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CANADIAN PARENTS FOR FRENCH - FRENCH IMMERSION'S VANGUARD

An Exploratory Study of a Parent Interest Group

by

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B.A. The University of Western Ontario, 1975

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Canadian Parents for French: French Immersion's Vanguard

An Exploratory Study of a Parent Interest Group

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Abstract

The purposes of this study were (a) to classify Canadian Parents for French (CPF) with respect to its origin and goals, structure, functions, and, strategies, (b) to analyze CPF's strategies, (c) to survey school and government officials' perceptions of CPF, and (d) to determine its success.

A mixed-methods research design was used including a semi-structured interview, a questionnaire, and document analysis. Documentary data were analyzed using content analysis. Interview analysis followed appropriate, data-reduction techniques which included determining the frequency and distribution of phenomena to develop "perspectives" about CPF. These were based on "quasi-statistics"- a means of quantifying interview data. The only inferential tests which the low sample size permitted of questionnaire data were Chi-squares. The remaining data were analyzed using exploratory data analysis methods.

In its general goals, structure, and strategies, CPF resembles what A. Paul Pross terms a "mature" interest group. Certain deficiencies at the local level detract from such a rating. Another typology suggests that given CPF's descriptors as an "emerged", "standing", "formally-organized" group, certain predictions can be made regarding its functioning and effectiveness. A third model classifies CPF as an education-only, delegate-associational group.

CPF generally employs an "access-oriented" communication strategy, preferring to use methods such as lobbying, liaising, and networking. Only while lobbying locally for French program initiation or during crises, does CPF resort to a media-oriented strategy. CPF prefers to lobby educational

and governmental officials who are most accessible and influential to the programs/ issues in question. BCPF sits on three provincial educational policy committees, but committees play a small role in the two CPF locals studied and lack importance at the federal level.

CPF's recognition and success are context-dependent. Where the context is supportive of CPF's goals it is well-known and successful; where non-supportive, it is relatively unknown or less successful. Organizations with similar goals know and respect CPF. Many officials spoke highly of CPF's effectiveness, knowledge of politics and its field of interest, and its cooperative ethic. Local policy making processes and structures, issues, and community types most delimit CPF's influence. CPF remains relatively unknown among the general public.

CPF's success may be gauged by the widespread existence of French Immersion programs in Canadian schools which many officials credit to CPF lobbying. It successfully employs various means of influencing curriculum policy making. CPF may have influenced changes in its federal funding and federal-provincial language protocols. CPF possess many attributes of a successful parent interest group, including the establishment of an ubiquitous, officially-recognized information network.

To the three Margarets.

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Special thanks go the Canadian Parents for French organization at all its levels. The National Office and the BCPF office allowed me to attend two conferences and continued afterwards to provide friendly and generous assistance The local, BCPF, and National level participants gave freely of their time and provided me with forthright and abundant perspectives on CPF.

My family and friends, finally, endured my neglect without complaint and supported me, without reservation, from the start of this endeavour to its conclusion.

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A parent-community group in British Columbia is struggling, with little success, against their district school board for additional funds for French immersion materials. Enter the local chapter representatives of a national "special interest group" and within months, school board resistance dwindles. More funds are found for the materials sought.

Four educators decide, in conjunction with a grade one student's parents, that removal from a French immersion class is in the best interest of the child. A telephone call to the mother from a certain pressure group that night, and the considered opinions of four professionals are ignored. The child stays in the immersion program. What was this "third party" which swayed these local educational decisions?

The Canadian Parents for French organization (CPF), whether labelled a special interest group, pressure group, or lobby group, has been active in matters pertaining to school French language programs since its inception. Subsequent to its founding in March 1977, this group has attempted: a) to optimize French language learning opportunities for children; b) to maximize Canadian children's potential for acquiring French language and culture; [and] c) to establish and maintain communication between interested parents and educational authorities, at all levels (Goodings, 1985, p. 124). (The CPF National Board of Directors amalgamated these three goals in June 1988 to read--"To provide educational opportunities for young Canadians to learn and use French language.")

