

Attitudes to and Impact of French Immersion

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There is strong pedagogical evidence that French immersion works. However, its very success and resulting popularity have lowered demand for English programs. This study of attitudes to French language teaching in anglophone schools, and of enrolment patterns in them, is based on a 1985 investigation of a medium-sized school board in an Anglophone region of southern Ontario. The data on attitudes come from nearly 100 interviews with teachers, principals, and school board officials, and 500 extended questionnaire replies from parents of students in French immersion and in English programs. School board records provided data on enrolment patterns.

De nombreuses données pédagogiques semblent indiquer que l'immersion en français est une méthode efficace. Son succès et, par conséquent, la faveur qu'elle remporte entraînent une diminution de la demande en regard des programmes dispensés en anglais. La présente étude sur les attitudes envers l'enseignement en français dans des écoles anglophones et des effectifs dans ces écoles repose sur un sondage mené en 1985 auprès d'une commission scolaire de taille moyenne dans une région anglophone du sud de l'Ontario. Les données sur les attitudes proviennent de près de 100 entrevues avec des professeurs, des directeurs d'école et des commissaires d'école et de 500 questionnaires remplis par des parents des élèves inscrits dans des programmes d'immersion en français et des programmes dispensés en anglais. Les dossiers de la commission scolaire ont fourni les données sur les effectifs scolaires.

To judge by British Columbia experience, English programs lose enrolment to immersion in about one third of schools, especially in less urbanized areas. This leads teachers, principals and parents who support immersion in principle to ask whether it is practically desirable. In a study of one school district, a relationship between negative attitudes and local enrolment loss in the English program was found among teachers, but not among parents or principals.

The education of bilingual citizens through French immersion schooling is increasingly controversial. As originally conceived some 15 or 20 years ago, the idea was applauded as a partial solution to Canada's language problems. The creation of a large Anglophone bilingual community through immersion education would lead to more positive attitudes toward the French

language not only among graduates of the program but also among the general Anglophone population. The federal government intends to encourage bilingualism; negative reaction to immersion, because of its impact on English programming, would be counterproductive.

Anglophone Canadians disagree how important it is to know French, and this explains their varying attitudes to French language education. Someone pursuing a career in the Federal civil service will think that bilingualism is almost mandatory. On the other hand, there are a great many careers for which French is not now and probably never will be necessary. Clift (1984) goes so far as to state that although federal language policies embody the self-interest of bilinguals, unilinguals have a vested interest in minimizing the importance of bilingualism. Clearly, no single attitude prevails.

There is strong pedagogical evidence that immersion provides a workable route to bilingualism. Its very success and popularity, however, have caused problems by lowering demand for English programs, as students across Canada have switched to French immersion. In its national survey of Canadian school boards, the Canadian Education Association (1983) reported that about one-half of responding boards had problems with staffing, teacher layoffs, and community opposition in the first years of the program. Other major difficulties included provision of full English programs in schools with reduced enrolment, financing of transportation for immersion students, and location of immersion programs to minimize damage to community schools. Solutions to these problems have included the opening of immersion in a later grade (Sainte Croix and Lakeshore, both in Quebec) and provision of staff beyond normal levels (Waterloo). The CEA also reported some school districts tried to reduce demand for immersion by strengthening core programs. McGillivray (1979, 1984) suggested, as a rule of thumb, that immersion in a school with fewer than 50 students per grade will cause difficulties in the English program, including split classes and dislocated teachers.

In what follows, we have used these terms:

Immersion Program: an optional program of instruction in French for Anglophone students;

English Program: a program of instruction in English for Anglophone students, including some instruction in French as a subject;

Core French: the mandatory French-as-a-subject taught in the English program;

Impact of Immersion: loss of English program teaching staff due to loss to French immersion of students living in the school's catchment area; in this context, we have divided schools into those *affected* by immersion and those *unaffected* (details appear below);

French per se. French as a national language and a subject for study in the school system. This term is used in comparing the attitudes of people to the study of French independent of their attitudes to study through immersion.

