1977) produced a test of French

culture which was used on its grade 8, core, immersion and enrichment students. Some attempts have been made, also, at testing the sociolinguistic competence of French immersion students, that is, their ability to use functional language (Cummins and Swain, 1986, pp.124-128). As mentioned above p.16, Heffernan (1995) looked at the course guides for history for four groups of students, and found that although the French immersion students followed a curriculum, which presented the anglophone perspective, they had a wider view of alternative historical-cultural perspectives due to the "hidden curriculum" presented to them by their teachers. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education developed a set of communicative tests called "À vous la parole". There was some sociolingiustic component but no other assessment of cultural knowledge.

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Program of Studies 1992-93 advocated "the appreciation of French language and culture", and various of the teaching guides have suggested cultural activities. But to what extent these have been followed by the teachers is unknown. As mentioned above (p.7), Teacher's Resource Books were produced by the Newfoundland Department of Education, and Alberta Education (1987) for their second language teachers. Some appropriate cultural activities have been published by such people as Duquette, (1985) and Wulff Martin and Kohn (1993). Dickson (1988) surveyed Canadian universities to see if they were teaching French culture courses, and to what extent they were doing it, if at all, along the thematic lines advocated by Brooks (1968), Nostrand (1978) and Seelye (1984). She also wondered if the methods of teaching and evaluation reflected the communicative and content-centered approach to teaching and if classes were learner centred as is favoured in second-language teaching in schools. She found that both "big C" and "small c" courses existed, with some courses being a mixture of both, but where "small c" culture was dealt with, it tended to concern French Canadian culture, especially that of Québec. An interesting, though surprising,

finding was that professors generally rated as "somewhat" unimportant, the student's ability to behave in a manner appropriate to the other culture.

Thus, there is a lot of work yet to be done in respect to assessing what cultural knowledge our French immersion students need and what is the best method or methods by which they can aquire this knowledge. Allen (1985) pointed out that we still do not know such simple things as whether it is better to to teach a student how to demonstrate a certain behavior and then learn the "why" of that behavior or vice versa.

Testing Knowledge of the Second Culture

Although the outcomes of testing have not been reported, various suggestions have been made on how to construct tests of knowledge of a second culture, (for example see Lafayette and Schultz (1975), Seelye (1966, 1974 reprinted 1984), Upshur (1966), and Valette (1977). This topic will be looked at in more detail in the next chapter (p.49). Still, it may be remarked that many recent works, such as that by Byram (1989), on cultural studies in relation to language learning, do not consider any means of testing this knowledge.

LeBlanc and Courtel (1990, pp.90-91) in their executive summary of the Culture Syllabus for the National Core French Study cautioned that students' attitudes to French culture should not be tested formally and form part of the report card, as this would be counterproductive to intercultural understanding. At the same time they argue that facts about culture should be assessed, as otherwise students will judge their value as unimportant on the basis of "Does it count?" Moreover, Lessard-Clouston (1992) said that if teachers do not assess the student's learning in the areas Saville-Troike refers to (see p.31 above), then they are failing to measure the essential underlying basis of their communicative competence"(p.329). Lessard-Clouston added that in his view, "if we.....do *not* evaluate culture learning, the message we communicate to our students is

that culture and cultural competence are *un*important, though covered in the various syllabuses" (p.330).

Seelye (1966) raised an interesting point. He noted that the social scientist often observes things in the culture that members of that culture are not aware of, and that these observations may even contradict the members own view of themselves. The question arises, whether we should test these or only auto-ethnocentric points; in other words should testing be restricted to the way the native speakers view themselves. Seelye suggests validating a questionnaire by submitting it to a group of people in the target culture equivalent to the group to be tested in the second language. However, if an approach is taken from the social sciences, the second language group could well do better than the native group, on a cultural knowledge quiz. An argument for the sociological approach, though, is that, although the native speakers may not be conciously aware about these points of their culture, they obviously partake in them at a tacit level, which the second language student would not have done.

To embrace all aspects of both small "c" and capital "C" culture, Hammerly's division of behavioral, informational and achievement culture (see p.18, above) was followed in this study. The present researcher is pleased to find after choosing this scheme that her choice is validated by the late H.H. Stern (1992), who states that Hammerly's classification "combines traditional and anthropological concepts. This scheme is much more clearly geared to the demands of learning a second language than any of those we have so far considered" (p.210). He continues: "While Hammerly's classification does not solve the range of cultural topics the threefold distinction is useful in that it brings together humanistic and anthropological concepts and introduces a helpful division into a number of categories which are particularly well adjusted to the needs of the second language classroom" (p.211).

Other Topics of Research on the French Immersion Program

Finally, it is proposed to review the literature on topics, associated with the French immersion programs, which are covered in this research..

Early research by Lapkin and Swain (1982 and 1985) in New Brunswick has shown that French immersion students' academic progress is not affected in the long run by being instructed in French. Later research focussed on the four language skills: listening, reading, writing and speaking. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education developed a set of communicative tests called "À vous la parole". There was some sociolingiustic component, but no other assessment of cultural knowledge. For a summary of the tests used in assessments of the immersion programs in the Ottawa and Carleton school boards, see Cummins and Swain (1986, chap. 4). Tests of knowledge of French culture are conspicuously absent.

Swain and Lapkin (1986) reported that assessments by researchers of the four language skills show that the early French immersion reach near native francophone level for listening by grade 9. The performance of the late French immersion students is somewhat lower. However, Genesee (1987) notes that whereas the immersion students have a good comprehension of French language used in school, they can be caught lacking in some areas of vocabulary not covered in school. Similarly, Lyster (1987) notes that in the grade 8 immersion class that he taught, the students experienced a lot of difficulty in understanding French movies and in reading French novels geared to their age group due to lack of the pertinent vocabulary.

Morrison (1985) reported a statistically significant difference in reading ability, as between early French immersion students and late French immersion students in students tested in the Ottawa-Carleton region, with the early immersion students doing better. Similar results have been obtained in Newfoundland (Bartlett, 1993; Netten, 1991).

When it comes to writing, the test "À vous la parole" revealed that the early and late French immersion students performed about the same, but both did poorly, due to grammatical errors, when compared to francophone students (Swain and Lapkin, 1986). Grammatical errors, where grammatical rules were crucial to meaning, even rendered functional language incomprehensible.

As with reading and listening, there was a tendency for early French immersion students to do better in speaking, especially in the areas of pronunciation and grammar, than late French immersion students, but again, both groups did poorly when compared to francophones. When all four skills of the immersion students were compared with francophones, speaking was the weakest of the four language skills, and writing came next. On the Public Service Language Knowledge Examination, grade 10, early immersion students have attained only level "A" in speaking, but level "B" in the other skills (level "A" is the lowest level in these examinations). Similar results were obtained in the same test by grade 12, late immersion students (Morrison, 1985). However, on the discourse skills that did not need grammatical rules, the immersion students performed at a level equal to native speakers.

How do the French immersion students view their own language skills? According to Lapkin and Swain (1985), early immersion students consistently self-assessed their language skills higher than the late immersion self-assessed theirs. They reported that in a study of grade nine immersion students in New Brunswick, seventy-seven percent of early immersion students and nearly sixty percent of late immersion students reported that they could read a French magazine or newspaper with little difficulty, and just under twenty percent of early French immersion students and forty percent of late French immersion students said "with some difficulty". In further student self-assessments reported by Swain and Lapkin (1986), early French immersion students in grade 9, had more

confidence in their listening and reading skills than did the late French immersion in the same grade, but both groups had more confidence in their reading skills than their listening skills. Safty (1989) states: " The receptive language skills, i.e., listening and reading, are undoubtedly immersion student's strongest area. This is to be expected since it generally applies to how we relate to language generally speaking whether it be our first or second language" (p.554). As concerns the productive skills, the immersion student's confidence is lower than for the receptive skills. And in respect to both of the productive skills, writing and speaking, the late immersion students were less confident than the early immersion. These self-assessments agree with the students' results on the Public Service Language Knowledge Examination mentioned above. These assessments were done in the Ottawa area, where contact with native French speakers is common: therefore, the French immersion students there may have a more realistic view of what is required to speak French to a native speaker than students in St. John's, where there is little chance of meeting a native speaker. In a study of late French immersion students conducted in Newfoundland, Drover (1986) found that these students similarly had more confidence in their receptive skills than their productive skills, but that writing was the skill area in which they reported the least confidence (pp.101-102). Day and Shapson (1988) found that in grade 7, in three school districts in British Columbia that they studied, the early French immersion students assessed their ability in all four language skills more highly than did the late French immersion students, but the differences between the early and late immersion students were only statistically significant for speaking, in two districts, and for comprehension, in one. However, Berthold (1992, p.121) reports that students who had spent two years in a partial late French immersion program in a secondary school in Australia, assessed their skills from best to least in the order, speaking, listening, reading

and writing. This difference from Canadian French immersion programs may reflect a difference in curriculum.

What aptitude do immersion students have for using French? Husum and Bryce (1991) found that the graduates of a "Type B French Immersion Program", i.e. fifty percent of courses were taught in French from grade 9 to grade 12, in one high school, in Saskatchewan, expressed "a high degree of confidence in all areas of their French usage whether reading, writing, speaking or understanding" (p.139). Similar results were found by Day and Shapson (1986) and Wesche et al (1986). Between the two programs, Lapkin and Swain (1985, p.54) found that the early French immersion students felt more comfortable and confident than the late French immersion students, in using French, were more likely to use French in the community, and were more likely to respond in French when spoken to. They also reported that in New Brunswick grade nine immersion, students reported using French around ninety percent of the time in communications with their teacher; moreover, just over fifty percent of early immersion students and just under fifty percent of late used French at least half of the time they were in the classroom, yet over eighty percent of both groups said that they hardly ever or never speak French to their classmates between classes. A similar situation was found in late French immersion students in Newfoundland (Drover, 1986). Around sixty percent of the students reported that they used French sometimes with their teacher and friends outside of class. A further twenty-seven percent used French often with the teacher, but only ten percent of the students said that they use French often with their classmates outside of the classsroom. Lapkin and Swain (1985) also reported that the early immersion students expressed more confidence in using French, with around forty percent in early French immersion being very confident as opposed to around thirty percent in late. It was not noted, however, whether this finding refers to use of French in the classroom or using French to speak with

a francophone person. However, Day and Shapson (1988) found that late French immersion students, in two out of the three districts studied, were more willing to speak French outside of school than their early immersion counterparts.

When it comes to talking specifically with a francophone person, Genesee (1987, p.107) reported from observation that immersion students' use of French was "reactive", that is they will reply in French when addressed in French, but even so the length of their conversation was shorter than when using English in the same circumstances. Lapkin and Swain (1985) reported that in their New Brunswick study of grade nine early and late immersion students, forty-five percent of early French immersion students and sixty percent of late French immersion students have never or hardly ever used French with francophones in the community. Much the same has been reported in studies done in Montréal and Ottawa, where there is ample opportunity for students to choose to address francophones. When asked about their "reactive" use of French, late French immersion students were about ten percent less likely to respond in French when spoken to in French than the early French immersion students, of whom ninety-four percent declared that they would reply in French. As for speaking French with a stranger, nearly eighty percent of early immersion students and fifty-six percent of late immersion students felt that they could make themselves understood "without any problem". Taylor and Simard (1975) attributed the lack of communication with native speakers by second language learners to their not being familiar with the social norms of the associated culture rather than to their lack of knowledge of the language. De Vries (1985) found that some graduates from immersion programs in the Ottawa-Carleton area reported that they used French some of the time in their job and sometimes when talking to friends, but, overall, the group of over four hundred people interviewed admitted that their use of French was minimal. Bibeau (1991, p.128) also noted that immersion students can function in French in the classroom-

setting, but that outside of the classroom they are in trouble because they lack "la compétence extralinguistique" of francophone children. Van der Kielen, (1995) in her study of French immersion students in grades 5 to 8, in Sudbury, Ontario, where about a third of the community are francophones, compared them in various ways to their English instructed cohort. She found that both types of students, those with high and low integrative motivation or social distance, were alike in their willingness to participate "in recreational groups or in group activities where French might be used, the number of friends with whom French is spoken, and the use of French in the community" (p.298).

Although many French immersion students give job opportunity as an advantage of French immersion, Bonyun (1984, p.6) found that, even in the bilingual city of Ottawa, only twenty-five percent of French immersion students wished to use French on a continuous basis in their work.

When it comes to continuing their study of the French language in a post-secondary situation, a study in of grade ten immersion students in the Ottawa-Carleton area reported that about sixty percent of the students said they would take French courses at university, and fifty-one percent said they would take a course at university taught in French if they had the opportunity (McGillivary, 1985). Similarly, Husum and Bryce (1991, p.138-139) reported that 45 out of 78 (fifty-eight percent) graduates of a Type B French Immersion Program (see above p.41) took French courses at university.

Schools have arranged visits and exchanges to francophone communities for immersion students. What are the effects of these visits? Lapkin and Swain (1985) reported that in New Brunswick nearly fifty percent of early immersion students and just over forty percent of late immersion students have visited a francophone community for at least one week. Hart, Lapkin and Swain (1991) found that among the secondary school students that they studied, although neither recentness of visit nor cumulative time spent in

a francophone community was related to the student's actual proficiency in French, these factors were related to the students' self-assessment of their speaking and listening skills, their current use of French outside the classroom, and to how many post-secondary courses that the students proposed to take in French. MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) found that students in French immersion programs who had had contact with francophones during their program were more likely to listen to the radio and to pop music, and to go to French plays after graduation. Van der Kielen (1995) found that when asked in which of the cities Toronto, Montréal, New York, Québec City, London, Paris, and Vancouver they would most like to spend a two-week visit with a local family, the city most chosen by the French immersion students was Paris, and that most chosen by the English students was London. However, only four percent of the French immersion chose Montréal or Québec City, and these were less popular than Toronto or Vancouver.

The French immersion student are "immersed" in French for the greater part of their school day. Do they partake in any French activities outside of school? Lapkin and Swain (1985) found that in New Brunswick less than twenty percent of early and late immersion students reported speaking French outside school. In the same study they found that nearly seventy percent of both groups never read French books outside of school, though the remaining thirty percent reported that they read one to four French books a month. Fifteen percent of early and thirteen percent of late French immersion students watched French videos; and only around two percent in both groups subscribed to a French magazine. Similarly, De Vries (1985) found that many graduates from immersion programs in the Ottawa-Carleton area reported that they had never seen a French play or movie. Hussum and Bryce (1991, p.138) reported that of graduates from a Type B French Immersion Program (see above p.41), "A sizeable number of all respondents regularly watched some French television (72 of 78, i.e. ninety-two percent), listened to French radio (47 of 78,

i.e. sixty percent), or read French books (56 of 78, i.e. seventy-two percent) and newspapers (43 of 78, i.e. fifty-five percent). The majority, however, devoted less than twenty-five percent of their total radio listening and television watching time to French programs. Respondents did not give difficulty in understanding French as a reason for using French less. On the whole they expressed a high level of confidence in their ability in French." Genessee (1983, p.38) reported from his own research in a Canadian bilingual community, that although immersion students were more likely than non-immersion students to use French orally in interpersonal communications, they were no more likely than non-immersion students to watch French television, listen to French music, or read French books, for pleasure. MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) found that of the graduates from the 1971K early French immersion cohort, the most common French activity they participated in was reading either for work or pleasure. Their second activity was watching French television, though for some this just meant watching sports-events not available in English. Van der Kielen (1995) found that students with an integrative motivation (see next paragraph) were more likely to watch French television, but that their frequency of doing so was only "once in a while"; total viewing time was minimal.

A very interesting aspect that has been researched since the early days of immersion programs is the immersion students attitude to French people and their culture. Lado (1964) states that "Attitude towards the culture has been found to correlate significantly with learning" (p.152).

Lambert (1969) introduced the concept that students who learn a second language to further their careers have "instrumental motivation", whereas those who learn because they want to be able to learn more about the target community and possibly become a member of that group have "intergrative motivation". There has been a lot of discussion as to whether the French immersion students' motivation is instrumental or intergrative and

how this might relate to their language aquisition. Lambert and Tucker (1972) found that the immersion students in the early grades of early French immersion had a more positive attitude than an anglophone control group, but that this increase in positive attitude had dissipated by the time the students reached the late elementary grades. Genesee, Polich and Stanley (1977) found that a similar situation exists with late French immersion students. Genesee, Tucker and Lambert (1978) and Cziko, Lambert and Gutter (1979) showed that the ethnic identity of students in immersion programs was still with anglophone Canadians but that "the social distance" between the students and francophones was reduced.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) found that there is a relation between an integrative orientation and various aspects of French language achievement. This study was done in Montréal where students have opportunity to mix with French Canadians. These researchers did a similar study in the USA using two areas which have a French community, and one that does not. Although they found that strong motivation led to good grades in French, only in the non-French area did this motivation seem to be based on an integrative orientation toward the French people and their culture. Subsequently, Gardner (1973) observed that the parental attitude towards the target culture seemed to affect the motivation of the students learning the second language. Students who expressed an integrative motivation tended to have parents with positive attitudes towards the second language community. Gardner also observed that even if parents expressed themselves to their children as being in favour of the aquisition of a second language, but at the same time held negative attitudes towards the target community, the students' motivation to learn the language was reduced. Pack (1979), in a study of core French students in rural Newfoundland, found that perceived parental encouragement was perhaps more important than instrumental or integrative motivation in retention and success in French second language programs at the high school level.

The importance of informal contact between French immersion students and francophones was pointed out by Genesee (1984), who found that French immersion students in programs in a francophone school had more positive attitudes towards the French than French immersion students in an anglophone school. As for immersion students in New Brunswick, Lapkin and Swain (1985) reported that most students felt that it did not matter whether they identified with francophones or not.

Day and Shapson (1988) reported that a study by the Centre for Research and Consultation (CERCO) in Manitoba, in 1983, revealed that early and late French immersion students did not differ significantly in their attitudes toward French-speaking Canadians. They also found no significant difference in attitude towards French-speaking Canadians as between early and late French immersion in three school-districts studied in British Columbia. They add, however, that in two out of the three school-districts studied, positive attitude was slightly higher among early French immersion students. Day and Shapson (1988) found that in all three school-districts in their study, early French immersion students had a higher perceived understanding of French culture than late French immersion students, but that the difference was statistically significant in two districts only.