The data reported here come from a larger study conducted for a medium-sized school board in an Anglophone region of southern Ontario in 1985 (Nagy & Klaiman, 1985). The larger study considered appropriate starting grades for French, both immersion and core, locations of the immersion program, impact on the English programs, provision of resources and transportation, and financial aspects of French education under the Federal incentive grant structure as implemented by Ontario at that time. The full project included interviews, public meetings, receipt of briefs and letters, and analysis of financial and demographic records. The present discussion examines immersion aspects of the study, particularly principals', teachers' and parents' attitudes to immersion, and relations between those attitudes and enrolment lost from English to immersion programs at the local level.

Some might question why loss of teaching positions is a problem if an English program has lost students to an immersion program; after all, fewer students ought to require fewer teachers. An example may demonstrate the nature of the problem. Consider a K-6 school with an average class size of 28 and no split classes. The school staff consists of home-room teachers and a couple of full-time equivalents (FTEs) who provide some of the subjects which require special skills (e.g., music and physical education) and free the principal from teaching for administrative duties. If this school loses four students from each grade to the immersion program, according to staffing systems typically used by school districts, the school loses one teacher. Despite the loss of a significant number of students, however, nothing in the school program has been made less necessary. The principal faces a choice: to form split grades (and the numbers in our example make this awkward) to keep the same degree of specialist support, or to leave classes as they are and provide fewer staff for special subjects and principal's release.

We have defined impact as loss of teachers, and have not investigated how individual schools have adjusted to such losses. One school with flexible staff might readily adjust programs to deal with fewer numbers, and another might not. Although we do not investigate such adjustment, our data suggest that the impact is no less real.

Ours is a sample of convenience in that the data were obtained in one school district in southern Ontario. We examine attitudes to French immersion in this setting. We describe as best we can the characteristics of the region under investigation and allow the reader to decide on generalizability to other jurisdictions.

The School District

The school district in which this study took place consists of some 21,000 students in 56 schools, including 9 high schools. One small city and several

TABLE 1
*Summary of Demographic Information for
 the Four Areas of the District*

<i>Location</i>	<i>Population Base</i>	<i>Immersion Enrolment</i>	<i>Enrolment Trend</i>	<i>Total Number of Elementary Schools</i>
City	75,000	13%	slow to moderate growth	25
Town	20,000	15%	slow to moderate growth	8
Rural	20,000	5%	fragile	10
Exurban	10,000	17%	rapid growth approaching 40%	4

major towns fall within district boundaries. At one end, the district borders on a major metropolitan area and contains many exurban commuters. At the other end, it is quite rural. Table 1 summarizes relevant demographic information, and defines the four geographical areas into which the district may be conveniently divided for discussion. These four regions, referred to as *city*, *town*, *rural*, and *exurban*, each contain one high school immersion program and associated feeder school programs.

At the time of the study, immersion began in kindergarten and core French in grade 6. There had been much public debate whether immersion should begin in kindergarten or grade 4.

The 12 sites which offer immersion in various grades are dual-track schools, that is, each immersion site also offers the English program. Each region's immersion program operates in different circumstances.

In the city there was healthy demand for immersion. There was, however, too little class space in the suburbs and too much downtown, so immersion exacerbated school-location problems. For example, two neighbouring downtown schools lost enough of their already small populations to a third downtown school's immersion program that there was talk of closing one of them.

Immersion demand in the town also was strong, but the area badly needed an additional building because of population growth. Immersion did not remove enough students from any one English program to alleviate crowding, but the other town schools to which these students moved became even more overcrowded. Facilities in all schools were strained to capacity, immersion having aggravated crowding.

Demand in the exurban region was very strong. The major administrative difficulty was that geographically and in terms of student population the area was small, yet contained four schools. Space exceeded requirements, but each of the four communities was determined not to lose its school. Immersion filled one school nearly to capacity, leaving the others substantially below capacity. The smallest school, with about 90 students, was in danger of closing, due at least partly to losing about 50 students to the neighbouring immersion program.

Demand for immersion was moderate in two rural communities, the only two within 10 kilometres of the region's one school. However, their total population was only about 5,000, and because students from other communities in the area would have to travel up to 30 kilometres, overall demand was low and classes small. The presence of immersion classes in one school nonetheless produced severe overcrowding in the English program. An immersion class of 15 might occupy an entire classroom, resulting in an English program class of 35 or more.

In summary, the school district examined reflects many of the characteristics of the larger Canadian society. Expansion of immersion caused local anxiety. The rural area believed itself isolated from the centre of decision making. The city had downtown-suburban classroom space imbalances. All areas had mixed attitudes toward French and Francophones.