Thériault (1993) looked again at the attitude of immersion students towards anglophone Canadians and francophone Canadians, and towards learning the French language. But instead of just using immersion classes from Montréal, she also used immersion classes in British Columbia. She found that whereas there was no significant difference between the Montréal group and the British Columbian group in their attitude towards anglophone Canadians, there was a significant difference between the two groups in attitude towards francophone Canadians and towards learning French, with the students in British Columbia having the more positive attitude. Thériault postulates that the two

groups are reflecting their parents' attitude. The French immersion students in Montréal are in a situation where their ethnic group, anglophone Canadians, feel threatened by the rise of the Parti Québécois.

MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) found that that most of the graduates from French immersion programs in their study, in the Ottawa region, felt that being in a French immersion program had contributed to what they perceived as their more positive attitude towards francophones than that held by their peers who had studied in English, but most felt that the positive attitudes of their parents were the biggest influence on them. Van der Kielen (1995) found that the attitudes of French immersion students were more positive towards French Canadians and European French than those of the English students. They were also more highly motivated towards the learning of French and, like the students studied by MacFarlane and Wesche (1995), felt that their parents had encouraged them to learn French. Van der Kielen (1995) saw it as an unexpected bonus of the widened horizons of the French immersion students that they had a more positive attitude than English only students towards other ethnic groups, in addition to the French. In Genessee's (1983) view, the fact that the French immersion students retain a positive attitude to the French language, even with all the political turmoil between French speaking and English speaking Canada, says a great deal for the French immersion program.

Thus, it seems that the French immersion student's attitude towards the French language and French people is very complicated, and depends on a mixture of factors such as parental attitudes, proximity to a French community, and the community in which they, themselves, reside.

In conclusion, much information has been generated on the French immersion student with respect to achievement, attitudes, and characteristics; but not of the cultural knowledge of the student.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The *Canadian Modern Languages Review* update of French tests, does not include a single test of French culture (Lapkin, Argue and Foley, 1992). One or two tests, in so far as they have dialogues and role plays, may cover some functional language. Yet more and more, culture is being mentioned as a salient part of language teaching. But as Lessard-Clouston (1992) says, "if we.....do *not* evaluate culture learning, the message we communicate to our students is that culture and cultural competence are *un* important, though covered in the various syllabuses" (p.330).

Thus, this study investigates the amount and type of knowledge of French culture possessed by students in grade 9, in the French immersion progams in St. John's, Newfoundland. Grade 9 students were chosen as the target population because, by this grade, the late French immersion students have completed two years in the program, and therefore, it was felt, formed a comparable group for the purpose of testing cultural awareness. A questionnaire was prepared for distribution to the entire grade 9 immersion population, both early and late, in the St. John's area. The questionnaire was designed to provide background information on the students which might be helpful in interpreting results as well as to evaluate the cultural knowledge of the students. The data gathered was tabulated and analysed in order to draw some inferences about the cultural knowledge of the students as well as activities, in which they engaged, which might have a bearing on this knowledge. A number of conclusions are suggested. Recommendations are also given both for future study and for program development.

Sample

In Newfoundland, the first early French immersion class began in 1975, on the Port-au-Port peninsula, followed by an early immersion program in St. Johns in 1977. The first late French immersion class was started in St. John's, in 1979. By 1993 there were 4,928 French immersion students in Newfoundland, in 43 schools, in 13 of the Province's 27 school boards. Early on, most of the immersion students were in kindergarten and the primary grades but, by the 1992-93 school year, the largest population was in grade 7 (Murphy and Netten, 1993). At the time of this survey of grade 9, early and late, French immersion students, in schools in St. John's, Newfoundland, in the academic year 1992-1993, there were 118 students in the early French immersion program and 83 students in the late French immersion program, making an available population of 201 students.

These students were within the jurisdiction of two school boards, namely the Avalon Consolidated School Board and the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's. In the Avalon Consolidated School Board, there were 55 late French immersion students, in 2 classes, in one junior high school, and 50 early French immersion students, in 2 classes, in another junior high school. In the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's there were 28 late French immersion students in 1 class, and 68 early French immersion students, in 2 classes, all in the same high school. Thus the total students available within the two school boards in St. John's were as follows: 83 late French immersion students and 118 early French immersion students. Since the questionnaire is anonymous, both the Avalon Consolidated School Board and the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's gave their permission for the questionnaire to be administered to all students. But the Faculty of Education's Ethics Review Committee insisted that, in addition, parents' permission be sought. Although the heads of department and the homeroom teachers tried

valiantly on my behalf to get back as many replies as possible, the necessitating of individual letters signed by the parents reduced the population available to 130 students, 49 in late French immersion and 81 in early French immersion, due to students failing to bring letters home or return them to school. Thus, unfortunately, only sixty-five percent of the possible total population was surveyed, being sixty percent of the late French immerson students and sixty-nine percent of the early French immersion students. Of the 130 students who answered the questionnaire, 52 were male and 77 were female, with 1 missing case. Within programs, 18 late French immersion students were male and 31 were female, and 34 early French immersion students were male and 46 were female. There was one missing case in the early French immersion in regard to gender.

Design of the Instrument

In the development of the questionnaire used in this study, the views and cautions expressed by the various authors reviewed in chapter 2 regarding the study of culture in relation to language learning and the assessment of the same, were borne in mind, as well as those in works that are specifically referred to in this chapter, especially Nachmias and Nachmias (1981, ch.9). However, the instrument was totally designed by the researcher.

The present study utilised a two-part written questionnaire (see appendix A) to gather information from the students. An English and a French version of the questionnaire were joined back to back so that the students had the choice of reading and answering the questionnaire in either English or French. The first part of the questionnaire was designed to develop a profile of the respondent. The students were asked their age, sex, program (i.e. early or late French immersion), and their French activities outside school. For the latter, questions were designed to elicit information concerning the following areas: watching French television, watching French videos, listening to French singers, reading French books and magazines, and length and type of visit (if any) to a

French speaking area. Then the students were asked to record their overall academic achievement, their achievement in French, their confidence in their abilities in French, and their attitude to French culture. The second part of the questionnaire tested the level of knowledge of certain aspects[5] of French culture acquired by these grade 9 early and late French immersion students in St. John's, Newfoundland. Finally, some open-ended questions were included to allow students to express themselves on the topic.

The length of the questionnaire was designed to occupy the students for a single, forty minute period. It was felt that teachers would be willing to give up one period, and that if it occupied the whole period, teachers would not have to try to fit it in with some other instructional material.

The questionnaire was designed to be answered anonymously in the hope that it would reduce stress and encourage students to answer more openly. An anonymous questionnaire, it was felt, would also be more acceptable to the school boards. Indeed there would be little to gain from knowing the identity of the student. The questionnaire was also written in both French and English so that language was not a barrier to answering, and also it was thought that it might be interesting to see in which language the students would choose to answer.

Pusch (1979, p.219) advises using a question structure that the students are used to. For this reason multiple choice questions were used. Negative questions were avoided, as recommended by Borg and Gall (1983, p.421). Such questions can cause confusion and are likely to lead to inaccuracy, since some respondents will miss the

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[5] The reasons for the aspects chosen are discussed in chapter 2, The Review of the Literature, (p.18 and p.37).

negative. The replies to choose from were kept to four as much as possible, for consistency, so that respondents could get used to the pattern.

Following Borg and Gall (1983, p.422), the questionnaire started with short but, it is hoped clear directions, using bold type to give emphasis where it was thought appropriate, and with a sample answer.

As mentioned above, the first part of the questionnaire asked for personal information. The beginning of the questionnaire aimed at being non-threatening, as recommended by Borg and Gall (1983 p.422). Questions numbering 1 to 6 were designed to gather background information on the students. Number 1 asked for their sex, so that any variation between the sexes, in the results of the test on French culture, or even on individual questions could be monitored. In this way different interests between the sexes or sex biased questions could be identified. Number 2 asked their age on December 31, 1993. This was the December following the administration of the questionnaire in May 1993. December 31 was chosen because that is the cut off date for entry into school, for both school boards involved in the study. Students were asked their age in order to check to see if there were any who had repeated a grade. Number 3 asked the students whether they were in the early or the late French immersion program, to make sure that questionnaires were not misassigned to the wrong group. Numbers 4 to 6 tracked the students' previous education in French. This was also a means of checking that students had followed the programs that they stated they had. For those in the late French immersion program it was also a means of checking their previous experience in French, before entering the program. A great variation, if it occurred, could lead to a disparate knowledge of French culture between the groups, from different schools, as they entered the late French immersion program.

The next part, numbers 7 to 10, was designed to find out what kind of French activities the students participated in outside of school and how often, to see if this is a factor in their knowledge of French culture. The activities investigated were watching French TV[6] or French videos[7], listening to French singers[8] or reading French books[9], magazines or newspapers. For numbers 11 and 12, the advice of Borg and Gall (1983, p.421) was followed that a general question on a topic should precede a more specific one. Number 11 asked if they had ever visited a French speaking community, and if they answered 'yes', number 12 asked for the length of visit and reason for the visit, for up to 6 visits.

In number 13, students were asked to record their overall average at the end of the previous school year, and in number 14, their average in French at this same time. This was a means of finding out their academic ability since it is not possible to gain access to their school records. Previous research has found that students record their own ability accurately. A measure of their academic ability was necessary to see if their score on the test on French culture is correlated to their overall academic ability or their ability in French.

In the next section, numbers 15 to 18 asked students for their self assessment of their reading, writing, listening and speaking skills in French, for the purpose of enabling comparisons to be made on how the early and late French immersion students viewed

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[6] There are 3 French television channels available in St. John's: CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Company) French Station, RDS (Le Réseau des Sports) and TV5 (French International).

[7] Available from the Francophone Association Library.

[8] Available through the French CBC radio station, as well as on cassettes and discs.

[9] Available from their school library, the various city libraries and obtainable through their school's book-purchasing scheme.

themselves. Number 19 looked at the student's self-assessed confidence in their use of French now and in the future. Number 20 sought their attitude towards French people and French culture, to see if this aspect affected their performance on the test.

Next, in numbers 21 to 50, the student's knowledge of French culture was tested. In accordance with Seelye's advice, this section was not labelled "test" and the numbering was continued, consecutively, from the previous section. As mentioned in the previous chapter (p.28), various authors have advocated what they see as the "goals" for the teaching of culture. Thus an assessment should be undertaken to test whether or not these goals have been met. It was decided to divide the test of culture into different types of culture. Hammerly's classification (see above p.37) was followed. Although these divisions were not obvious to the students, this test was infact divided into behavioural, informational, and achievement culture. Questions 21 to 30 were on behavioural culture consisting of conversation formulas, kinesics, patterns of behaviour, attitudes and values; 31 to 40 were on informational culture namely facts of history and geography, and "heroes" and "villains"; and 41 to 50 were on achievement culture associated with art, literature and music. By dividing the cultural segment of the questionnaire into three parts, the hope was that one could also discover how much of each kind of cultural knowledge the students might have.

Seelye (1974, chap.9, pp.141-159) makes many practical suggestions for constructing a questionnaire to test a student's knowledge of a foreign culture. Many of these were adopted when constructing this test. As with the first part of the questionnaire, multiple choice questions were used. Lafayette and Schultz (1975, pp.110-115), the Ottawa Board of Education publication, Morrison (1977, appendix B) and Valette (1977), reprinted in Valdes (1986, pp.179-197), provided some examples of multiple choice questions, suitable for testing awareness of French culture. However, the test used in the

present research project was developed by the researcher. By comparison, the Ottawa Board of Education test consisted mainly of informational culture: only two question out of the thirty could be said to be on behavioural culture, and four on achievement culture.

Whereas the answers to some of the questions set might be general knowledge among the age group selected, it was considered that it would be worthwhile to see if the immersion students have this knowledge, since the author was not testing knowledge of French culture gained exclusively from the immersion programs but rather from all sources. The test on French culture was limited to thirty questions due to the restricted time of one forty minute period available for the students to fill out the questionnaire. Questions were kept as short as possible for clarity. The longer the question the more room there is for misunderstanding. Students selected one answer from a choice of four provided for each question on the test of knowledge of French culture.

The material used in the culture test was carefully selected to make sure that students could not be answering by drawing from their own experience in their own culture. Items that contrasted with the students own culture were therefore often chosen. It is the things that contrast with their own culture that can lead to cultural misunderstanding and, hence, communication problems. Magazines, newspapers, French radio and television, textbooks for French as a Second language, and books on Quèbec and France, were also extensively consulted to find suitable material for questions. Brooks (1964, pp.90-95), reprinted in Valdes (1986, pp.124-128), also gives a list of topics suitable for cross-cultural study and these too were used as a guide. The author also used her own experience, since she had lived in a French speaking community on several occasions, with her own children attending French schools, and, in addition, she had her own children in the early and late French immersion programs in Newfoundland.

Questions were set on what was perceived to be the kind of material a francophone student of the same age would know. Seelye (1974, p.148, reprinted 1984, p.178) gives examples of questions which are beyond the experience of the student age group. Care was taken to avoid stereotypes which are held by outsiders but are, in fact, infrequent in the culture. As far as could be ascertained, topics were chosen that would be equally known by male and female students. Seelye (1974, p.148-149, reprinted 1984, p.178-179) gives examples of questions with a gender bias. As suggested by Borg and Gall (1983, p.421), care was taken to avoid bias in the questions; no hints of the answers required were given.

As indicated above, questions numbering 21 to 30 focussed on behavioural culture. Number 21 (painting/kiss)[10], number 23 (two old ladies greeting) and number 28 (bread/gravy) involved kinesics which do not occur in English culture, or, as in the case of number 28, have a different interpretation in English culture. Number 22 (soccer/missed ball) and number 24 (j'en ai marre) involved conversation formulas. Number 25 (le souper) and number 29 (la fin de semaine) are items of vocabulary which have different connotations as between Québec and France. These questions were asked to see if students were aware of these differences. Number 26 (faith/Québec) concerned values which differ from English-speaking Canada. Number 27 (students/after school) and number 30 (les trois coups) involved knowledge of French behaviour patterns. In the case of number 27 the behaviour contrasts with the usual behaviour of English-speaking Canadian students and in the case of number 30, the behaviour is peculiar to French culture.

The next set of questions numbering 31 to 40 was devoted to informational culture. Items were drawn fom Québec and France. Number 31 (French speaking countries),

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[10] Only key words will be given here to identify the subject matter of the question. The full questions can be found in the questionnaire. See Appendix A.

number 32 (towns/Québec), number 33 (le Château Frontenac) and number 35 (le Tour Eiffel) concerned French geographical features, while number 36 (Concorde) referred to a famous French product. Number 37 (St. John's/French) and number 38 (Louis XIV/orphan girls) were on French history. Number 37 was connected to St. John's and so also involved local history. Number 38 was a connection between France and Québec. Number 34 (Asterix), number 39 (René Lévesque) and number 40 (Guy Lafleur) were French 'heroes', but one was from France and two were from Québec.

Numbers 41 to 50 involved achievement culture. The aim here was to have a mixture of art, music and literature, with a further mixture from Québec and France. Number 44 (Claude Monet) involved a French artist, whereas number 49 (French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving) involved a French Canadian craft speciality. In the sphere of music, the aim was to include a variety of forms. Number 43 (Gilles Vigneault) represented traditional French Canadian music. Teachers tend to play it in the classroom; it is also prominent on the French radio station which can be received in St. John's, but is rarely heard on any of the English speaking channels. Number 45 (French composer/Bizet) was chosen to represent France and classical music. Moreover, melodies from his opera, "Carmen", tend to be quite popular with non opera-goers, and they are often played as "light music". Numbers 46 (French-Canadian "pop" singer/Daniel Lavoie) and 50 (French "pop" singer/Vanessa Paradis) represented popular music, French Canada and France, and male and female, respectively. Number 48 (Montréal International Jazz Festival), represented yet another genre of music. Number 41 (French-Canadian novelist/Gabrielle Roy), number 42 (Les Misérables/Hugo) and number 47 (Le Malade Imaginaire/Molière) all concerned French Canadian and French literature. These were chosen for being among the most well known French writers.

Professor Netten, Professor Bullcock and Professor Martin of the Faculty of Education of Memorial University of Newfondland gave advice on evaluation. The questionnaire was pre-tested, in a previous year, on a group of grade nine, French immersion students. It was also submitted to the deputy superintendent, in charge of French programs, and the co-ordinator for French, at the Avalon Consolidated School Board and at the Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's, for their comments. As a result, a few changes were made to increase clarity and avoid any ambiguities. The pre-test also ensured that the instructions were easy to follow, and, as suggested by Seelye (1966, p.82), that the language and topics used were not above the level of the students. Although it was not possible to pre-test the questionnaire on a group of native French speakers of a similar age, the author had had contact with this age group and had seen textbooks used by them in a French school, when her daughters were of this age group and attending a French "collège", in Paris, France, in 1983-84 and 1989-90. The questionnaire was not tried out on an equivalent group who have no knowledge of French because no such group exists in Newfoundland or, probably, elsewhere in Canada.

Procedure

The instrument was delivered by the researcher, to the schools involved, in one week in May, 1993. This ensured that all the students answered the questionnaire at approximately the same time. The researcher met with the heads of departments of French and the various French immersion teachers involved to explain the administration of the questionnaire. The classroom teacher for French administered the questionnaire to the students. When the questionnaires were completed, they were collected by the researcher.

The questionnaire was then computer-coded in order that the information could be fed into the computer. From the resulting database the information was tabulated and used to calculate frequencies and valid percentages calculated using the SPSSX computer

program . Norusis (1986) the SPSSX Basics (1984) and the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (1983) were used as reference materials. For certain items it was decided to further break the information down by gender, by program, and by gender within programs. An ANOVA analysis was carried out to look for any statistically significant differences in mean score as between the early French immersion students and the late French immersion students, in regard to the test on French culture, and the subtests on behavioural, informational and achievement culture. Correlation coefficients were then calculated between total score on the test and scores on the subtests, and overall average, average in French and attitude to French people and their culture. The results are presented in the following chapter.

Limitations

There were some limitations to the study. Since parental permission could not be obtained from all parents, the study was limited to those students whose parents responded. The question then arises as to any bias in the data. The study was limited to a paper and pencil test. Therefore, in respect to behavioural culture, the respondents' actual behaviour was not observed but only inferred from their written response to the situation described. Furthermore, there is no way to determine for sure where the students' knowledge of French culture came from, whether from school, from the curriculum or from outside activities. It may be assumed that, since there is a lack of a French milieu in St. John's, and since the students reported that the number and length of their visits to a French speaking community and their French activities outside of school were minimal,[11] most of their knowledge of French culture derived in some way from the curriculum--in the widest sense of the term--that the French immersion students are exposed to.

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[11] For details see chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter will first give a profile of the respondents, which includes their age, sex, program followed, language used to complete the questionnaire, French activities outside of school, visits to a francophone community, academic achievement, achievement in French, self-assessment of skills in French, self-confidence in French, and attitude towards French people and their culture.

Following this, is the reporting of the answers given to the test on French culture. These fall into three sections as previously stated (p.55), behavioral culture, informational culture, and achievement culture. Various other aspects of the answers given are then drawn together.

Finally an ANOVA analysis is carried out to see if correlations exist between scores on the test and subtests of knowledge of French culture and the following: French immersion program followed, overall average, average in French, and attitude to French people and their culture.

The reporting of the data follows the order of topics as found in the questionnaire (see appendix A).

Profile of Respondents

Number of Students and Programs

A total of one hundred and thirty students completed the questionnaire. Of this total, ninety-five percent reported that they would be fifteen years old on December 31, 1993 (see table 1); sixty percent are female and forty percent male (see table 2); sixty

percent are in the early French immersion program and forty percent in the late French French immersion program (see table 3).

Table 1 Profile of Respondents by Age

	Students		
	Age	Number	Valid percent
	14	2	1.5
	15	123	94.6
	16	5	3.9
Total		130	100.0

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0.

Table 2 Profile of Respondents by Gender

	Students		
	Sex	Number	Valid percent
	Male	52	40.3
	Female	77	59.7
Total		129	100.0

Valid cases = 129, missing cases = 1.

Table 3 Profile of Respondents by Program

		Students	
	Program	Number	Valid percent
	Early	81	62.3
	Late	49	37.7
Total		130	100.0

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0.

Of the students in the late French immersion program, fifty-five percent reported having spent two years in the late French immersion program and nearly thirty-eight percent reported more than two years (see table 4).[12]

Table 4 Late French Immersion Students: Years Completed in Late French Immersion Programs

	Students	
Years	Number	Valid percent
2	27	55.1
> 2	18	36.7
Transfers between programs	4	8.2
Total	49	100.0

Valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

Of the students in the late French immersion program, thirty percent had spent four years, sixty percent had spent three years and only two percent had spent less than three years in a core French program. Eight percent of this population had transferred between early immersion and late immersion French programs or other programs. There were no missing cases (see table 5, p.64). Thus the vast majority of late French immersion students had spent three or four years in a core French program before entering the late French immersion program. Of the students in the early French immersion program just over fifty-five percent stated that they had spent nine years in the program and thirty-seven percent

[12] The reason for this discrepancy was probably that, since the questionnaire was administered in May, some students felt that they had completed three years in the program whereas, in fact, they had completed two years in the program but had almost completed three. The students were in grade nine, and the program commences in grade seven.

Table 5 Late French Immersion Students: Years in a Core French Program

Years	Students	
	Number	Valid percent
4	15	30.6
3	29	59.2
1 - 2	1	2.0
Transfers between programs	4	8.2
Total	49	100.0

Valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

reported ten years (see table 6).[13] Thus it was not possible to identify, in either of the

Table 6 Early French Immersion Students: Years Completed in an Early French Immersion Program

Years	Students	
	Number	Valid percent
< 9	3	3.8
9	44	56.4
10	29	37.2
> 10	1	1.3
other	1	1.3
Total	78	100.0

Valid cases = 78, missing cases = 3.

programs, the percentage who had repeated a grade. In any case, this percentage would be small, if it exists at all.

[13] This discrepancy probably arises for the same reason as mentioned in the previous footnote. In fact the students had completed nine years, grades K to eight.

Language Used to Complete Questionnaire

Approximately sixty percent of the students answered the English version of the questionnaire and forty percent the French version (see table 7).

Table 7 Language Used to Complete the Questionnaire

	Students	
	Number	Valid percent
Language		
English	80	61.5
French	50	38.5
Total	130	100.0

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0.

When these figures are broken down by program it becomes evident that most of the students who answered in French were in the early French immersion program and that practically all of the late French immersion students answered the English version of the questionnaire. Almost sixty percent of the population of the early French immersion program answered the French version of the questionnaire, whereas over ninety-five percent of the students in the late French immersion program answered the English version (see table 8). This seems to indicate that late French immersion students, at this stage, are

Table 8 Language Used to Complete the Questionnaire in Relation to Program

	Language		
Program	English	French	Total
Early			
Number of students	33	48	81
Valid percent	40.7	59.3	100.0
Late			
Number of students	47	2	49
Valid percent	95.9	4.1	100.0

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

not as confident in their ability to comprehend written French as are early French immersion students.

Separating the figures for programs by gender, it is found that slightly more females than males answered the French version of the questionnaire. About sixty percent of females and fifty-five percent of males, in the early French immersion program, answered the French version of the questionnaire. This left forty percent of females and just over forty percent of males answering the English version. However, in the late French immersion program only one male and one female student answered the French version of the questionnaire, leaving about ninety-five percent of both sexes answering the English version (see table 9).

Table 9 Language Used to Complete the Questionnaire in Relation to Gender

	Language		
Program	English	French	Total
Early			
Male			
Number of students	15	19	34
Valid percent	44.1	55.9	100.0
Female			
Number of students	18	28	46
Valid percent	39.1	60.9	100.0
Late			
Male			
Number of students	17	1	18
Valid percent	94.4	5.6	100.0
Female			
Number of students	30	1	31
Valid percent	96.8	3.2	100.0

Early French immersion--males: valid cases = 34, missing cases = 1; early French immersion--females: valid cases = 46, missing cases = 1; late French immersion--males: valid cases = 18, missing cases = 0; early French immersion--females: valid cases = 31, missing cases = 0.

French Activities Outside of School

Just over twenty percent of the respondents reported watching French television, fourteen percent reported reading French books and magazines, and approximately ten percent reported listening to French singers and watching French videos, once a week or more. On the other hand sixty percent never watch French videos, just over fifty percent never listen to French singers and twenty-eight percent never watch French television or read French books or magazines (see table 10).

Table 10 Frequency of French Activities Outside of School

	Frequency					
	Once/week or more		Once/month or less		Never	
	Students					
Activity	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
Watch French T.V.	29	22.3	64	49.2	37	28.5
Watch French videos	12	9.2	38	29.3	80	61.5
Listen to French singers	14	10.8	46	35.4	70	53.8
Read French books or magazines	18	13.8	76	58.5	36	27.7

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0.

Travel to Francophone Communities

One hundred and two students, approximately eighty percent of the survey population, have made at least one visit to a francophone community (see table 11, p.68) . This number drops by about fifty percent for every subsequent visit (see table 11, p.68). Even so, thirty percent have made at least three visits. However, it is not to be forgotten that about one-fifth of the students in these French immersion programs have never visited a French speaking community by the time they have reached grade nine.

Visits were divided into four categories: family vacation, school trip, parent

Table 11 Number of Students Who Have Made Up To Six Visits to a Francophone Community

Visit	Students	
	Number	Valid percent
1	102	79.1
2	67	51.9
3	40	31.0
4	22	17.1
5	10	7.8
6	5	3.9

Valid cases = 129, missing cases = 1.

working, and "other" to cover all the remaining possibilities. Students were asked to give specifics of any visit marked down under other. Strong family support is evident by the fact that family vacations, at forty-seven percent, make a slightly bigger contribution to the first visit, than school trips at forty-one percent (see table 12). This ratio continues with subsequent visits. However, the contribution made by school trips should not be

Table 12 Visits to a Francophone Community - Type of Visit

	Type of Visit								
	Family vacation		School trip		Other		Parent working		
	Students								
Visit	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Total
1	50	49.0	39	38.3	10	9.8	3	2.9	102
2	30	44.8	25	37.3	9	13.4	3	4.5	67
3	24	60.0	9	22.5	6	15.0	1	2.5	40
4	9	40.9	7	31.8	6	27.3	-	-	22
5	6	60.0	1	10.0	3	30.0	-	-	10
6	3	60.0	-	-	2	40.0	-	-	5

First visit: valid cases = 102, missing cases = 28; second visit: valid cases = 67, missing cases = 63; third visit: valid cases = 40, missing cases = 90; fourth visit: valid cases = 22, missing cases = 108; fifth visit: valid cases = 10, missing cases = 120; sixth visit: valid cases = 5, missing cases = 125.

Table 13 Composition of Visits Made Under the Category Other

	Students	
	Number	Valid percent
Sports	22	61.1
Exchanges & camps	6	16.7
Family & friends	6	16.7
Remaining	2	5.5
Total	36	100.0

Valid cases = 36, missing cases = 0.

Table 14 Visits to a Francophone Community - Length of Visit

	Length of Visit						
	1 - 7 days		8 days to 1 month		More than 1 month		
	Students						
Visit	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Total
1	78	77.2	19	18.8	4	4.0	101[14]
2	49	74.2	13	19.7	4	6.1	66
3	30	76.9	8	20.5	1	2.6	39
4	14	66.7	5	23.8	2	9.5	21
5	8	88.9	1	11.1	-	-	9
6	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	5

First visit: valid cases = 101, missing cases = 29; second visit: valid cases = 66, missing cases = 64; third visit: valid cases = 39, missing cases = 91; fourth visit: valid cases = 21, missing cases = 109; fifth visit: valid cases = 9, missing cases = 121; sixth visit: valid cases = 5, missing cases = 125.

underestimated, especially for students whose parents can not afford to travel. Sports activities are another interesting factor in producing visits to a francophone community,

[14] Visit numbers one to five have one less case per visit for length of visit than for type of visit, because one subject, who made five visits, failed to record length of visits.

(see table 13, p.69). For the remainder of the category other, exchanges and summer camps and visits to friends and family make an equal contribution (see table 13). Although family vacations and school trips account almost equally for most repeated visits, other activities make a sizeable contribution. About seventy-five percent of the visits, of all types, are for a week or less and the remaining visits are mainly for less than a month (see table 14, p.69). In fact, no school trip was longer than a week (see table 15). Visits of longer

Table 15 Length of Visit in Relation to Type of Visit

	Length of visit						
	1 - 7 days		8 days-1month		> 1 month		
	Students						
	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Total
Family Vacation							
1	34	69.4	13	26.5	2	4.1	49
2	18	62.1	10	34.5	1	3.4	29
3	14	60.9	8	34.8	1	4.3	23
4	4	50.0	4	50.0	-	-	8
5	5	83.3	1	16.7	-	-	6
6	2	66.7	1	33.3	-	-	3
School Trip							
1	39	100.0	-	-	-	-	39
2	25	100.0	-	-	-	-	25
3	9	100.0	-	-	-	-	9
4	7	100.0	-	-	-	-	7
Other							
1	5	50.0	5	50.0	-	-	10
2	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1	9
3	6	100.0	-	-	-	-	6
4	3	50.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	6
5	3	100.0	-	-	-	-	3
6	1	50.0	-	-	1	50.0	2
Parent Working							
1	-	-	1	33.3	2	66.7	3
2	-	-	1	33.3	2	66.7	3
3	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-

First visit: valid cases = 101, missing cases = 29; second visit: valid cases = 66, missing cases =64; third visit: valid cases = 39, missing cases = 91; fourth visit: valid cases = 21, missing cases = 109; fifth visit: valid cases = 9, missing cases = 121; sixth visit: valid cases = 5, missing cases = 125.

duration tend to be with a family vacation, again indicating the importance of family vacations in a student's contact with French culture. The two categories of other and parent working also contribute to longer visits. In the case of parent working the actual numbers are very low (see table 15, p.70).

Self-Assessment of Academic Achievement

At all levels the student's average in French tends to be an unit lower than their overall average (see table 16). Thus, the teacher's assessment of the student's ability in

Table 16 Academic Achievement of Students Surveyed

	Average			
	Overall		French	
	Students			
Percentage	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
85 - 100	59	45.4	34	26.4
80 - 84	29	22.3	28	21.7
75 - 79	21	16.2	27	20.9
70 - 74	15	11.5	20	15.5
60 - 69	5	3.8	17	13.2
50 - 59	-	-	2	1.5
<50	1	.8	1	.8
Total	130	100.0	129	100.0

Overall average: valid cases = 130; average in French: valid cases = 129, missing cases =1.

French seems to be harder than the assessment of them in other areas.

When overall average and average in French is separated by program, the range is narrower in both among late French immersion students (see table 17, p.72). This suggests a more homogenous population than in the early French immersion. This is not surprising since entry to late French immersion was more likely to have been the student's

Table 17 Academic Achievement by Program

	Program							
	Early French immersion				Late French immersion			
	Average							
	Overall		French		Overall		French	
	Students							
Percentage	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
85-100	33	40.7	21	26.2	26	53.1	13	26.5
80 - 84	16	19.8	17	21.2	13	26.5	11	22.5
75 - 79	14	17.3	13	16.2	7	14.3	14	28.6
70 - 74	12	14.8	15	18.8	3	6.1	5	10.2
60 - 69	5	6.2	11	13.8	-	-	6	12.2
50 - 59	-	-	2	2.5	-	-	-	-
<50	1	1.2	1	1.3	-	-	-	-
Total	81	100.0	80	100.0	49	100.0	49	100.0

Early French immersion--overall average: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; early French immersion--average in French: valid cases = 80, missing cases = 1; late French immersion--overall average: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0; late French immersion--average in French: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

choice; and, presumably only students who are doing well opt for French immersion. In addition, in Newfoundland, students for late French immersion are vetted for ability whereas early French immersion students are not.

In fact, the late French immersion students as a group have a higher overall average, and average in French (see table 17) than the early French immersion students, except in the eighty to one hundred percent range in French.

Self-Assessments of Skills in French

In the four skills of reading, listening to, writing and speaking French, between fifty to sixty percent of the students consider themselves average, whereas twenty to thirty

percent consider themselves above average, and ten to fifteen percent below average (see table 18). However, among those who consider themselves above average, the

Table 18 Self-Assessments of Skills in French

	Skills							
	Reading		Listening		Writing		Speaking	
	Students							
Self-assessment	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
Below average	18	13.8	13	10.0	21	16.1	18	13.8
Average	68	52.4	73	56.2	73	56.2	83	63.9
Above average	42	32.3	41	31.5	33	25.4	27	20.8
Well above average	2	1.5	3	2.3	3	2.3	2	1.5
Total	130	100.0	130	100.0	130	100.0	130	100.0

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0.

percentages are higher for the "receptive skills" of reading and listening, than for the "productive skills" of writing and speaking. Students who consider themselves average are more confident in speaking at around sixty-four percent, as compared to fifty-two to fifty-six percent in respect to the other skills, (see table 18).

If one separates the student's self-assessment of skills in French by program, it emerges that, in the early French immersion program, from a comparison of the receptive skills of reading and listening, there is a greater range of ability for reading than for listening. In respect to reading, eighteen percent of students consider themselves below average, and thirty-five percent above average. Whereas, as concerns listening, twelve percent consider themselves below average, and thirty-one percent above average (see table 19, p.74). The late French immersion program shows less difference between the receptive

Table 19 Self-Assessments of the Receptive Skills in French by Program

	Program			
	Early French immersion		Late French immersion	
	Skills			
	Reading	Listening	Reading	Listening
	Students			
Self-asessment	Number / Valid percent	Number / Valid percent	Number / Valid percent	Number / Valid percent
Below average	15 / 18.5	10 / 12.3	3 / 6.1	3 / 6.1
Average	37 / 45.7	44 / 54.3	31 / 63.3	29 / 59.2
Above average	28 / 34.6	25 / 30.9	14 / 28.6	16 / 32.7
Well above average	1 / 1.2	2 / 2.5	1 / 2.0	1 / 2.0
Total	81 / 100.0	81 / 100.0	49 / 100.0	49 / 100.0

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

skills, with six percent of students feeling that they are below average, sixty percent average, and about thirty percent above average (see table 19). As concerns the productive skills of writing and speaking in the late French immersion, the percentages of those who feel themselves below average, average, or above average, are about the same, for both skills (see table 20, p.75). However, the percentage of students who feel that they are below average, around seventeen percent, is considerably higher than for the receptive skills, in the same group.

In the early French immersion program, the respondents feel their ability is more homogenous in speaking, where sixty-five percent feel they are average, than in any other skill (see table 20). That the early French immersion students are most confident in speaking shows the success of this aspect of the program. In writing, a large number of

Table 20 Self-Assessments of the Productive Skills in French by Program

	Program			
	Early French immersion		Late French immersion	
	Skills			
	Writing	Speaking	Writing	Speaking
	Students			
Self-assessment	Number / Valid percent	Number / Valid percent	Number / Valid percent	Number / Valid percent
Below average	13 / 16.0	9 / 11.1	8 / 16.4	9 / 18.4
Average	43 / 53.1	53 / 65.5	30 / 61.2	30 / 61.2
Above average	23 / 28.4	18 / 22.2	10 / 20.4	9 / 18.4
Well above average	2 / 2.5	1 / 1.2	1 / 2.0	1 / 2.0
Total	81 / 100.0	81 / 100.0	49 / 100.0	49 / 100.0

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

respondents, twenty-eight percent, feel themselves to be above average, though this percentage is not as high as for the receptive skills. As with the receptive skills, so with the productive skills: the early French immersion students report a wider range in their abilities than do the late French immersion students. For those who consider themselves above average in both programs, the percentages are higher in respect to the receptive skills than the productive skills. Whereas the percentage of students who consider themselves average remains close to sixty percent for all skills in the late French immersion, it is around fifty percent in the early French immersion, except in regard to speaking, where the percentage is considerably higher at sixty-five.

It is interesting that less of the late French immersion students consider themselves

below average (see tables 19 and 20), except in speaking, than the early French immersion students. This again indicates a more homogeneous population in late French immersion.

More students in early French immersion than in late French immersion consider themselves above average in reading and writing. This finding correlates with the fact that some early French immersion students answered the French version of the questionnaire, whereas practically no late French immersion students did. However, more students in early French immersion than in late French immersion consider themselves below average in reading. This finding, again, may reflect a less homogeneous population, or it may indicate that the early French immersion students have a more realistic view of what is required in French.

It is interesting that those who consider themselves above average, and therefore, presumably, the more able students, are more confident in the receptive skills than the productive skills, even in the early French immersion program.