Method

Research included interviews with 56 teachers and 29 principals, and questionnaires returned by parents. The sample of teachers was stratified by division (grade) taught, subject taught (core French, immersion, other) and geography (city, town, exurban, rural). All principals with immersion in their school (N=12) and a random sample of other principals (17 of 44) were interviewed.

It was not appropriate to question directly the principals and teachers about their attitudes. We have relied on inference sometimes from individual reports of the attitudes of others, at other times from an individual's stated beliefs.

Our parent questionnaire elicited 1,300 responses, of which 500 were analysed in detail. Three groups of parents were sampled: those of immersion program students, of English program students in schools with immersion, and of English program students in schools without immersion. Although our sampling ratio was doubled for one *exurban* school in danger of closure, its small size should assuage fears of sampling bias. In the high schools, only parents of students taking French participated.

Students took home one of two questionnaires, either one for English program parents, or one for immersion program parents. Whole classes

were sampled and every school (except two missed in error) was included. Immersion and English program classes were sampled independently, so in effect dual-track schools were sampled twice.

Each questionnaire contained questions on bilingual education in Canada and French language instruction in the district. Some questions were identical on both questionnaires; others were specific to each group of parents.

We received some 1,300 of 3,000 questionnaires (43%) from English program parents, more than expected, and 325 of 600 (54%) from immersion parents, fewer than expected. The English program returns indicate an unusually high level of interest among this group; we speculate that the immersion group returns were low because of competing surveys by parent groups. The returned questionnaires were also sampled to compensate for differential return rates from different schools. We aimed for a final sample of 300 English program respondents, half from schools with immersion programs, and 200 immersion program respondents. The expected proportion of returns from each class in the sample was calculated, and returns from each class were sampled until that number was reached, or until all returns from that class had been included. Our final sample consisted of questionnaires from 188 immersion and 307 English program parents. This final sample of 495 respondents have 1,017 school-age children, about one-third in immersion and two-thirds in the English program, and 129 pre-school children. French is spoken in the homes of 37 respondents, 29 of whom have children in immersion.

Results

We first present our analysis of enrolment data to document the magnitude of the impact of immersion demand on English programs. We next present data on attitudes of the principals, teachers, and parents and on the impact of these attitudes in schools. Although this report discusses the immersion program, we necessarily have to describe attitudes to the core French program.

Impact on English Program

The immersion program dislocates students, this leads to loss of teachers, leading in turn to loss of programming flexibility. Enrolment data from late in the 1984–85 school year show staff lost by the English program to the immersion program in each elementary school (including English programs in dual-track schools). Teacher loss was less than one FTE in 22 of the 47 schools, between one and two FTEs in 18, and two or more FTEs in 7. We decided two conditions amounted to a “serious” effect, and thus defined an

affected school as one that either had lost two or more FTEs (7 schools) or between one and two FTEs where this amounted to more than 15% of the staff (8 schools of the 18). Fifteen of the 47 schools were thus designated *affected*. To set these staff losses in perspective, the median K–6 staff size in the district is about 12. If anything, our arbitrary definition is conservative. The immersion program's impact is not geographically uniform. The 15 affected schools included 7 of the 25 in the *city*, 4 of 8 in the *town*, none in the *rural* area, and all 4 in the exurban area.

Principals' Attitudes

We hypothesized a relation between local school-level views on French immersion and local impact of the immersion program. This was not true of principals: there were no discernible patterns of differences between the principals of *affected* and *unaffected* schools. This may result from principals' tendency to take a system perspective, from principal mobility between schools, from role confusion (many principals were also parents, some with children in immersion), or from a tendency to share problems within a network.

Feelings toward *French per se* and towards program dislocations caused by immersion demand need to be distinguished. In principle this should be easy. In practice we were limited by what individuals chose to tell us. There was a discrepancy between what interviewees told us of their own views and of their colleagues' views, where the rest of the interviewed group were, in fact, these same colleagues.

For example, we asked principals when they themselves would begin core and immersion French, and when they thought their colleagues would. Only six felt that colleagues would support an earlier start to core, but virtually all said that they themselves would—three-quarters in kindergarten or grade 1, and the rest in grade 4. Individuals might not know their colleagues' views, but this we consider unlikely given the strength of their network. Rather, the data suggest an attempt to sugar-coat personal views about *French per se*, apart from its effect in the immersion format. This interpretation is supported by the fact that no one in the group voiced anti-French views, although some principals suggested that perhaps eight or ten colleagues held them.