Self - confidence in French

Eighty percent of French immersion students feel confident speaking French to their classmates (see table 21, p.77). When this figure is split by program it is found that there is an approximately seven percent difference between early French immersion and late French immersion, with students from the early immersion program being the more confident group (see table 21). The slightly lower percentage in the late French immersion group is mainly created by males (see table 22, p.78). Interestingly, the figure for early French immersion males is five percent higher than that for their female counterparts, and the reverse is true for the late French immersion where the percentage for females is five percent higher than that for males (see table 22). The difference, in confidence in speaking to their classmates, between males in early French immersion and late French immersion is much greater than between females in these programs. This result seems to suggest that

Table 21 Self - confidence in French: Total Population and by Program

	Total population		Early French immersion		Late French immersion	
	Students					
Categories	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
I feel confident speaking French to my classmates.	104	80.0	67	82.7	37	75.5
I feel confident speaking to a francophone person.	54	41.5	40	49.4	14	28.6
If I go to university I will certainly take French courses.	68	52.3	34	42.0	34	69.4
I would feel confident taking courses at university that are taught in French	70	53.8	38	46.9	32	65.3
I would feel confident taking a job that required that I speak in French sometimes.	117	90.0	72	88.9	45	91.8
I would feel confident taking a job that required that I speak in French only.	32	24.6	26	32.1	6	12.2

Total population: valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0; early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases =0.

females in late French immersion gain confidence in speaking in class more quickly than males.

Table 22 Self - confidence in French by Gender Within Programs

	Program							
	Early French immersion				Late French immersion			
	Gender							
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Students							
Categories	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
I feel confident speaking French to my classmates.	29	85.3	37	80.4	13	72.2	24	77.4
I feel confident speaking to a francophone person.	18	52.9	22	47.8	7	38.9	7	22.6
If I go to university Iwill certainly take French courses.	6	17.6	27	58.7	12	66.7	22	71.0
I would feel confident taking courses at university that are taught in French.	14	41.2	24	52.2	12	66.7	20	64.5
I would feel confident taking a job that required that I speak in French sometimes.	29	85.3	42	91.3	17	94.4	28	90.3
I would feel confident taking a job that required that I speak in French only.	8	23.5	17	37.0	2	11.1	4	12.9

Early French immersion--males: valid cases = 34, missing cases =1; early French immersion-- females: valid cases = 46, missing cases = 1; late French immersion--males: valid cases = 18, missing cases = 0; late French immersion--females: valid cases = 31, missing cases = 0.

However, when talking to a native francophone person, the overall level of confidence drops to half of what it was for speaking to a classmate (see table 21). When looked at by program, there is a drop in confidence of approximately forty percent in early French immersion and over sixty percent in late. It can be seen from table 21, that there is a five to three ratio in confidence, when speaking to a francophone person, between early and late French immersion, with early being the more confident group.

Analysis by gender within programs reveals a very interesting situation. Males in late French immersion are nearly twice as confident when speaking to a francophone person, as females in the same program (see table 22). As for the early French immersion, although the numbers have fallen by about thirty percent compared to talking to a classmate, the relationship between males and females remains the same, with males being about five percent more confident than females (see table 22). The difference between early French immersion males and late French immersion males, at around thirteen percent, has remained the same as when speaking to a classmate. But the gap has increased dramatically between early French immersion and late French immersion females. The difference between the two groups of females has gone from three percent, when talking to a classmate, to twenty-five percent, when talking to a francophone person (see table 22). In both cases the early French immersion females were more confident than the late immersion females (see table 22). So, when it comes to speaking to a francophone person, males are more confident than females in both early and late French immersion, but more so in late French immersion (see table 22). The difference in confidence, when speaking to a francophone person, is also greater between females in early and late French immersion programs than between males in both programs. So it seems that females are confident in the classroom but lose this confidence outside.

Just over fifty percent of the total population stated that if they go to university they would take French courses (see table 21). When looked at by program it can be seen that the percentage of students in late French immersion expressing such an intention is almost twice that of students in the early (see table 21). This finding may indicate that early French immersion students consider their knowledge of French more complete than late French immersion students do. When program is broken down by sex, in the late French immersion program it is found that approximately the same percentage of males and females, around seventy percent, declare that if they go to university, they would take French courses (see table 22). By contrast in the early French immersion program, the percentage of females expressing the desire to take French courses is greater than that for males; more than three times as great, in fact (see table 22). This result could be due to the males being more science-oriented, and that females are more likely to concentrate on arts-subjects at university. As will be seen below, the males in early French immersion are more willing to take university courses that are taught in French, presumably those that are of interest to them, than French courses *per se*. However, many more males in late French immersion than in early French immersion, it seems, feel that they will need more French education when they finish school.

Around fifty percent of respondents stated that if they go to university they would feel confident taking courses that are taught in French (see table 21). When this figure is broken down by program it can be seen that, surprisingly, late French immersion students express considerably more confidence than early French immersion students in taking courses at university that are taught in French.

About an equal percentage of males and females in late French immersion gave a positive response to taking courses at university that are taught in French (see table 22). And, as previously for French courses, in early French immersion, more females than

males stated that they would feel confident taking courses at university that are taught in French (see table 22). However the gap, at a ratio of five to four, is not nearly as wide as that of ten to four, for taking French courses (see table 22), which also perhaps suggests that the boys, in this group, are not arts but science-oriented.

Ninety percent of the total population would feel confident taking a job that requires they speak French some of the time (see table 21). This percentage remains approximately true for both programs, with the late French immersion program showing a slightly higher percentage (see table 21). When the figures are broken down by sex, a reverse pattern is found in the two groups. In the early French immersion, about five percent more female than males say they would feel confident taking a job that requires that thay speak French some of the time, whereas in the late French immersion the figure is about five percent higher for males (see table 22).

The figure, for the total population, falls to twenty-five percent, for those who would feel confident taking a job that required they speak French only (see table 21). Analysing this figure by program, it becomes evident that the majority of this percentage is made up of early French immersion students, who express this confidence almost three times as often as the late French immersion students (see table 21). Females in the early French immersion program, at thirty-seven percent, are almost twice as likely to take a job that requires that they speak French only, than males in the same program (see table 22). Thus the gap between males and females, in early French immersion, widened in a job of this kind as compared to a job where only some French is spoken. In contrast, in the late French immersion program the figure is much lower, at around twelve percent for both males and females (see table 22). Thus, although males in both early and late French immersion are more confident speaking to a francophone person than females are, there seems to be a core of females, in both programs, who are highly confident of their ability to

speak French. So, although early and late French immersion students feel equally confident in taking a job that requires they speak French sometimes, the early French immersion students feel two and a half times as confident as the late French immersion students in taking a job that requires they speak French only.

From the above, it can be seen that the males in early French immersion are more confident in speaking French both to their classmates and to francophone persons. But this confidence in speaking does not translate into confidence in the job market, where females in early French immersion express more confidence in taking a job that requires they speak French sometimes or requires that they speak French only. Males in early French immersion do not express much desire to continue French studies, and they are the least confident of all groups in respect to taking courses at university that are taught in French. There is less difference between males and females in late immersion, except in the case of speaking. In this skill females feel slightly more confident than males when speaking to classmates, but less confident than males when talking to a francophone person. This finding translates into more confidence for males in late French immersion in taking a job that requires that they speak French sometimes. However, when it comes to taking a job that requires that they speak French only, females in late French immersion are slightly more confident than males. It seems from results reported above concerning confidence in talking to a francophone person, and taking courses at university that are taught in French, that late French immersion females are less confident than late French immersion males. Since, however, late French immersion females are slightly more confident than late French immersion males, in taking a job that requires that they speak French only, it seems that there is, however, a core of highly confident females in the late French immersion group.

Attitude Towards French People and Their Culture by Program and Gender

Nearly three-fifths of respondents have admiration for French people and their culture (see table 23). Less than a fifth have great admiration and a quarter, only toleration

Table 23 Attitude Towards French People and Their Culture--Total Population and by Program

	Total population		Early French immersion		Late French immersion	
	Students					
Attitude	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
Great admiration	24	18.5	14	17.5	10	20.4
Admiration	71	54.6	41	50.0	30	61.2
Toleration	33	25.4	24	30.0	9	18.4
Dislike	2	1.5	2	2.5	-	-
Total	130	100.0	81	100.0	49	100.0

Total population: valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0; early immersion:valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; late immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0.

(see table 23). Two percent actually dislike French people and their culture (see table 23). Thus, putting together toleration and dislike, there is a greater preponderence of students on the negative side than with great admiration. However, nearly three-quarters of this population have admiration or great admiration for French people and their culture; a fact which speaks well for both programs.

When these figures are broken down by program, it is found that approximatly one-fifth of the students in both early and late French immersion have great admiration for French people and their culture (see table 23). However, when it comes to admiration, the late French immersion students, at sixty-one percent, have just over a ten percent lead on the early French immersion (see table 23). Again, when it comes to toleration, the early French immersion, at thirty percent, chose this category nearly twice as often as the late French immersion, at just over eighteen percent (see table 23). The two students who

actually dislike French people and their culture came from the early French immersion group (see table 23). Thus it can be seen that the late French immersion students are more positive to French people and their culture than the early French immersion students. Perhaps this result is not surprising when one takes into account that late French immersion students probably chose, themselves, to enter the program whereas the choice was made for early French immersion students, by their parents.

When attitude is broken down by gender, it becomes evident that females show considerably more admiration than males. Over three times as many females, at twenty-six percent, as males, at almost eight percent, express great admiration (see table 24). Females

Table 24 Attitude Towards French People and Their Culture by Gender--Total Population

	Gender			
	Male		Female	
	Students			
Attitude	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
Great admiration	4	7.7	20	26.0
Admiration	25	48.1	45	58.4
Toleration	21	40.4	12	15.6
Dislike	2	3.8	-	-
Total	52	100.0	77	100.0

Total population: valid cases = 129, missing cases = 1; total population--males: valid cases = 52, missing cases = 1; total population--females: valid cases = 77, missing cases = 1.

are also, almost three times less likely as males to express merely toleration of French people and their culture, and no females expressed dislike (see table 24).

Although males are overall more negative than females, when attitude is broken down by program and by sex it becomes apparent that the early French immersion males are much more negative than late French immersion males (see table 25). Less than six

Table 25 Attitude Towards French People and Their Culture by Gender in Early and Late French Immersion.

	Program							
	Early French immersion				Late French immersion			
	Gender							
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Students							
Attitude	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent	Number	Valid percent
Great admiration	2	5.9	12	26.1	2	11.1	8	25.8
Admiration	12	35.3	28	60.9	13	72.2	17	54.8
Toleration	18	52.9	6	13.0	3	16.7	6	19.4
Dislike	2	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	34	100.0	46	100.0	18	100.0	31	100.0

Early French immersion--males: valid cases = 34, missing cases = 1; early French immersion--females: valid cases = 46, missing cases = 1; late French immersion--males: valid cases = 18; late French immersion--females: valid cases = 31.

percent of early French immersion males express great admiration as opposed to eleven percent of late French immersion males. Similarly, the late French immersion males, at seventy-two percent, are more than twice as likely to express admiration than the early French immersion males, at thiry-five percent (see table 25). Indeed, it is only among early French immersion males that there exists any dislike of French people and their culture. Consequently, there is more discrepancy in attitude between males and females in the early than in the late French immersion program. The figures for females in both programs, are closer. Around a quarter of the female population in both programs express great

admiration (see table 25). However, the early French immersion females are somewhat more positive than late French immersion females when it comes to both admiration, at sixty-one percent as opposed to fifty-five percent, and toleration, at thirteen percent and nineteen percent, respectively (see table 25).

In conclusion, the average respondent is from the early French immersion program, female, 15 years of age, and answered the English version of the questionnaire. The average respondent has made at least one visit to a francophone community but does not partake of activities in French outside of school, such as watching French television. At school the average respondent does better overall than in French and considers herself average or above average in the four language skills of reading, listening, writing and speaking though tends to be more confident in the receptive skills. The average respondent is more confident speaking French to her classmates than to a francophone person, but would probably take French courses and even courses taught in French if she goes to university. In the work force, she would feel confident taking a job that required she speak French sometimes but not so confident taking a job that requires she speak French only. Her attitude to French people and their culture is one of admiration.

Answers to Test on French Culture

The test part of the questionnaire was designed, in each subtest, to start with some easy questions to give the students confidence and encouragement to continue. This strategy was shown to be effective, in most cases, by the higher percentage of correct answers in the early questions in each section (see table 26, p.87). It can also be seen from table 26, that overall, less than fifty percent of the students correctly answered questions

Table 26 Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to the Question

Question	Percentage of correct answers
Behavioral culture	
21--painting/kiss[15]	98.5
22--soccer/missed ball	92.3
23--two old ladies greeting	83.8
24--j'en ai marre	85.4
25--le souper	99.2
26--faith/Québec	92.3
27--students/after school	72.2
28--bread/gravy	75.6
29--la fin de semaine	45.7
30--les trois coups	21.4
Informational culture	
31--French speaking countries	50.8
32--towns/Québec	89.7
33--le Château Frontenac	62.5
34--Asterix	83.7
35--le Tour Eiffel	97.7
36--Concorde	83.7
37--St. John's/French	57.0
38--Louis XIV/orphan girls	55.1
39--René Lévesque	53.3
40--Guy Lafleur	93.1
Achievement culture	
41--French-Canadian novelist/Gabrielle Roy	59.3
42--Les Misérables/Hugo	54.3
43--Gilles Vigneault	58.6
44--Claude Monet	47.7
45--French composer/Bizet	34.6
46--French-Canadian 'pop'singer/Daniel Lavoie	59.0
47--Le Malade Imaginaire/Molière	34.1
48--Montréal International Jazz Festival	69.8
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	46.4
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	46.8

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0; except for numbers 25, 34, 36, 42 and 48 missing cases = 1; numbers 33, 37, 43 and 44 missing cases = 2; numbers 28, 29, 38 and 45 missing cases = 3; numbers 27 and 30 missing cases = 4; number 49 missing cases = 5; number 50, missing cases = 6; numbers 41 and 47 missing cases = 7; numbers 39 and 46 missing cases = 8; number 32, missing cases = 13.

[15] For the full questions see the questionnaire, pages 4 - 8; appendix A.

number 29 (la fin de semaine), and 30 (les trois coups) in behavioral culture; 44 (Claude Monet), 45 (Bizet), 47 (Molière), 49 (French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis) in achievement culture. Thus, more than fifty percent of students had the incorrect answer on seven questions, only. Scores on these questions, by early and late French immersion students, can be seen in table 27. There is no particular pattern here,

Table 27 Early and Late French Immersion: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to the Question for those Questions where Less than Fifty Percent of the Students had the Correct Answer

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Program	
Question	Early French immersion	Late French immersion
Behavioral culture		
29--la fin de semaine	48.7	40.8
30--les trois coups	18.2	26.5
Achievement culture		
44--Claude Monet	50.6	42.9
45--French composer/Bizet	32.1	38.8
47--Le Malade Imaginaire/Molière	41.3	22.9
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	42.1	53.1
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	39.0	59.6

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, for number 44, missing cases = 2; numbers 29 and 45 missing cases = 3; numbers 30 and 50 missing cases = 4 number 49, missing cases = 5; number 47, missing cases = 6; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0; except for number 47, missing cases = 1; number 50, missing cases =2.

with the early French immersion students doing better on three questions and the late French immersion students doing better on four. Except in questions 47 (Molière), 49 (French-Canadian handicraft), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis), there was less than a ten percent difference between the early and the late French immersion students, in percentage of correct answers. This suggests that for questions 29 (la fin de semaine), 30 (les trois

coups), 44 (Claude Monet), and 45 (Bizet), the material had not been covered in either program.

If one looks more closely at these questions, with regard to number 29 (la fin de semaine), it can be seen that the early French immersion did somewhat better than the late French immersion (see table 27). When one looks at alternative answers to this question (see table 28, p.90), one finds that more gave the wrong answer B than the correct answer C. Thus there was failure in this question to distinguish correctly between Québec and French usage of the French language. Question 30 (les trois coups), had a low overall score (see table 27), but the late French immersion fared considerably better than the early. This topic may well not have been covered in class. The question was included to see if any students had knowledge of the traditions of French theatre which they could have gained from a visit to a French community or by watching performances on the French CBC or the French TV5 internationale television channels. In this light the score is satisfying. There were no questions on informational culture on which less than fifty percent of the overall population had the correct answer (see table 26). Questions 44 (Claude Monet), and 45 (Bizet), were on French art and classical music respectively. In fact over fifty percent of the early French immersion got number 44 (Monet), correct (see table 27), suggesting that they indeed do have some aquaintance with French art. The percentage of students with the correct answer was quite low, in both groups, for number 45 (Bizet) (see table 27); but students who got this one correct could have used knowledge gained from the music program in school or from musical activities outside of school, of which there are many in St. John's. It would be nice to think that students are transferring their knowledge between programs.

Students did well, eighty percent or more of them giving the correct answer, on questions 21 (painting/kiss), 22 (soccer/missed ball), 23 (two old ladies greeting), 24 (j'en

ai marre), 25 (le souper), and 26 (faith/Québec) in behavioral culture; and on 32 (towns/Québec), 34 (Asterix), 35 (le Tour Eiffel), 36 (Concorde), and 40 (Guy Lafleur) in informational culture (see table 26). There were no high percentages of correct answers on achievement culture (see table 26).