Other data contradict the suggestion of sugar-coating. Almost all respondents reported immersion had caused dislocation problems for English programs (not necessarily in their own school). However, only two said that colleagues would support a change to a later start for immersion, while nearly one-half reported they themselves would support such a change. This indicates the perceived seriousness of immersion's impact, but contradicts the sugar-coating interpretation just offered.

TABLE 2
Summary of Selected Perceptions of Principals

	<i>Exposed to Immersion</i>	<i>Unexposed to Immersion</i>
early start to core and immersion	12	7
late start to either	4	6
delay start of immersion	1	4
leave start of immersion	15	9
reported perception of elitism	5	6
no reported perception of elitism	11	7

As noted, there were no patterns of differences in views between affected and unaffected schools. However, in a secondary analysis we constructed a definition of exposure to immersion, and examined the relation between responses to some of our questions and this exposure. We considered as "exposed to immersion" three groups of principals: those currently assigned to an immersion school (N=12); those not in this group who had in the past been assigned to an immersion school (N=1); and those not in either of these groups whose own children were in immersion (N=3). Using this definition 16 of 29 principals were considered exposed to immersion; the remaining 13 were considered unexposed. Slight differences between groups were observed, and are summarized in Table 2.

Of 13 thirteen less exposed principals, 7 (54%) supported an early start (kindergarten or grade 1) for both core French and immersion as compared to 12 of 16 (75%) in the exposed group. Four of 5 principals who would delay the start of immersion until grade 4 were in the less exposed group. Six (46%) of the less exposed group compared to 5 (31%) of the exposed group reported community charges of "elitism" with respect to the immersion program. These data indicate a general trend but should be in-

terpreted cautiously. It would be unreasonable to assign these relations a causal direction (e.g., exposure builds goodwill).

Principals' comments on parent attitudes to French are also interesting. Eleven of 29 principals reported that parents of children in the regular program thought the immersion program was elitist, or that some children had been placed there for the wrong reason (e.g., parents sought higher-calibre classmates for their children). A few suggested the two groups of parents were antagonistic. About one-third of principals said parents were concerned about community school programs.

Principals also were questioned about attitudes of teachers not involved in immersion. Two-thirds of the principals reported that non-immersion staff felt insecure. Five reported that some teachers believed the better students were going into immersion, leaving the English program with more than its share of the less capable students. There were no discernible trends in these comments with respect to *affected* and *unaffected* schools, but the data suggest, first, that principals favourably disposed to *French per se* saw fewer problems in implementing immersion, and second, that some wished to disguise negative attitudes to *French per se* as negative attitudes to disruption by immersion.

Teacher Attitudes

Teachers were also asked their colleagues' support for the French program. Most teachers of other subjects who ventured an opinion thought their non-French teaching colleagues supported the French program. Two-thirds said they supported it, but only about one-half of core French teachers and one-third of immersion teachers reported feeling this support.

Teacher data revealed differences between English program teachers in *affected* and *unaffected* schools. Teachers in *unaffected* schools were mildly supportive or mildly disinterested. On the other hand, teachers in *affected* schools ranged from actively supportive to quite opposed.

Nearly two-thirds of each of the three groups of teachers were anxious or resentful of the immersion program. This view was much more noticeable in the *affected* schools: only 3 of 28 teachers in the *unaffected* schools stated that immersion affected staff morale, while 7 of 12 in the affected schools did so. Similarly, when asked whether distribution of resources between programs was difficult, 11 of 12 in the affected schools said it was, compared to only 12 of 28 in the other schools. Thus staff loss in some schools may have increased sensitivity to non-personnel problems. These results are summarized in Table 3.

Teachers were asked when the immersion program should begin. Non-immersion teachers interpreted the question as one of principle ("Should

TABLE 3
Summary of Selected Perceptions of Teachers^a

	<i>'Affected' Schools</i>	<i>'Unaffected' Schools</i>
perception of anxiety among staff	7	3
no perception of anxiety among staff	5	25
perception of resource problems	11	12
no perception of resource problems	1	14
delay start of immersion	10	15
leave start of immersion	2	13

^aExcluding French immersion teachers

there be immersion?") rather than one of practicality ("Which is the most effective and least disruptive starting grade?"). One-half of core French teachers and one-quarter of teachers of other subjects supported starting in kindergarten. Another 20% supported starting between grades 1 and 4. Nine teachers, including five French teachers, would delay the start of immersion to grade 5 or later, especially if core French began earlier, while five teachers, including one core French teacher, would cancel immersion, again especially if core French started earlier.