Interesting incorrect answers were given to the questions 23 (two old ladies greeting), 26 (faith/Québec), 27 (students/after school), 28 (bread/gravy), and 29 (la fin de semaine) all behavioral culture; and to 33 (le Château Frontenac), and 37 (St. John's/French) in informational culture; and to 43 (Gilles Vigneault), and 46 (Daniel Lavoie) in achievement culture (see table 28). Sometimes a wrong answer can give an

Table 28 Questions with an Interesting Incorrect Answer

	Percentage who gave this answer	
Question	Correct answer	Interesting incorrect answer
Behavioral culture		
23--two old ladies greeting	C 83.8 kiss/cheek	B 11.5 say hello
26--faith/Québec	D 92.3 Catholic	A 6.9 Protestant
27--students/after school	B 72.2 in cafés	A 12.7 at home
28--bread/gravy	B 75.6 normal	D 16.5 bad habit
29--la fin de semaine	C 45.7 Québec	B 52.0 France
Informational culture		
33--le Château Frontenac	B 62.5 in Québec City	D 19.5 in Paris
37--St. John's/French	A 57.0 ruled by French	D 29.7 always English
Achievement culture		
43--Gilles Vigneault	B 58.6 from Québec	A 32.8 from France
46--French-Canadian 'pop' singer	A 59.0 Daniel Lavoie	B 31.1 Yves Montand

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0; except for numbers 33, 37 and 43, missing cases = 2; number 29, missing cases = 3; number 27, missing cases = 4; number 46, missing cases = 8.

insight into why students gave the incorrect answer. The popular wrong answer in numbers 23, 26, 27, 28 and 37 are examples of interference from English culture, that is to say, students transferred knowledge of their own culture to French culture. In the case of number 23 (two old ladies greeting), B was given as the most usual alternate answer to the correct one (see table 28). This is the way two old ladies would greet each other in English Canadian culture. The late French immersion students did better than the early on this question (see table 29, p.92). Although students mainly had number 26 (faith/Québec), correct, the chief incorrect answer was A, Protestant (see table 28). Again this is the faith of most English Canadians. The answer "at home" for number 27 (students/after school), also seems to reflect what students might do themselves in Newfoundland. More late French immersion students had number 27 correct than early French immersion students (see table 29). For number 28 (bread/gravy), there was no great difference between early and late French immersion (see table 29). However, a considerable number gave D as the answer. This is again the response one would expect in English Canadian culture. Nearly a third gave the wrong answer, D, to number 37 (St. John's/French), (see table 28) suggesting that, in St. John's, the aspect of the British Empire as part of the local history, is more well known than the French aspect. Most French immersion students did not recognise the French aspect. More late French immersion students than early got this question right (see table 29) suggesting that this topic has been dealt with more in late French immersion, or more recently.

In the case of questions 29, 33, 43 and 46, (see table 28), it seems that students failed to make a distinction between Canada and France. For number 29 (la fin de semaine), more gave the incorrect answer, B, than the correct one. This reply suggests that either students were guessing the answer or that they did not realise that although this phrase is still used in Québec, the anglicism, "le weekend", has become the norm in

Table 29 Early and Late French Immersion: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to the Question

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Program	
Question	Early French immersion	Late French immersion
Behavioral culture		
21--painting/kiss	98.8	98.0
22--soccer/missed ball	90.1	95.9
23--two old ladies greeting	77.8	93.9
24--j'en ai marre	88.9	79.6
25--le souper	98.8	100.0
26--faith/Québec	92.6	91.8
27--students/after school	64.9	83.7
28--bread/gravy	73.1	79.6
29--la fin de semaine	48.7	40.8
30--les trois coups	18.2	26.5
Informational culture		
31--French speaking countries	54.3	44.9
32--towns/Québec	90.8	87.8
33--le Château Frontenac	55.7	73.5
34--Asterix	86.3	79.6
35--le Tour Eiffel	96.3	100.0
36--Concorde	91.3	71.4
37--St. John's/French	50.6	67.3
38--Louis XIV/orphan girls	42.3	75.5
39--René Lévesque	45.3	66.0
40--Guy Lafleur	95.1	89.8
Achievement culture		
41--French-Canadian novelist/Gabrielle Roy	43.2	83.7
42--Les Misérables/Hugo	54.3	54.2
43--Gilles Vigneault	49.4	73.5
44--Claude Monet	50.6	42.9
45--French composer/Bizet	32.1	38.8
46--French-Canadian 'pop'singer/Daniel Lavoie	56.0	63.8
47--Le Malade Imaginaire/Molière	41.3	22.9
48--Montréal International Jazz Festival	68.8	71.4
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	42.1	53.1
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	39.0	59.6

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; except for numbers 25, 34, 36, and 48 missing cases = 1; numbers 33, 37, 43 and 44 missing cases = 2; numbers 28, 29, 38 and 45 missing cases = 3; numbers 27, 30 and 50 missing cases = 4; numbers 32 and49 missing cases = 5; number 39, 46 and 47 missing cases = 6; number 41, missing cases = 7; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0; except for numbers 42 and 47 missing cases = 1; numbers 39, 46 and 50 missing cases = 2; number 32, missing cases = 8.

France. Nearly twenty percent of the students (see table 28), in answer to number 33, placed "Le Chateau Frontenac" in France. For this answer there is a big discrepancy between early and late French immersion (see table 29) with the late French immersion doing much better than the early. This, then, may be an example of material covered more fully, or at least more recently, in the late French immersion. Similarly in number 43 (Gilles Vigneault), the wrong response, A, (France), was given as the answer by a sizeable group of respondents instead of B, (Québec). However, a lot more late French immersion students than early had this one correct (see table 29), suggesting again that this topic may not have been covered in all early French immersion classes or, if covered, was done so a long time ago. For number 46 (French-Canadian 'pop' singer), a large number of students chose the French singer, Yves Montand, instead of Daniel Lavoie (see table 26).

Of the answers to the remaining questions with a low correct score overall or by either the early or the late French immersion, number 31 (French speaking countries), and 39 (René Lévesque), probably just show a lack of exact knowledge on these topics, although there is a difference between the early and late French immersion (see table 29). Number 38 (Louis XIV/orphan girls), shows a lack of the conception of the population of France at this time by those who gave answer D (no room for them in France), but in the case of answer C (so French would be spoken there), with today's emphasis on French only in Québec, this could seem a very plausible answer. The late French immersion did better on this question than the early (see table 29).

A spread of ten percent or more, between early and late French immersion, was found in those giving the correct answer, to questions 23 (two old ladies greeting), and 27 (students/after school) in behavioral culture; and on 33 (le Château Frontenac), 36 (Concorde), 37 (St. John's/French), 38 (Louis XIV/orphan girls), and 39 (René Lévesque) in informational culture; and on 41 (Gabrielle Roy), 43 (Gilles Vigneault), 47 (Molière), 49

(French-Canadian handicraft), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis) in achievement culture (see table 30) .

Table 30 Early and Late French Immersion Students: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to Questions Showing a Spread of Ten Percent or More Between Early and Late French Immersion

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Program	
Question	Early French immersion	Late French immersion
Behavioral culture		
23--two old ladies greeting	77.8	93.9
27--students/after school	64.9	83.7
Informational culture		
33--le Château Frontenac	55.7	73.5
36--Concorde	91.3	71.4
37--St. John's/French	50.6	67.3
38--Louis XIV/orphan girls	42.3	75.5
39--René Lévesque	45.3	66.0
Achievement culture		
41--French-Canadian novelist/Gabrielle Roy	43.2	83.7
43--Gilles Vigneault	49.4	73.5
47--Le Malade Imaginaire/Molière	41.3	22.9
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	42.1	53.1
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	39.0	59.6

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; except for number 36, missing cases = 1; numbers 33, 37 and 43 missing cases = 2; number 38, missing cases = 3; number 27, missing cases = 4; numbers 49 and 50, missing cases = 5; numbers 39 and 47 missing cases = 6; numbers 41, missing cases = 7; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0; except for number 47, missing cases = 1; numbers 39 and 50, missing cases = 2.

The early French immersion students only did better than the late French immersion students on numbers 36 (Concorde), and 47 (Molière), the late French immersion students thus doing better on ten of these twelve questions. This result, as already mentioned, could reflect differences in material covered, or how recently material was covered, in the two programs. Or there may be less coverage of French culture in the early French immersion program. Since the late French immersion program is more akin to a second language

program, it is possible that these students have followed a more thorough program on French culture. In contrast, the emphasis in the early French immersion program is on teaching children the regular curriculum, but using French rather than English. Although from their averages, the late French immersion seem to be a more select group, this is not the factor since score correlates negatively with average, both overall and in French (see table 39, p.105).

To see if any of these differences were due to different interests between the sexes, the percentage of students giving the correct answer was separated by sex, and then by early and late immersion and by sex. A spread of ten percent or more in the percentage of students giving the correct response, was found between male and female students, in the overall results, in answers to questions 23 (two old ladies greeting) in behavioral culture; 40 (Guy Lafleur) in informational culture; and 43 (Gilles Vigneault), 46 (Daniel Lavoie), 49 (French-Canadian handicraft), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis) all in achievement culture (see table 31, p.96). Looking carefully at these results, it would seem that females did better on questions involving females, i.e. numbers 23 (two old ladies greeting), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis). Males, similarly, did better on questions involving males or what could be perceived as male interests, i.e. numbers 40 (Guy Lafleur), 43 (Gilles Vigneault), 46 (Daniel Lavoie), and 49 (French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving).

However, when sex is separated by program, a ten percent or more difference, in the number of students giving the correct answer, was found between male and female students in the early French immersion program in answer to questions numbers 23 (two old ladies greeting), and 30 (les trois coups) in behavioral culture; 31 (French speaking countries), and 37 (St. John's/French) in informational culture; 43 (Gilles Vigneault), 44 (Claude Monet), 46 (Daniel Lavoie), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis) in achievement culture (see

Table 31 Male and Female French Immersion Students: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to Questions Showing a Spread of Ten Percent or More Between the Sexes

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Gender	
Question	Male	Female
Behavioral culture		
23--two old ladies greeting	75.0	89.6
Informational culture		
40--Guy Lafleur	100.0	88.3
Achievement culture		
43--Gilles Vigneault	66.0	54.5
46--French-Canadian 'pop' singer/Daniel Lavoie	72.9	49.3
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	56.0	39.2
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	36.0	53.4

French immersion students--male: valid cases = 52, missing cases = 1; except for numbers 28, 33, 38, 39, 42 and 48, missing cases = 2; numbers 30, 43, 44, 49 and 50, missing cases = 3; numbers 27, 29 and 45, missing cases = 4; numbers 41, 46 and 47, missing cases = 5; number 32, missing cases = 6; French immersion students--female: valid cases = 77, missing cases = 1; except for numbers 25, 27, 33, 34 and 36, missing cases = 2; numbers 28, 30, 37 and 38, missing cases = 3; numbers 41, 47 and 49, missing cases = 4; numbers 46 and 50, missing cases = 5; number 39, missing cases = 8; number 32, missing cases = 9.

table 32, p.97). And in the late French immersion program, in answer to numbers 27 (students/after school) in behavioral culture; 33 (le Château Frontenac), 34 (Asterix), 36 (Concorde), 40 (Guy Lafleur) in informational culture; 43 (Gilles Vigneault), 44 (Claude Monet), 46 (Daniel Lavoie), 49 (French-Canadian handicraft), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis) in achievement culture (see table 33, p.98).

Of the questions shown in table 31, only three--numbers 43, 46 and 50--show a ten percent difference between the sexes, in both programs (see tables 32 and 33). In the case of numbers 43 (Gilles Vigneault), and 46 (Daniel Lavoie), males did better, in both programs, and in the case of number 50 (Vanessa Paradis), females did better; probably

Table 32 Male and Female Early French Immersion Students: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to Questions with a Spread of Ten Percent or More Between the Sexes

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Gender	
Question	Male	Female
Behavioral culture		
23--two old ladies greeting	67.6	84.8
30--les trois coups	25.0	13.6
Informational culture		
31--French speaking countries	47.1	58.7
37--St. John's/French	55.9	45.5
Achievement culture		
43--Gilles Vigneault	56.3	45.7
44--Claude Monet	43.8	54.3
46--French-Canadian 'pop' singer/Daniel Lavoie	67.7	46.5
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	28.1	45.5

Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 1; early French immersion--male: valid cases = 34, missing cases = 1; except for numbers 30, 43, 44 and 50, missing cases = 3; number 45, missing cases = 4; early French immersion--female: valid cases = 46, missing cases = 1; except for numbers 30, 37 and 50, missing cases = 3; number 46, missing cases = 4.

showing, as suggested above, that at this age there exists an empathy with the same sex. This trend is also found in number 23 (two old ladies), where, although there was a ten percent difference in the early French immersion only, females scored higher in both programs (see tables 32 and 34, p.98). Similarly for number 40 (Guy Lafleur) and number 49 (French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving), males scored higher for both of these questions, in both programs, although the spread was only more than ten percent in the late French immersion group (see table 32, and 35, p.99). Thus, these seem to have been male-oriented questions. Number 44 (Claude Monet), shows a ten percent difference between the sexes in both programs, but females did better than males in the early French immersion program and *vice versa* in the late (see tables 32, and 33).

Table 33 Male and Female Late French Immersion Students: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to Questions with a Spread of Ten Percent or More Between the Sexes

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Gender	
Question	Male	Female
Behavioral culture		
27--students/after school	94.4	77.4
Informational culture		
33--le Château Frontenac	66.7	77.4
34--Asterix	88.9	74.2
36--Concorde	83.3	64.5
40--Guy Lafleur	100.0	83.9
Achievement culture		
43--Gilles Vigneault	83.3	67.7
44--Claude Monet	55.6	35.5
46--French-Canadian 'pop' singer/Daniel Lavoie	82.4	53.3
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	72.2	41.9
50--French 'pop' singer/Vanessa Paradis	50.0	65.5

Late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0; late French immersion--French males: valid cases = 18, missing cases = 0; except for number 46, missing cases = 1; late French immersion--females: valid cases = 31, missing cases = 0; except for number 46, missing cases = 1; number 50, missing cases = 2.

Table 34 Male and Female Late French Immersion Students: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to Questions 23, 30, 31 and 37 for Comparison Purposes with the Early French Immersion

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Gender	
Question	Male	Female
Behavioral culture		
23--two old ladies greeting	88.9	96.8
30--les trois coups	27.8	25.8
Informational culture		
31--French speaking countries	50.0	41.9
37--St. John's/French	66.7	67.7

Valid cases: 49, missing cases = 0; late immersion--males: valid cases = 18, missing cases = 0; late immersion--females: valid cases = 31, missing cases = 0.

Table 35 Male and Female Early French Immersion Students: Percentage of Students Giving the Correct Answer to Questions 27, 33, 34, 36, 40, 43 and 49 for Comparison Purposes with the Late French Immersion

	Percentage of correct answers	
	Gender	
Question	Male	Female
Behavioral culture		
27--students/after school	67.7	62.2
Informational culture		
33--le Château Frontenac	57.6	55.6
34--Asterix	88.2	84.4
36--Concorde	88.2	93.3
40--Guy Lafleur	100.0	91.3
43--Gilles Vigneault	56.3	45.7
Achievement culture		
49--French-Canadian handicraft/wood carving	46.9	37.2

Early French immersion: valid cases = 80, missing cases = 1; early French immersion--male: valid cases = 34, missing cases = 1; except for number 33 and 49, missing cases = 2; number 27, missing cases = 4; early French immersion--female: valid cases = 46, missing cases = 1; except for numbers 27, 33, 34 and 36 missing cases = 2; number 49, missing cases = 3.

questions, in both programs, although the spread was only more than ten percent in the late French immersion group (see tables 32, and 35). Thus, these seem to have been male-oriented questions. Number 44 (Claude Monet), shows a ten percent difference between the sexes in both programs, but females did better than males in the early French immersion program and *vice versa* in the late (see tables 32, and 33).

When one looks at the remaining questions showing a difference of ten percent between the sexes, the ten percent difference found in early French immersion in respect to numbers 30 (les trois coups), 31 (French speaking countries,) and 37 (St. John's/French) (see table 32), are not found in the late French immersion results (see table 33). The late French immersion scores for numbers 30 and 37 are about the same for both sexes, and for

number 31 males did somewhat better than females, the opposite finding to that in the early French immersion (see tables 32 and 34).

Of the remaining questions, numbers 27, 33, 34 and 36, which showed a difference of ten percent or more between the sexes, in the percentage of students giving the correct answer, in the late French immersion, a similar trend was seen in the early French immersion, for numbers 27 (students/after school), and 34 (Asterix) (see table 35). In the early French immersion also, slightly more males had the correct answer than females on numbers 27 and 34. Perhaps this finding shows a better knowledge of these topics among males. Or, in the case of number 27 (students/after school), males in Newfoundland may be more likely themselves to meet in a café after school than girls, in which case they transferred their own experience to this question. For numbers 33 (le Château Frontenac), and 36 (Concorde), the relationship between the sexes, was, in fact, the opposite in the early French immersion (see table 35).

A slightly greater difference between the sexes was found in the late French immersion than in early French immersion; a ten percent difference, in the percentage of correct answers, being found in the responses to ten questions in the former and eight in the latter (see tables 32 and 33). This finding may indicate that there is a greater difference in ability between males and females in late French immersion.

Regarding the early French immersion, males did better than females on four questions, namely 30 (les trois coups), 37 (St. John's/French), 43 (Gilles Vigneault), and 46 (Daniel Lavoie), out of the eight questions which showed a ten percent or greater difference between the sexes in the percentage of students giving the correct answer (see table 32). The same was true for responses to these questions by late French immersion students, although not always to the same extent (see table 34). As mentioned above, number 30 (les trois coups), had a low score overall, so any differences between the sexes

may not be for gender reasons. Number 37 (St. John's/French), did not show a differential in the percentage of males and females with the correct answer, in late French immersion. Questions numbering 43 (Gilles Vigneault), and 46 (Daniel Lavoie), seem to have had male empathy. For the questions on which early French immersion females did better than males, number 23 (two old ladies greeting) and number 50 (Vanessa Paradis), as mentioned above, seem to be an indication of empathy with the same sex. For number 31 (French speaking countries), and number 44 (Claude Monet), the results showed the opposite trend in the late French immersion with males doing better in both of these questions (see table 33 and table 34).

Table 33 shows questions with a difference of ten percent between the sexes, in the percentage of students giving the correct answer, in the late French immersion. Males did better than females in all of these questions except two, numbers 33 (le Château Frontenac), and 50 (Vanessa Paradis). This finding indicates again a group of knowledgeable males in late French immersion. However, females did not do better than males on question number 33 (le Château Frontenac), in the early French immersion (see table 35); and as previously mentioned, number 50 (Vanessa Paradis), seems to indicate empathy with the same sex. Of the remaining questions in this table, numbers 27, 34, 36, 40, 43, 44, 46 and 49 have been dealt with in detail above. Suffice it to say that, numbers 43 (Gilles Vigneault), and 46 (Daniel Lavoie) seem to demonstrate empathy with the same sex. Numbers 27 (students/after school), 34 (Asterix), 36 (Concorde), 40 (Guy Lafleur) and 49 (wood carving), could be considered more male-oriented topics and, indeed, females in the early French immersion scored lower as well, though less so, on these questions, except for number 36 (Concorde) (see table 35). For number 27, also, it is possible that females who gave the interesting wrong answer, "at home", were transferring what is, perhaps, their own preference to this question.