In *unaffected* schools 13 of 28 non-immersion teachers would leave the start of immersion at kindergarten, whereas affected schools, only 2 of 12 would. In affected schools, 9 of 12 teachers, compared with only 11 of 28 in unaffected schools, would start core French in kindergarten. Given other attitudes reported above, these data suggest a belief that an early core French program would diminish demand for immersion.

Parent Attitudes

Data here come primarily from the parent questionnaires along with briefs and letters. We deal briefly with the latter before turning to questionnaire data.

We received 26 letters and briefs from individuals, and another 10 from groups of parents. Only two individual letters could be characterized as anti-French. There was a marked contrast between individual letters and group briefs. All 10 of the group collaborations favoured leaving immersion as it now is, beginning in kindergarten. Of the 26 individual letters, only two supported leaving it as it is; one suggested changing to a grade 1 start, and the remaining 23 supported various changes, such as delaying to grade 4 or cancelling immersion outright.

Our results show a striking similarity of views as between immersion and English program parents, and between English program parents from affected and unaffected schools. Our reporting covers the whole group, noting differences in subgroups.

Parents were asked if French should be taught in district elementary schools. Seventy percent said "yes, to every student," and a further 26% said "yes, but only to students choosing it." Only 10 parents said French should not be taught at all in the elementary system. Asked how much they encouraged their children to learn French, 47% said "a great deal" (77% immersion and 29% English) and 9% (all English program) said "not at all."

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements concerning bilingual education in Canada. Although 48% disagreed with the statement "all Canadians should be able to speak BOTH official languages," the majority agreed with statements supporting education in both languages. For example, 77–88% agreed that French should be taught as a regular subject to all children, that every child has the right to be educated in both languages, and that all Canadians should have the right to choose either official language as the primary language of instruction for their children. Fifty-six percent endorse French instruction as a right. Sixty-three percent believed that instruction in the other language should be compulsory in unilingual parts of the country. Immersion parents were slightly (5–15%) more pro-French (*per se*) and pro-bilingualism than the parents of children in the English program. There were no noticeable regional trends, nor major differences between the parents in the *affected* and *unaffected* schools.

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with statements on reasons for learning French. Socio-cultural reasons (understanding and meeting French-speaking people, etc.) were supported more strongly (87% agree-

ment) than either educational reasons (useful for future job and educational opportunities) or reasons of national identity.

Parents were also asked the grade at which they thought core French instruction should begin. Kindergarten or grade 1 was suggested by 58% of parents. There were slight differences between parents in schools *affected* by immersion demand and those not; parents in *affected* schools were more in favour of a kindergarten or grade 1 start. This was true both of immersion parents (78% versus 68%) and of English program parents (53% versus 46%). This difference reflects a hope that an earlier core program would reduce demand for immersion. Immersion parents were asked if they would have enrolled their child in an immersion program had core French been available at an earlier grade. Eighteen percent said no and 4% were undecided.

Parents were asked about the entry point for immersion. Thirty-four percent of English program parents did not answer, and some wrote that they disagreed with the very idea of immersion. However, 28% of English program parents suggested kindergarten entry as did 88% of immersion parents, and 21% suggested late entry (grade 3 or 4) in contrast with 5% of immersion parents. As to enrolment controls in French immersion, 53% of the English program and 64% of the immersion program respondents supported open admission. Only 6% of respondents thought an enrolment limit should be set. Nevertheless, 42% (41% English, 44% immersion) suggested admission should be based on aptitude for learning French. There were no substantial differences between parents of non-immersion students in *affected* and *non-affected* schools. Few parents of non-immersion children want to limit the immersion program. This was true whether the issue was moving the starting grade of immersion, imposing enrolment quotas, or using ability screening.

The last question invited parents to comment on any aspect of French education; 41% (41% English, 40% immersion) did. Comments dealt with fears that compulsory French is an erosion of freedom in a democratic nation, with educational quality in the district, with the desirability of more French in the English program and support for the continuation of the existing immersion program.