As mentioned before, the test was actually divided into three sections, although this was not evident to the students, questions numbering 21 to 30 being on behavioral culture, 31 to 40 on informational culture and 41 to 50 on achievement culture (see table 26, p.87).

The total scores for the test (maximum = 30) ranged from 8 to 27 with a mean score of 19.62 (see table 36). Only a small proportion, just over three percent of the population,

Table 36 Total Scores on the Test of Knowledge of French Culture and Percentage of Respondents with Each Score

Test score	Percent of respondents	Test score	Percent of respondents	Test score	Percent of respondents
0	0.0	10	0.0	20	15.4
1	0.0	11	.8	21	10.8
2	0.0	12	0.0	22	8.5
3	0.0	13	0.0	23	5.4
4	0.0	14	1.5	24	6.1
5	0.0	15	4.6	25	2.3
6	0.0	16	5.4	26	2.3
7	0.0	17	11.5	27	1.5
8	.8	18	14.6	28	0.0
9	0.0	19	8.5	29	0.0
				30	0.0

Valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0. Mean score = 19.62; minimum score = 8; maximum score = 27.

scored less than fifty percent. This result suggests that the French immersion students of both programs do imbibe some cultural knowledge. These scores were then broken down into a score (maximum 10) for behavioral culture (questions 21 to 30), informational culture (questions 31 to 40), and achievement culture (questions 41 to 50). The score for behavioral culture ranged from 1 to 10, with a mean score of 7.61. The score for informational culture ranged from 3 to 10, with a mean score of 7.08. The score for acheivement culture ranged from 0 to 10, with a mean score of 4.94 (see table 37, p.103). Thus, students did best on the first section, behavioral culture. This aspect of culture is the

one most needed for effective communication. Informational culture came next, and last came achievement culture.

Table 37 Scores on the Test of Knowledge of French Culture Broken Down into Scores on Behavioral, Informational and Achievement Culture, and Percentage of Respondents with Each Score

Type of Culture					
Behavioral culture		Informational culture		Achievement culture	
Test score	Percent of respondents	Test score	Percent of respondents	Test score	Percent of respondents
0	0.0	0	0.0	0	1.5
1	.8	1	0.0	1	2.3
2	0.0	2	0.0	2	3.1
3	0.0	3	.8	3	12.3
4	0.0	4	4.6	4	24.4
5	3.1	5	13.1	5	21.5
6	10.8	6	13.1	6	13.9
7	28.4	7	26.9	7	10.0
8	37.7	8	22.3	8	5.4
9	13.1	9	16.1	9	3.1
10	6.1	10	3.1	10	1.5

Behavioral culture: valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0. Mean = 7.61; minimum score = 1; maximum score = 10. Informational culture: valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0. Mean = 7.08; minimum score = 3; maximum score = 10. Achievement culture: valid cases = 130, missing cases = 0. Mean = 4.94; minimum score = 0; maximum score = 10.

These scores were then separated for the early and late French immersion programs and an ANOVA analysis carried out (see table 38, p.104). A significant difference in total score exists between early and late French immersion students, with late French immersion students having a significantly higher mean (20.84) than the early French immersion students (18.89). The late French immersion students also have a significantly higher mean (7.90) score for behavioral culture than the early French immersion students (7.43), and they also have a significantly higher mean (5.57) than the early French immersion students (4.56) for achievement culture. No significant difference between early and late

Table 38 ANOVA Subtest and Test Scores Broken Down by Early and Late French Immersion

	Mean	F	d.f.
Behavioral culture			
Early French immersion	7.43	4.23*	1, 128
Late French immersion	7.90		
Informational culture			
Early French immersion	6.90	2.86	1, 128
Late French immersion	7.37		
Achievement culture			
Early French immersion	4.56	9.04**	1, 128
Late French immersion	5.57		
Total test score			
Early French immersion	18.89	12.60**	1, 128
Late French immersion	20.84		

*p< .05. **p< .01.
Early French immersion: valid cases = 81, missing cases = 0; late French immersion: valid cases = 49, missing cases = 0. Behavioral, informational and achievement culture: maximum score = 10; total test score: maximum score = 30.

French immersion students was found in the mean score for informational culture. These findings may suggest, as mentioned before, that the students in the late French immersion program have a more accurate perception of francophone culture.

An analysis was carried out relating the subtest scores on behavioral, informational and achievement culture and the total test score, to the student's overall average, average in French and attitude to French people and their culture; and the following correlation coefficients were obtained (see table 39, p.105). A significant negative correlation was found between overall average and score on informational culture, score on achievement

Table 39 Correlation Coefficients for Subtest and Test Scores Broken Down by Overall Average, Average in French and Attitude to French People and Their Culture

	Overall average	Average in French	Attitude
Behavioral culture	- .0754	-.0194	-.1033
Informational culture	-.2471*	-.2011	-.0440
Achievement culture	-.2691*	-.2355*	-.1232
Total score	-.3134**	-.2482*	-.1376

*p< .01, two-tailed. **p< .001, two-tailed.
Valid cases = 129, missing cases = 1.

culture and total score. Average in French had a significant negative correlation with the score on achievement culture and total score. Thus, generally, the students with a lower overall average especially, and lower average in French, tended to do better on this test than students with higher averages. Borg and Gall (1983, p.434) point out that non-respondents are likely to be the less able subjects. As the less able did better on this test, it is a pity that subjects were lost due to protocol demands.

No significance was found between any of the scores on the test and the student's attitude to French people and their culture.

In sum, the immersion students did well on this test of their knowledge of French culture; only three percent of the respondents scored, overall, less than fifty percent. Over fifty percent of the students had the correct answer on all of the questions but seven. There is a difference between students in the early French immersion program and in the late French immersion program, in their knowledge of the aspects of French culture that were tested in this study. The ANOVA analysis (see table 38) shows that the difference in mean score between the early and late French immersion students is significant for the total score and the scores on behavioral culture and achievement culture, with the late French immersion scoring significantly above the early French immersion in each case. Thus there

is a difference in the amount of knowledge of French culture that the early French immersion and late French immersion students have, as shown by the significant difference in total score. There is also a difference in the type of knowledge of French culture that the two groups of students possess as shown by the significant difference between the early and late French immersion in their scores on behavioral culture and achievement culture. However, the pattern of scores on the subtests is the same for early and late French immersion students with both groups scoring from high to low in the following order: behavioral, informational, achievement culture (see table 38). Thus, the differences between early and late French immersion students in their scores on behavioral culture and achievement culture could also be just a reflection of the difference in the amount of knowledge of French culture retained by the two groups, or differences in their curricula. The difference in scores on some questions, especially number 38 (Louis XIV/orphan girls), and 41 (French-Canadian novelist/Gabrielle Roy), seemed to indicate a difference in topics covered by the early and late French immersion classes. One could argue that the early French immersion students are a less able group, if one judges by their averages (see table 16, p.71). However, a negative correlation exists between total score, and overall average and average in French (see table 39). Since the correlation is negative, students with a low average overall and a low average in French have done better on this test of French culture than the more able students. This finding supports those who advocate the inclusion of a cultural component in language courses, in order to give the linguistically less able student a sense of achievement.

There were some other interesting findings. In brief, very few late French immersion students chose to answer the French version of the questionnaire (see table 8, p.65). By contrast, more early French immersion students chose to answer the French version than the English version (see table 8). And within the early French immersion,

more females than males answered the French version (see table 9, p.66). From a close analysis of the answers chosen, it can be observed that, in some questions, students transferred their own experience to the French situation or failed to distinguish between the French culture of France and Québec. Some questions showed a gender bias. In some cases, this bias seemed to show empathy with the same sex. There was no relationship between the student's attitude towards French people and their culture and his/her score on the test or the subtests.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although much study has been done on the language skills and attitudes of French immersion students, there has been very little assessment of the students' knowledge of French culture, even though many educationalists advocate such knowledge for second language learners. Thus, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education, Program of Studies, states as one of three objectives for French immersion, "the appreciation of French language and culture" (p.184). The intention of this study was to find out if, indeed, early and late French immersion students in grade 9 in St. John's, Newfoundland, have any knowledge of French culture and, if so, how much and of what type, and a further aim was to measure differences, if any, in these areas between the students in the two programs. This study was carried out by means of a questionnaire devised by the researcher.

The questionnaire was designed in two parts, although the division was not obvious to the respondents. The first part was designed to create a profile of the respondents, and the second part was a test on French culture.

Respondents Compared to Other French Immersion Students in Canada

The profile of the respondents shows them to be fairly typical French immersion students. Nearly eighty percent had made at least one visit to a francophone community (see table 11, p.68). This involvement compares favourably with the French immersion students in New Brunswick (Lapkin and Swain, 1985, p.50). School visits were for a week or less, and so were most other visits. No correlation was found between either length of visit or type of visit for any of the students' scores on the test or subtests.

Similarly, Hart, Lapkin and Swain (1991), as mentioned above p.43, found no correlation between recentness of visit and cumulative time spent in a francophone community and the students' actual proficiency in French, but they did find a correlation between these factors and the students' self-assessment of their speaking and listening skills, their use of French outside the classroom, and the number of post-secondary courses that the students' proposed to take in French. Contact with francophones, during their time in an immersion program, has also been found to lead to more participation in French activities after graduation from high school (see MacFarlane and Wesche, 1995, above p.44). Thus, it seems that visits to a francophone community may have more effect on the students' attitude towards French and French people than on their actual knowledge of French or French culture. Since the attitude of parents has been shown to be very important in the students' achievement in French immersion programs and in their attitude towards the French language and French people (Gardner, 1973; Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Thériault, 1993; MacFarlane and Welche, 1995; Pack, 1979; Van der Kielen, 1995), it is interesting to note that family vacations accounted for a large proportion of visits, presumably indicating parental support for these French immersion students, and a positive attitude on behalf of the parents towards French people and their culture.

Like many other French immersion students, the students in this study participated very little, or not at all, in French activities outside of school. Nevertheless, the figures in this study are favorable when they are compared with those reported for other studies in Canada. Lapkin and Swain (1985) reported that nearly seventy percent of their study group never read French books or magazines outside of school, whereas in St. John's under thirty percent made this claim. Van der Kielen (1995) found that the graduates from the French immersion programs that she studied only watch French television "once in a while" if at all, whereas of the graduates studied by Hussum and Bryce (1991) over ninety

percent reported that they watch some French television regularly. The inexact time factors of "once in a while" and "regularly" are hard to compare, but just over twenty percent of students in this study reported that they watch French television at least once a week, and a further fifty percent once a month or less. Lapkin and Swain (1985, p.50) found that around fifteen percent of their respondents watched French videos, whereas in this study nine percent report watching them once a week or more and only sixty percent reported that they never watched French videos, as opposed to over eighty percent in the New Brunswick study who never watched videos. Indeed De Vries (1985) noted that many of the graduates of French immersion that she polled had never seen a French movie. However, it is not known what type of videos the students in this study were watching. Ten percent of students in this study reported that they listen to French singers once a week or more. Whether this was on discs, tapes, radio, or videos was not asked. Perhaps it is understandable that after doing French in school all day, the immersion students do not participate in French activities, but prefer contact with English, which is still their first language and associated with their own culture. But the above mentioned (p.41) survey by Hussum and Bryce (1991), indicates that they may participate in French activities to some extent after completing their high school education. So when it comes to French activities outside of school it seems that the Newfoundland respondents are as active, if not more so, than French immersion students elsewhere.

The students' assessment of their own ability in the four language skills tend to agree with those found in other studies. Overall, the numbers of students who feel that they are above average are higher for the receptive skills than the productive skills (see table 18, p.73), as was also reported in Newfoundland by Drover (1986, above p.40) and elsewhere by Swain and Lapkin (1986). The latter authors also report that early French immersion students gave higher assessements of their skills than the late French immersion

students. This was also the case in this study, except that the late French immersion students assessed their listening skills somewhat higher than the early French immersion students assessed theirs. This situation is the reverse of that reported by Lapkin and Swain (1985), where a statistically significant difference, in favour of early immersion, occurred in a listening comprehension test. The higher self-assessment by the early French immersion students of their reading comprehension ability is supported by the fact that sixty percent of them, and slightly more females than males, chose to answer the French version of the questionnaire, whereas hardly any of the late French immersion students did so (see table 7, p.65, table 8, p.65, and table 9, p.66). However, substantially less of the late French immersion students assessed their receptive skills as below average than did the early French immersion students (see table 19, p.74). This observation suggests that academically, the late French immersion students are a more homogenous group than the early French immersion students. Speaking was the skill in which the students, in both programs in this study, assessed themselves the lowest (see table 20, p.75). This assessment agrees with results obtained by immersion students on the Public Service Language Knowledge Examination (Morrison, 1985). However in another study in Newfoundland, the students had the least confidence in their writing skills (Drover, 1986). Swain (1980) pointed out that it is possible that once French immersion students have reached the point where they can be understood by their teacher and classmates, any incentive to improve to near native quality must come from interaction with native speakers. It is also to be noted that the students reported that their averages in French were lower than their overall averages (see table 16, above p.71). Lewis and Shapson (1989, p.542) found that one of the main reasons given by students for transferring out of French immersion programs was that lower marks are given for courses taught in French. The overall averages of the late French immersion students were higher than those of the early French

immersion, but not their averages in French in the eighty to one hundred percent range. This difference supports the immersion students' claim that French is marked harder in comparison with the other subjects that they are taking.

The students in both early and late French immersion programs are confident when speaking to their classmates, as has been found by other researchers (see Lapkin and Swain, 1985, and Drover, 1986, above p.40). But this confidence drops when speaking to a francophone, especially in the case of the late French immersion (see table 21, p.77). For a similar situation in other studies see Bibeau, (1991), Genesee, (1987), and Lapkin and Swain, (1985). Interestingly, males, in early French immersion, are slightly more confident than females in speaking both to their classmates and to francophones. Whereas in the late French immersion, females are more confident than males in speaking in the classroom, but males are almost twice as confident when it comes to speaking to a francophone. So female late French immersion students seem to lack confidence outside of the classroom. Day and Shapson (1988) reported that, in two districts that they studied, late French immersion students were more willing to speak French outside of school than the early French immersion students. Whether this was to francophones or each other was not reported. Nor were the students separated by gender.

Overall, about fifty percent of respondents said they would continue their French studies, or take a course in another subject that was taught in French, if they go to university. These figures are close to those reported by McGillivray (1985). However, more of the late French immersion students expressed this desire than the early French immersion students (see table 21, p.77). It would be interesting to find out if the late French immersion students are a more university-oriented group than the early, or whether the early immersion students, being more confident in their French language skills, feel that they do not need to study French further. Whereas an approximately equal number of

males and femaies in the late French immersion declared that they would take French courses if they go to university, in the early French immersion substantially more females than males made this claim (see table 22, p.78).

Ninety percent of both groups indicated that they would take a job where they sometimes had to speak in French, and this was true also for males and females in both programs. Only twenty-five percent of students in late French immersion and thirty percent of early would take a job where French only was spoken. Again, this is not unusual. Bunyon (1984, p.6) found the same figure in Ottawa. The figures, in this study, were made up of an equal number of males and females in late immersion but considerably more females than males in early immersion. On the basis of similar findings in his own study, Genesee (1978) proferred the explanation that the French immersion students' use of French is reactive rather than active. Again, in respect to speaking in French only, the early French immersion students were more confident than the late French immersion students (see table 21, p.77).

The willingness of the early French immersion students to take a job that requires that they speak French only, plus their confidence in speaking to a francophone person, but their lack of interest in university courses taught in French, seems to show that the early French immersion students' advantage is confidence in speaking rather than in the other skills. Perhaps the early French immersion shy away from courses taught in French due to the level of their reading, listening and writing skills. It may be also that the early French immersion students have been exposed to a higher level of French and therefore are more aware of the difficulties. It is possible also that the late French immersion students are a more university-oriented group. It seems that there is a group of very able, competent males in late immersion, whereas the males in the early French immersion are the least confident of all four groups by sex..

The attitude of the students in this study towards French people and their culture (see table 23, p. 83) is also fairly typical. The attitude of the early immersion students is not as positive as that expressed by the late immersion students. As has been shown in other studies of other groups (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Genesee, Polich and Stanley, 1977), the initial increased positive attitude towards French people and their culture tends to wane in both early and late French immersion students as the years in the program pass. Since the late French immersion students in this study have completed two years in the program as opposed to nine years by the early French immersion students, it is not surprising that the late French immersion students express a more positive attitude than the early. Females in both programs have a more positive attitude than males, but males in late French immersion are a lot more positive than those in early (see tables 24, p.84 and 25, p.85).

In sum, as regards the respondents' profile, it seems that the immersion students in this study are fairly typical of immersion students in Canada.

Performance on the Test of Knowledge of French Culture

In the assessment of the students' knowledge of French culture such as was assessed in this questionnaire, it was found that in grade 9, in St. John's, Newfoundland, the late French immersion students did better than the early French immersion students (see table 29, p.92 and table 37, p.103). The results for both groups were satisfying as, overall, to only seven questions did less than fifty percent of the respondents give the correct answer (see table 27, p.88). This result indicates that, although there is no overt culture syllabus in the French immersion programs, the students are picking up some knowledge of French culture. This finding supports those of Heffernan (1995).

The late French immersion students not only did better on the test overall, but also on the subtests: behavioral, informational, and achievement culture (see table 38, p.104).

These findings were statistically significant for total score, behavioral culture and achievement culture (see table 38, p.104). It is not possible to equate this difference to a difference in program, since the Program of Studies (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992-1993, p.184), mentioned above, in reference to French culture for all French immersion programs, only mentions "the appreciation of French language and culture" as one of the three objectives of the French immersion programs. However, since students in both programs participated in few French activities outside of school and had only a very limited contact with francophones, if at all, it seems that what they do know is learned in the classroom from the teacher, from materials used, or from interaction with the other students in the class, or from a mixture of all of these factors. A further investigation of these factors would perhaps reveal the source(s) of the students' cultural knowledge and what differences exist, if any, between the early and late French immersion programs. It may in fact be that there are curriculum differences which could account for this finding. As has previously been indicated, the late French immersion program is more of a second language program, and the materials used to teach French are often second-language teaching resources.

A very interesting and unexpected finding was that poorer students, to judge by their self-reported overall averages, did significantly better on the test assessing their knowledge of French culture than the more academic students (see table 39, p.105). A similar relationship was found for the students' averages in French, though the correlation was not as significant. These results raise some very interesting questions which deserve further study. Does their extra cultural knowledge facilitate communication for the less able students or conversely, does their lack of it hinder communication for the more able students? Some researchers suggest that lack of extra-linguistic knowledge may reduce students' ability or willingness to communicate with francophones (Bibeau, 1991; Carey,

1984, Genesee, 1987; Germain, 1993; MacFarlane and Wesche, 1995; Taylor and Simard, 1975). As was seen in chapter two, members of a culture have shared meanings which enable them to understand each other. Even such words as the colours can have cultural associations (see above p.22), that members of a culture subconsciously share. Or is this difference in cultural knowledge between the less able and more able students a case of the more able students gearing their knowledge to what is being tested in class? Some authors have suggested that cultural knowledge, in order to be validated, needs to be tested (LeBlanc and Courtel, 1990; Lessard-Clouston, 1992). Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that this was only a partial sample consisiting only of those students who returned their permission slip to school.

As for the subtests: behavioral, informational and achievement culture, the late French immersion students did better in all subtests than the early French immersion students. The students, in both programs alike, scored their best, on a descending order, behavioral, informational, and achievement culture. According to the theory of symbolic interaction, behavioral culture is the most important aspect in everyday communication. Indeed, some educationalists only refer to this type of culture in relation to second language learning (Bartley, 1971; Brooks, 1964). So, given the importance of behavioral culture in communication, it is pleasing to note that both groups of immersion students did their best on this section, even though, since this was a paper and pencil test, the student's recognition of the behavior only, and not his/her actual performative competence was tested. Nevertheless, a recognition of gestures and actions in the target culture is the first step towards performative competence; it reduces cultural shock and avoids misunderstandings. As was seen above p.5, a *Globe and Mail* journalist reported a common French gesture as "odd", and in doing so showed that he, the journalist, was not "at home" in the French society. Another aspect of this section was functional language.

Again it is a good sign that the French immersion students in this study have the ability to recognise colloquial language. As the tenets of functionalism show, strata exist in society, and each has its own appropriate language, witness the "tu"/"vous" distiction in French. As indicated above p.112, some researchers feel that it is a lack of this type of knowledge that makes immersion students lose their confidence in speaking when outside of the classroom, and makes them reticent to address francophones. As pointed out by Robinson (above p.22), we tend to evaluate positively people whose speech style is similar to our own, but we can be taught to appreciate the speech styles in other cultures that differ from our own. Since behavioral culture is said to be what is needed for communication, it is interesting to find that, although only three years in the program, the late French immersion students expressed themselves as willing as the early French immersion to take a job which requires that they speak in French sometimes. It is possible that in the late French immersion program, since it is more of a second language program than the early French immersion program, the teachers are more likely to point out behavioral points than in the early immersion, where the students are expected to pick up the second language in the way that they learned their maternal language. In this case, behavioral points would be expected to be picked up by the students through their own observation and role play in the manner indicated by Mead (see above p.16). But as Byram (1989) and others have pointed out, to do this in a second culture requires an ethnographic approach, which is considered to be the highest level of cultural proficiency. Since on entering early French immersion the child is already socialised into his/her own culture, it is also to be questioned whether a child can pick up a second culture in the manner in which he/she was socialised first into his/her own culture, or must a second culture be taught in a progressive manner, as has been suggested above (see pp.28-34).

This is obviously an area that requires a lot more research. But, as can be seen from the review of the literature in chapter 2, the relationship of language and culture is a very complex matter. Recently, attention has been turned to minority language children (Duquette, 1991). Perhaps this research, dealing as it does with how children deal with two languages and two cultures, will give some insights that will be helpful for the French immersion classroom. However, the important question here is why late immersion students score significantly better than their early immersion peers. Does the teacher place more emphasis on these aspects or are the students more able to notice differences of this sort? Do they place more importance on such differences? Does this finding have any relationship to the findings with respect to willingness to speak French to francophones, or to take a job where they speak French?

The scores for early and late immersion students on informational culture were not significantly different. This is everyday information that is likely to come up in conversation, and on television and radio, and in newspapers and magazines. French people, communicating as they do in a French culture, expect the person with whom they are communicating to have a certain implicit knowledge of facts of interest to their culture. If the French immersion students do not have this tacit knowledge, they may not follow the conversation, but not for linguistic reasons. As mentioned above, Lyster (1987) noticed that although his immersion students could function quite well in the classroom-setting, they had difficulty understanding French movies and novels. While the scores for students in the two programs were not significantly different, the scores of the late French immersion pupils were somewhat higher than those in the early immersion progam. It may be that this finding indicates that late immersion students do possess more informational cultural knowledge. Such a hypothesis would be consistent with the other findings of the study. This result would again suggest that the late immersion students notice and

assimilate more information about French culture. Such a result could be attributed to program differences, teacher strategies, the fact that they have only been in the program for a few years; as has been shown, the initial positive attitude of immersion students towards francophones seems to wane as the years pass (Genesee, Polich and Stanley, 1977; Lambert and Tucker, 1972).

Finally, the students scored most poorly on the section on achievement culture. In some ways, this was to be expected. Achievement culture equates with capital "C" culture, the study of which, as has been noted in chapter two, has been greatly reduced since the introduction of the audiolingual method in the '60s, and is not an overt part of the French immersion curriculum. The significant difference between the students in the two programs is of importance, since it again indicates that although the amount of knowledge is less than in the other two areas, late immersion students have significantly more such cultural knowledge than their early immersion peers. Although, as indicated above, some eduationalists do not think that this type of cultural information is important to learners of a second language for communication purposes, others, such as Lado (1964, p.10) and Hammerly (1982), believe that it should be taught as it is a part of the "folk memory" of the culture. As symbolic interaction shows, to communicate effectively one must be cognisant of the speech partner's feelings (see p.16). Surely this includes elements of his/her culture of which he/she is proud.

Researchers have noted that integrative motivation seems to encourage communication with francophones. It would be interesting to know what kind of motivation the students have, who did better on this test. The late immersion students, who overall did better, did express a more positive attitude towards French people and their culture than the early French immersion (see table 23, p.83). This difference of attitude between the students in the two programs, is the opposite to that reported by Day and

Shapson (1988). As was seen above, this difference of attitude can be attributed to length of time in the program. This finding raises two question. First of all, does a reduction in positive attitude reduce interest in the culture? Secondly, could a stronger cultural component improve attitude?

To conclude, the main research findings in this study are as follows: both the early and the late French immersion students demonstrated similar types of knowledge of French culture as tested in this study. Since both the early and the late French immersion students scored on the subtests, from high to low, in the following order: behavioral, informational, and achievement culture, both groups have relatively the same strengths in this knowledge

When it comes to the amount of knowledge, the late French immersion students scored significantly higher on behavioral and achievement culture, and even though the difference was not significant for informational culture, nevertheless, the late French immersion students had a higher mean score on this subtest also, than the early French immersion students.

These results led to a significantly higher mean score overall for the late French immersion students. Thus, of the French immersion students in grade 9, in St.John's, Newfoundland, who took part in this study, the late French immersion have a significantly better knowledge of the type of French culture that was tested in this study.

There was a strong negative correlation between the students' overall average and total score. A negative correlation also exists between the students' overall average and informational and achievement culture. So the academically less able students, as judged by their overall average, did better on this test of cultural knowledge than the more able.

The students' average in French is negatively correlated to total score and score on achievement culture. Thus, as above, the less academically able students in French have a

better knowledge of the types of French culture tested in this study. Since only sixty-five percent of the population was tested, it is hard to explain these negative correlations. The academically poorer students in this study may not be the academically poorer students *per se* if, as Borg and Gall (1983) state, non-respondents are usually the weaker students. One would expect good students to do well on the test. But, it is possible that, since this knowledge is not being validated by being tested in class, the better students do not pay much attention to it, gearing themselves to what is tested.

While no correlation was found between the student's professed attitude towards French people and their culture and his/her score on the test, or subtests, the late French immersion students professed a more positive attitude towards French people and their culture. So, although this finding is not statistically significant, it may show that a knowledge of French culture improves the student's attitude towards French people and their culture, which has been expressed by many as a declared aim of the immersion program. It may also be that a more positive attitude increases interest in the culture.

Gender Differences

Most research-projects on French immersion programs do not divide the students by gender, yet it is known that there are gender-differences in language learning. This study split by gender early and late French immersion students to see if any findings could be related to gender. It was noted that some questions did seem to have a gender-bias and that this bias was in favour of empathy with the same sex. Gender-bias is an aspect which obviously needs to be considered in any materials that are used to teach French culture. Some other interesting gender differences were found in the students' expressed confidence in using French in different situations (see table 22, p.78).

Finally, hardly any of the late French immersion students answered the French version of the questionnaire but a sizeable number of the early French immersion students did, although among this group were more females than males.

Suggestions for Further Research

These findings suggest the need for some further research. A number of questions would bear investigation. Does the knowledge of French culture, such as these students are shown to possess, affect their performative ability to communicate in French? Is the lack of a more complete knowledge of French culture the explanation why the students' use of French tends to be reactive? Why do the less able students do better on the test of French culture than the more academic students? Is this due to cultural information not being remembered by more able students because it is not validated by testing? And should a more structured cultural-element be included in the program and tested, in order to give the less able students credit for the cultural knowledge which they have? What is the relationship between cultural knowledge and the positive attitude towards French people and their culture? What are the reasons for the higher test scores of the late immersion students?

Recommendations

Given the significant difference in test scores in favour of the late immersion students, it can be recommended that the cultural part of the early and late French immersion programs be looked at more closely. It would appear that there are advantages to introducing a more definite syllabus, as recommended by MacLeod (1976), over the present practice of leaving to the teacher the choice of cultural topics. A more defined syllabus would help all students to be systematically acculturized to the second-language culture. The syllabus should be geared to the students' age and to the students' level of socialisation into their maternal culture. For instance, cultural topics that the early French

immersion students cover at an early age can both be reviewed by them at a more mature level and introduced to the late French immersion students at a level suitable for them, in the junior and senior high schools. As has been suggested in several syllabi that have been proposed, repetition according to the students' age and maturity is necessary to deal with the affective aspects of topics, such as values, differences between cultures, and reflections on one's own culture (Allen, 1985); the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (1985); Buttjes (1972); Byram (1989); Keller (1983) and others; see above pp.32-34). A culture-syllabus also has the advantage that it could help sensitize teachers to the systematic acculturization that should ideally accompany French second language-teaching.

The addition of an overt cultural syllabus to the French immersion program would likely enhance the expressed goals of the program, "the appreciation of French culture" (The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education, Program of Studies, 1992-93, p.184) and would contribute to the development of an additive culture experience for students in these programs.

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APPENDIX A

TO THE STUDENT:

(1) Your answers to this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential. Neither your name nor your school appears on this questionnaire and no student or school will be identified. However, it is *very important* that you give your best and honest answers in #1-50, and that you give your own ideas in #51-54. Your input will help us improve French immersion programs. Thank you.

(2) This questionnaire is written in both English and French. Please answer **EITHER** the English version **OR** the French version, as you prefer.

(3) THE ENGLISH VERSION follows this letter. Please turn over the whole questionnaire to find the beginning of the French version.

QUESTIONNAIRE

In all sections that follow, please circle the appropriate response.

For example : St. John's is the provincial capital of

A Québec
B Manitoba
(C) Newfoundland and Labrador
D Alaska

Please read carefully, and answer ALL questions:

1. Are you

A male
B female

2. How old will you be on December 31,1993 ?

A 14
B 15
C 16
D other (please say : _____)

3. Are you in

A early immersion
B late immersion

4. How many years have you **completed**, learning French in a **core** French program ?

A 0
B 1 - 2
C 3
D 4 or more

5. How many years have you **completed**, learning French in an **early immersion** program ?

A 0
B 1 - 4
C 5 - 7
D 8
E 9
F other (please say : _____)

6. How many years have you **completed**, learning French in a **late immersion** program?

A 0
B 1
C 2
D more than 2

7. On average, how often do you watch **French** television outside of school ?

A more than once a week
B once a week
C once a month
D once every few months
E never

Please turn over. (P.T.O.)

8. On average, how often do you watch **French** videos outside of school ?

A more than once a week
B once a week
C once a month
D once every few months
E never

9. On average, how often do you listen to cassettes or records of **French** singers outside of school ?

A more than once a week
B once a week
C once a month
D once every few months
E never

10. On average, how often do you read **French** books, magazines, or newspapers outside of school ?

A more than once a week
B once a week
C once a month
D once every few months
E never

11. Have you ever stayed in places (e.g. Québec) where **French** is the main language spoken ?

A yes
B no

12.If you answered yes to # 11, please tick the appropriate boxes for each visit you have made.

VISIT #	LENGTH OF STAY					TYPE OF VISIT			
	more than 1 year	between 7 mths and 1 yr	between 1 and 6 months	8 days to 1 month	1 - 7 days	family vacation	school trip	parent working	other please say
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									

13. What was your overall average in June 1992 ? (Circle one only.)

A 85 -100%
B 80 - 84%
C 75 - 79%
D 70 - 74%
E 60 - 69%
F 50 - 59%
G below 50%

14. What was your overall average in **French** in June 1992 ? (Circle one only.)

A 85 -100%
B 80 - 84%
C 75 - 79%
D 70 - 74%
E 60 - 69%
F 50 - 59%
G below 50%

15. As compared to other students in your class, for **reading** French do you consider yourself

A below average
B average
C above average
D well above average

16. As compared to other students in your class, for **writing** French do you consider yourself

A below average
B average
C above average
D well above average

17. As compared to other students in your class, for **listening to** and **understanding** spoken French do you consider yourself

A below average
B average
C above average
D well above average

18. As compared to other students in your class, for **speaking** French do you consider yourself

A below average
B average
C above average
D well above average

19. Please circle as many of the following statements that apply to you
    - A I feel confident speaking French to my classmates.
    - B I feel confident speaking to a francophone person.
    - C If I go to university I will certainly take French courses.
    - D I would feel confident taking courses at university that are taught in French.
    - E I would feel confident taking a job that required that I speak in French sometimes.
    - F I would feel confident taking a job that required that I speak in French only.

20. Would you say **your** attitude towards French people and their culture is
    - A one of great admiration
    - B one of admiration
    - C one of toleration
    - D one of dislike

21. A Frenchman is looking at a painting. He pinches the fingers and thumb of his right hand together, lifts them to his lips and kisses them, sending the kiss off into the air. Is this a sign that he thinks that the picture is
    - A wonderful
    - B awful
    - C rude
    - D strange

22. The goalkeeper in a game of soccer misses the ball and his opponents score. Which of the following would he be most likely to say in these circumstances?
    - A formidable!
    - B mais si !
    - C ah zut !
    - D extraordinaire !

23. Two old ladies who are good friends meet in the street in Paris. Which way would they be most likely to greet each other ?
    - A shake hands while saying hello
    - B say hello
    - C kiss each other on the cheek while saying hello
    - D wave as they pass each other

24. If a French girl says " J'en ai marre", is she
    - A happy
    - B sad
    - C cold
    - D fed up

25. Le souper is
    A the evening meal in Québec
    B the title of a French song
    C a French drink
    D a French soup

26. To which faith do most people in the province of Québec belong ?
    A Protestant
    B Sikh
    C Buddhist
    D Catholic

27. In France, senior high school students would meet most often after school
    A in each other's houses
    B in cafes
    C in sports stadiums
    D in libraries

28. A French child breaks off some bread with his fingers and uses it to mop up the gravy on his plate and then eats it. Would his mother think
    A he should be punished
    B it is normal
    C he is sick
    D he has picked up a bad habit

29. "La fin de semaine" is
    A a movie title
    B the name given to Saturday and Sunday in France
    C the name given to Saturday and Sunday in Québec
    D the name of a pop group

30. The audience in France knows, in a theatre, when a performance is about to begin because
    A a bell rings
    B the producer comes on stage and tells them to be quiet
    C music starts to play
    D there are 3 knocks on the floor behind the curtain

31. In how many countries of the world do you think that French is spoken either as the maternal language or as an official language ?
    A 1 - 5
    B 6 -10
    C 11 - 20
    D more than 20

32. Which of the following towns is in the province of Québec ?
    A St. Boniface
    B Lyons
    C Trois-Rivières
    D Souris

33. Le Château Frontenac is in
    A Ottawa
    B Québec City
    C Marseille
    D Paris

34. Asterix is
    A a pop singer
    B a President of France
    C a cartoon character
    D a movie star

35. Le Tour Eiffel is in
    A Montréal
    B Geneva
    C Marseille
    D Paris

36. Concorde is
    A a French make of cars
    B a very fast airplane
    C a French singer
    D a French writer

37. St. John's, Newfoundland, was
    A ruled by the French for short periods of time
    B never ruled by the French
    C never ruled by the English
    D always ruled by the English

38. King Louis 14th of France sent orphan girls to Québec
    A to help fight in a war
    B to provide wives for the men because there were so few women there
    C so that French would be spoken there
    D because there was no room for them in France

39. René Lévesque was
    A prime minister of Canada
    B a famous actor
    C premier of Québec
    D premier of New Brunswick

40. Guy Lafleur is famous as
    A a painter
    B a hockey-player
    C a politician
    D a musician

41. Who of the following is a French-Canadian novelist ?
    A Gabrielle Roy
    B Simone de Beauvoir
    C Alain Delon
    D Françoise Sagan

42. *Les Misérables* was written by
    A Émile Zola
    B Albert Camus
    C Honoré de Balzac
    D Victor Hugo

43. Gilles Vigneault is a song writer and singer from
    A France
    B Québec
    C French Africa
    D Martinique

44. Claude Monet is famous as
    A an actor
    B a musician
    C a painter
    D a dancer

45. Who of the following is a French composer ?
    A Verdi
    B Handel
    C Bizet
    D Sibelius

46. Who of the following is a modern popular French Canadian singer ?
    A Daniel Lavoie
    B Yves Montand
    C Edith Piaf
    D Charles Trenet

47. Who of the following is famous for writing such plays as *Le Malade imaginaire* ?
    A Montesquieu
    B Rabelais
    C Molière
    D Montaigne

48. In which Canadian city is the annual International Jazz Festival held ?
    A Ottawa
    B Québec
    C St. Boniface
    D Montréal

49. Which of the following is a well known French Canadian handicraft ?

A wood carving
B glass blowing
C making jewellery
D stone carving

50. Who of the following is a famous pop singer from France ?

A Jean Gabin
B Vanessa Paradis
C Alain Delon
D Catherine Deneuve

Please write your own views / opinions in response to numbers 51-54:

51. What do you understand by French culture ?

52. Is it important to you or not to know about French culture ?

53. Do you think a knowledge of French culture is important or not for you to learn French?Why ?

54. Please add anything you would like to.

APPENDIX B

À L'ETUDIANT:

(1) Tes réponses à ce questionnaire seront considerées comme strictement confidentielles. Ni ton nom ni ton école ne sont écrits sur ce questionnaire. Donc ni l'étudiant ni l'école ne seront identifiés. Comme même, il est *très important* que tu donnes tes meilleures réponses aux questions #1-50 et que tu nous donnes tes opinions franches sur les questions #51-54. Tes efforts nous aideront à améliorer les programmes d'immersion française. Merci.