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the impact of and the attitudes to French immersion in one school district in southern Ontario. Immersion is offered in four regions of the district; a city of about 75,000, a town of some 20,000, an exurban area, and a rural area with no population centre of more than 3,000.

We have aimed to measure the effect of demands for French immersion on English programs. We found that about one-half of the schools in the system were suffering from a noticeable loss of staff (one FTE or more) due to immersion demand. Allowing for school size, we judged 15 schools *affected*. These 15 affected schools were located in areas of different population density. Areas with larger populations were better able to sustain the loss of students from the English to the immersion program. The 15 included one-quarter of the city schools, one-half the town schools, and all *exurban* area schools.

Our questionnaires asked parents their views on bilingualism and on French in Canada and on French education in their school district. Generally, their attitudes were positive. They accepted the principle that Canada should be a bilingual nation. Parents of children in the English program clearly wanted more French education. Most parents accepted immersion as a method of education, but a substantial minority disagreed. Whether this disagreement is "in principle" or is a response to local circumstances is unclear.

There was considerable apprehension about the effect that demand for immersion would have on the English program's flexibility. These fears were in proportion to the impact at the local level. Such patterns were most noticeable among teachers, slight among parents, and undetectable among principals.

In general, English program parents were more willing than immersion program parents to see changes in immersion that might lessen its impact. Parents from *affected* and *unaffected* schools differed substantially only in whether they wished for an earlier start to core French. Both immersion and English program parents in affected schools were more in favour of strengthened core French. We assume that they hope immersion demand would diminish with a stronger core. Significantly, parents in these two types of schools did not differ substantially in their views on enrolment limits, ability screening, or starting grade for immersion. Interestingly, although support for moving the starting grade of immersion was small, it was stronger among professional educators than among parents.

We close with a comment on rural-urban attitudinal differences. The immersion program averages about 13–17% (and growing) of the population in the city, town, and exurban areas of the district, but only about 5% in the rural area. Parents' unwillingness to have their children travel long distances, rather than widespread anti-French sentiment, explains lower enrolment in the rural program. Although informed individuals often told us that anti-French feelings were strong in the rural area, we found little evidence of them. It is possible, however, that persons holding such views systematically refused to return questionnaires, or that they came from a generation too old to be included in our parent sample. Rural-urban differences of attitude to French, of hopes for children, and of expectations of the school

system are small. But even the most isolated "rural" corner of the school district studied is within a few hours drive of about one-quarter of Canada's population.

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Es gibt starke pädagogische Beweise dafür, daß das Hinabtauchen in die französische Sprache erfolgreich ist. Jedoch haben gerade der Erfolg derartiger Programme und deren daraus folgende Beliebtheit die Nachfrage nach Programmen in englischer Sprache heruntergeschraubt. Die folgende Untersuchung der Einstellung zum französischen Unterricht und der Einschreibverhaltensmuster in anglophonen Schulen basiert auf einer Studie aus dem Jahre 1985, die an einer mittelgroßen Schulkommission in einer englischsprachigen Gegend im südlichen Ontario im Jahre 1985 durchgeführt wurde. Die Daten zur Einstellung stammen aus etwa 100 Interviews mit Lehrern, Schulleitern und Beamten der Schulkommission und sind das Ergebnis von 500 ausführlichen Befragungen von Eltern der Schüler, die sich in vertieften Französisch-Programmen und in Unterrichtsprogrammen in englischer Sprache befinden. Aus den Unterlagen der Schulkommission gingen Daten über Einschreibverhaltensmuster hervor.

Hay una fuerte evidencia pedagógica de que la inmersión del francés funciona. Sin embargo, su éxito y popularidad han reducido la demanda de programas en inglés. Este estudio de actitudes hacia la enseñanza del idioma francés en las escuelas anglofonas y las formas de inscripción en ellas está basado en una investigación de una dirección escolar de tamaño mediano en una región anglófona del sur de Ontario en 1985. Los datos en las actitudes se obtienen de cerca de 100 entrevistas con maestros, directores y oficiales de la dirección escolar, y 500 cuestionarios contestados por los padres de estudiantes inmersos en los programas de francés e inglés. Los registros de la dirección escolar proporcionaron los datos sobre las formas de inscripción.

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