(2) Ce questionnaire s'écrit en anglais et français. S'il te plaît, réponds **SOIT** à la version anglaise **SOIT** à la version française, comme tu veux.

(3) LA VERSION FRANÇAISE commence après cette lettre. Pour trouver le commencement de la version anglaise, renverser tout le questionnaire, s'il te plaît.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dans toutes les sections qui suivent, entoure d'un cercle la bonne réponse, s'il te plaît.

Par exemple : St. Jean est la capitale provinciale de

A Québec
B Manitoba
(C) Terre-Neuve et Labrador
D Alaska

S'il te plaît, lis avec attention, et réponds à TOUTES les questions:

1. Es-tu

A masculin
B féminin

2. Quel âge auras-tu, le 31 décembre 1993?

A 14
B 15
C 16
D autre (dis-le-moi, s'il te plaît: _____)

3. Es-tu dans un programme d'

A immersion longue
B immersion courte

4. Depuis combien d'années **entières** apprends-tu le français dans un programme de français de **base**?

A 0
B 1-2
C 3
D plus de 4

5. Depuis combien d'années **entières** apprends-tu le français dans un programme d'immersion **longue**?

A 0
B 1- 4
C 5 - 7
D 8
E 9
F autre (dis-le-moi, s'il te plaît: _____)

6. Depuis combien d'années **entières** apprends-tu le français dans un programme d'immersion **courte**?

A 0
B 1
C 2
D plus de 2

7. En moyenne, en dehors de l'école, tu regardes la télévision **française**

A plus d'une fois par semaine
B une fois par semaine
C une fois par mois
D moins d'une fois par mois
E jamais

Tournez s'il vous plaît. (T.S.V.P.)

8. En moyenne, en dehors de l'école, tu regardes les vidéos **françaises**
   A plus d'une fois par semaine
   B une fois par semaine
   C une fois par mois
   D moins d'une fois par mois
   E jamais

9. En moyenne, en dehors de l'école, tu écoutes les cassettes ou les disques des chanteurs **français**
   A plus d'une fois par semaine
   B une fois par semaine
   C une fois par mois
   D moins d'une fois par mois
   E jamais

10. En moyenne, en dehors de l'école, tu lis les livres **français**,les revues **françaises**, ou les journaux **français**
   A plus d'une fois par semaine
   B une fois par semaine
   C une fois par mois
   D moins d'une fois par mois
   E jamais

11. As-tu jamais demeuré dans un endroit où le **français** est la langue principale (comme au Québec par exemple) ?
   A oui
   B non

12. Si tu as répondu oui au numéro 11, coches s'il te plaît les cases appropriées dans le schéma qui suit :

VOYAGE #	DURÉE DU SÉJOUR					SORTE DU SÉJOUR			
	plus d'une année	entre 7 mois et 1 an	entre 1 et 6 mois	entre 8 jours et 1 mois	1 - 7 jours	vacance en famille	un voyage avec l'école	vos parents y travaillaient	autre... dis-moi
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									

13. Quelle a été ta moyenne générale en juin 1992? (Entoures d'un cercle une seule réponse):
    A 85%-100%
    B 80%-84%
    C 75%-79%
    D 70%-74%
    E 60%-69%
    F 50%-59%
    G moins de 50%

14. Quelle a été ta moyenne en **français** en juin 1992? (Entoures d'un cercle une seule réponse):
    A 85%-100%
    B 80%-84%
    C 75%-79%
    D 70%-74%
    E 60%-69%
    F 50%-59%
    G moins de 50%

15. En comparaison d' autres étudiants de ta classe, est-ce que tu te considères que tu sais **lire** le français
    A au-dessous de la moyenne
    B moyen
    C au-dessus de la moyenne
    D bien au-dessus de la moyenne

16. En comparaison d' autres étudiants de ta classe, est-ce que tu te considères que tu sais **écrire** le français
    A au-dessous de la moyenne
    B moyen
    C au-dessus de la moyenne
    D bien au-dessus de la moyenne

17. En comparaison d' autres étudiants de ta classe est-ce que tu te considères que ta **compréhension** du français oral est
    A au-dessous de la moyenne
    B moyen
    C au-dessus de la moyenne
    D bien au-dessus de la moyenne

18. En comparaison des autres étudiants de ta classe, est-ce que tu te considères que tu sais **parler** le français
    A au-dessous de la moyenne
    B moyen
    C au-dessus de la moyenne
    D bien au-dessus de la moyenne

19. Entoures d'un cercle, s'il te plaît, autant de déclarations qui conviennent:
    A J'ai confiance en moi-même quand je parle français avec mes copains dans ma classe.
    B J'ai confiance en moi-même quand je parle français avec une personne française.
    C Si je vais à l'université, je prendrai certainement des cours de français.
    D J'aurais assez de confiance pour prendre des cours à l'université, faits entièrement en français.
    E J'aurais assez de confiance pour chercher un poste où il serait nécessaire de parler en français.
    F J'aurais assez de confiance pour chercher un poste où je ne parlerais qu'en français.

20. **Ton** attitude envers les Français et leur culture est,
    A je les admire beaucoup
    B je les admire
    C je les tolère
    D je ne les aime pas

21. Un homme français regarde une peinture.Il presse les extrémités de son doigt et son pouce, l'un contre l'autre, il les lève aux lèvres et il les donne un baiser, et il envoie le baiser en air. D'après ce geste l'homme trouve cette peinture
    A merveilleuse
    B terrible
    C indécente
    D bizarre

22. Dans un jeu de football, le gardien de but rate le bal et son adversaire marque.Dans une telle situation, l'expression le gardien de but va se servir, c'est .....
    A formidable!
    B mais si!
    C ah zut!
    D extraordinaire!

23. Deux vielles dames, qui sont bonnes amies, se rencontrent dans la rue.Elles veulent se saluer.Quel geste feront-elles ?
    A elles se serrent la main pendant qu'elles disent "bonjour"
    B elles disent "bonjour"
    C elles s'embrassent sur la joue pendant qu'elles disent "bonjour"
    D elles font signe de la main pendant qu'elles se passent

24. Si une fille française dit, "j'en ai marre",
    A elle est heureuse
    B elle est triste
    C elle a froid
    D elle s'ennuie

25. Le souper, c'est
   A le repas du soir au Québec
   B le titre d'une chanson française
   C une boisson française
   D un potage français

26. La plupart des gens du Québec pratiquent quelle foi ?
   A protestant
   B sikh
   C bouddhiste
   D catholique

27. En France, les lycéens se retrouvent le plus souvent
   A chez eux
   B dans les cafés
   C dans les stades sportifs
   D dans les bibliothèques

28. Un enfant français rompt son pain avec les doigts et l'utilise pour éponger la sauce de viande sur son assiette; puis il mange le pain.Sa mère pensera qu'
   A il doit être puni
   B c'est normale
   C il est malade
   D il a contracté une mauvaise habitude

29. "La fin de semaine" est
   A un film de cinéma
   B le nom pour le samedi et le dimanche en France
   C le nom pour samedi et le dimanche au Québec
   D le nom d'un bande pop

30. En France, les spectateurs au théâtre savent que le spectacle va commencer quand
   A une clochette est sonnée
   B le metteur en scène vient sur scène et il leur demande de se taire
   C on commence à jouer de la musique
   D il y a trois coups sur le plancher derrière le rideau

31. Dans combien de pays du monde, penses-tu que le français est la langue maternelle ou une langue officielle ?
   A 1-5
   B 6-10
   C 11-12
   D plus de 20

32. Laquelle des villes qui suivent se trouve dans la province du Québec?
   A St.Boniface
   B Lyons
   C Trois-Rivières
   D Souris

33. Le Château Frontenac se trouve à
    A Ottawa
    B La ville de Québec
    C Marseille
    D Paris

34. Astérix, c'est
    A un chanteur populaire
    B un Président de la France
    C un personnage de la bande dessinée
    D une vedette du cinéma

35. Le tour Eiffel se trouve à
    A Montréal
    B Genève
    C Marseille
    D Paris

36. La Concorde, c'est
    A une voiture française
    B un avion qui vole très vite
    C un chanteur français
    D un écrivain français

37. St. Jean, Terre Neuve
    A est gouverné par les français pendant quelques périodes brèves
    B n'est jamais gouverné par les français
    C n'est jamais gouverné par les anglais
    D est toujours gouverné par les anglais

38. Le roi Louis XIV de France a envoyé des orphelines au Québec
    A pour qu'elles combattent dans les batailles
    B pour devenir épouses, parce qu'il n'y avait pas beaucoup de femmes au Québec
    C pour qu'elles y parlent français
    D parce qu'il n'y avait pas de place pour elles en France

39. René Lévesque était
    A le Premier Ministre du Canada
    B un acteur fameux
    C le Premier Ministre du Québec
    D le Premier Ministre du Nouveau-Brunswick

40. Guy Lafleur est fameux comme
    A peintre
    B joueur de hockey
    C homme politique
    D musicien

41. Laquelle des personnes qui suivent est un romancier/une romancière d'origine canadienne française ?

A Gabrielle Roy
B Simon de Beauvoir
C Alain Delon
D Françoise Sagan

42. Qui a écrit *Les Misérables* ?

A Émile Zola
B Albert Camus
C Honoré de Balzac
D Victor Hugo

43. Gilles Vigneault est un chansonnier qui vient

A de France
B du Québec
C de l'Afrique française
D de Martinique

44. Claude Monet est fameux comme

A acteur
B musicien
C peintre
D danseur

45. Laquelle des personnages qui suivent est un compositeur français ?

A Verdi
B Handel
C Bizet
D Sibelius

46. Laquelle des personnes suivantes est aujourd'hui un chanteur populaire d'origine canadienne française ?

A Daniel Lavoie
B Yves Montand
C Edith Piaf
D Charles Trenet

47. Laquelle des personnes suivantes a écrit des pièces célèbres telles que *Le Malade imaginaire* ?

A Montesquieu
B Rabelais
C Molière
D Montaigne

48. Le Festival annuel du Jazz a lieu dans quelle ville canadienne ?

A Ottawa
B Québec
C St. Boniface
D Montréal

49. Les artisans canadiens français sont réputés pour quel travail ?

A la sculpture sur bois
B le soufflage du verre
C la fabrication des bijoux
D la sculpture sur pierre

50. Laquelle des personnes qui suivent est actuellement un chanteur populaire en France ?

A Jean Gabin
B Vanessa Paradis
C Alain Delon
D Catherine Deneuve

Exprime tes propres opinions dans les numéros 51-54:

51. Qu'est-ce que tu comprends par les mots, la culture française ?

52. Est-ce que il t'est important ou non d'avoir une bonne connaisance de la culture française ?

53. Est-ce que tu penses qu'une bonne connaisance de la culture française pourrait t'aider à apprendre le français ? Pourquoi ?

54. D'autres remarques ? (Ajoute ce que tu voudrais.)

APPENDIX C

LIST OF EVALUATIONS CONDUCTED ON FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAMS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Netten, Joan E., Gleason, T.P., Heffernan, P., Prince, M.A., and Koski, G.R. (1976). ***An Evaluation Report of the Port au Port Immersion Project Kindergarten Year 1975-1976 in Cape St. George, Newfoundland.*** Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E., Spain, William H., and Heffernan, Peter J. (1977). ***An Evaluation Report of the Port au Port Immersion Project for the Year 1976-1977 in Cape St. George, Newfoundland.*** Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Port au Port Roman Catholic School Board, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E., Spain, William H., and Heffernan, Peter J. (1978). ***An Evaluation Report of the Port au Port Immersion Project for the Year 1977-1978 in Cape St. George, Newfoundland.*** Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Port au Port Roman Catholic School Board.

Spain, William H.and Netten, Joan E. (1978). ***An Evaluation of Some Aspects of the French Bilingual Education Programme Conducted by the St. John's Roman Catholic School Board (1977-1978).*** Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E., Spain, William H. (1979). ***An Evaluation of Some Aspects of French Bilingual Education Programme Conducted by the St. John's Roman***

Catholic School Board 1978-1979. A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Roman Catholic School Board for St.John's, St.John's, Newfoundland.

Spain, William H.and Netten, Joan E. (1980). ***An Evaluation of the Avalon Consolidated School Board Late Immersion Project in Bilingual Education: 1979-1980.*** A joint publication of the

Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Avalon Consolidated School Board, St.John's, Newfoundland.

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Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1982). *An Evaluation of the Port au Port French Immersion Project at Cape St. George, Newfoundland, 1980-1981.* Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Port au Port Roman Catholic School Board, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1982). *An Evaluation of the French Bilingual Project of the St. John's Roman Catholic School Board,1980-1981.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Roman Catholic School Board for St.John's, S.John's, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E., and Spain, William H. (1982). *An Evaluation Study of the Avalon Consolidated School Board Late Immersion Project in Bilingual Education: 1980-1981.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Avalon Consolidated School Board, St.John's, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1983). *An Evaluation of the Port au Port French Immersion Project at Cape St. George, 1981-1982.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Port au Port Roman Catholic School Board, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E., Spain, William H. and Pike, Catherine E. (1983). *An Evaluation Study of the Labrador City Bilingual Education Project 1981-1982.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Roman Catholic School Board for Labrador, Labrador City.

Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1983). *An Evaluation of the French Bilingual Project of the St. John's Roman Catholic School Board: 1981-1982.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Roman Catholic School Board for St.John's, S.John's, Newfoundland.

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Netten, Joan E., and Spain, William H. (1984). *An Evaluation of the Terra Nova Integrated School Board Early Immersion Project in Bilingual Education: 1982-1983.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Terra Nova Integrated School Board, Gander, Newfoundland.

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Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1984). *An Evaluation of the Labrador City French Immersion Project 1982-1983.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Labrador Roman Catholic School Board for Labrador, Labrador.

Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1984). *An Evaluation of the Humber St.Barbe Roman Catholic School Board Early Immersion Project in Bilingual Education: 1982-1983.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Humber St. Barbe Roman Catholic School Board, Corner Brook, Newfoundland.

Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1984). *An Evaluation of French Immersion Projects in the Province of Newfoundland for the School Year 1982-1983.* St. John's Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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Netten, Joan E., and Spain, William H. (1985). *An Evaluation of the Terra Nova Integrated School Board Early Immersion Project: 1982-1983.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Terra Nova Integrated School Board.

Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1985). *An Evaluation of the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic Early Immersion Project: Kindergarten to Grate VI 1983-1984.* A joint publication of the Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic School Board, Stephenville, Newfoundland.

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Netten, Joan E. and Spain, William H. (1986). *French Immersion in Newfoundland and Labrador: Kindergarten Performance on the French Comprehension Test and the Canadian Cognitive Abilities Test.* St. John's. Institute for Educational Research and Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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APPENDIX D

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Faculty Committee for Ethical Review of Research Involving Human Subjects

Certificate of Approval

Investigator: Ms. Vivien Clark

Investigator's Workplace: Faculty of Education, MUN

Supervisor: Mrs. Joan Netten

Title of Research: "Investigation of how much knowledge of certain aspects of French Culture is acquired by Grade 9 French immersion students in the French Immersion programme in Newfoundland"

Approval Date: Feb. 15, 1993

The Ethics Review Committee has reviewed the protocol and procedures as described in this research proposal and we conclude that they conform to the University's guidelines for research involving human subjects.

Walter C. Okshevsky

Dr. Walter Okshevsky
Chairperson
Ethics Review Committee

Members: Dr. Ron Lehr
Dr. Walter Okshevsky
Dr. Dennis Sharpe
Dr. Amarjit Singh
Dr. Patricia Canning

APPENDIX E

The Avalon Consolidated School Board
P.O. BOX 1980, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND A1C 5R5
TELEPHONE (709) 754-0710 FAX (709) 754-0122

January 19, 1993

Ms. Vivien F. Clark
10 Appledore Place
St. John's, NF
A1B 2W9

Dear Ms. Clark;

I hereby grant you permission to administer a questionnaire on French Culture to grade 9 classes of early and late French Immersion at Macpherson Junior High School and MacDonald Drive Junior High School in accordance with your letter of request dated December 4, 1992.

I would request that you respect the wishes of the principals and teachers at both school.

May I wish you every success in your research and your thesis.

Sincerely,

Fred B. Rowe,
Assistant Superintendent

FBR/lg.

APPENDIX F

TELEPHONE 753-8530

FAX (709) 753-8407

Roman Catholic School Board for St. John's

BELVEDERE
BONAVENTURE AVENUE
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND
A1C 3Z4

1992 12 17

Ms. Vivien F. Clark
10 Appledore Place
St. John's
Newfoundland
A1B 2W9

Dear Ms. Clark,

Permission has been granted for you to conduct research at Holy Heart of Mary High School. I have contacted the principal, Mr. Reg Farrell, and he is willing to accommodate your request.

Yours truly,

Geraldine Roe
Associate Superintendent
Curriculum/Instruction

/msc

APPENDIX G

Faculty of Education,
Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Dear Parent or Guardian,

I am undertaking a study of knowledge of French culture of students in French immersion programs in Newfoundland,for my Master's thesis in Education at M.U.N..

Students will be given a questionnaire to investigate the type of knowledge of French culture possessed by students in this program.The aim is to study the French immersion program and the results will not identify any individual student or school. I would appreciate your son's / daughter's help, as it is beneficial to find out what the program is acheiving in this aspect of education.

I hope that you will be willing to allow your son / daughter to answer this questionnaire.

Thanking you most sincerely for your time in reading this request and for your care in giving your approval.

Vivien F. Clark, B.Sc.(Hons.)

Please sign approval here. . . _____ for _____
name of student
and ask your son / daughter to return this note to his / her school teacher. Thank you.