This study explores the nature, function, and activities of CPF with particular emphasis on its activities associated with the provincial government and two school districts in British Columbia

The Research Problem

"The commitment and enthusiasm of the thirty founding members [of CPF] leave no doubt whatever that they will soon be joined by thousands of others. Together they will exert a powerful influence in lifting the horizons of tomorrow's Canadian parents and in shaping the civilized Canada we all want them to inherit" (Spicer, CPF Newsletter, June 1977: quoted in Goodings, 1985). This claim by Keith Spicer, then Commissioner of Official Languages, was certainly prophetic in terms of CPF's membership growth (approximately 19,000 in early 1989). Of greater interest is whether the organization has "influenced" Canadian society to the extent predicted. The desire of CPF to " influence public educational policy in order to promote their common interest" (Pross, 1986, p. 3), is a key characteristic of interest groups. Other names for such groups include "pressure groups", "special interest groups", and " lobbyists", depending on the reference cited and the level of policy at which influence is sought.

Scholars generally accept that interest groups: (a) seek to influence governments or policy makers, rather than to actually govern, (b) possess a formal structure, and (c) serve to aggregate and articulate the common interest for which they were formed (Kernaghan, 1985; Pross, 1986; Sackney, 1984).

What is less accepted by scholars of education or political science are the criteria for classifying interest groups. This is partly due to the different ends these academics pursue. It is also due, however, to the difficulty in classifying certain interest groups. Pross notes in regards to CPF, "We are likely to encounter some groups in the political system that cannot be said categorically to be either a true pressure group or a government-affiliated group" (p.12). CPF does not seem to fit extant classification schemes.

The meeting of thirty parents in Ottawa during March 1977, to which Keith Spicer's quote referred, was seminal to CPF's formation. What explains, however, the federal government's interest in and subsequent support of this group? This developed from the focus of Pierre Trudeau and his federal Liberal party's interest in French language rights and bilingual policy. Shapson (1984) suggests

> "with the adoption of the Official Languages Act (1969), the French language gained equal rights and status with English in parliament and in all services provided by the federal government of Canada. This led to a major effort by the government to promote and stimulate instruction in Canada's official languages, French and English. Concerns arose about the effectiveness of traditional French Second Language programs in the schools and a great deal of experimentation and innovation resulted in the development of French immersion programs (p. 1).

Canadian Parents for French is a federation of approximately 19,000 members organized into about 200 local chapters, under the direction of provincial boards and a national Board of Directors (Sloan, 1989). It developed as a three-tiered organization to match the bureaucratic structure of the Canadian educational system. The national and provincial/territorial branches share CPF's lobbying function at the government level (Goodings, 1985). This accords with the fact that while the provision of public school education generally falls under provincial jurisdiction, bilingualism (hence, French programs), is a federal concern (Hargraves, 1981; Stevenson, 1981). Finally, as a past president of CPF suggests" since the actual delivery of educational services was up to the school boards, it was inescapable that CPF would need active local chapters to encourage, badger, and occasionally harass trustees and administrators" (Goodings, p.118).

Research Questions

The study addresses some of this knowledge deficit by classifying CPF in terms of its origin and goals, structure, function, and methods of influence, using extant interest group taxonomies. It analyzes how CPF exerts influence on all three levels of the educational hierarchy, with emphasis on the local level. The perceptions of CPF held by government and school district policy makers are surveyed. Finally, the study attempts to determine the relative success of this group in achieving its goals at the school district and government levels. Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

1) What type of interest group is CPF with respect to its: origin and goals, structure, functions, and methods of influence?

2) How does CPF attempt to influence educational decisions, particularly at the school district level?

3) How is CPF perceived by government officials, school district senior administrators, and school board members where CPF has attempted to influence policy or practice?

4) How successful has CPF been in achieving its goals particularly at the school district level in B. C.?

Rationale for the Study

On learning of the two instances of CPF intervention in school policy/ practice (presented in the Introduction), two questions came to mind. First, just what is the Canadian Parents for French organization (CPF) that it has this kind of influence? (Or were these examples atypical of CPF's influence?) Parents, teachers, principals, and district staff in communities where CPF had established local chapters, seemed to know what it could accomplish.

Second, if CPF was so influential at different levels of the educational hierarchy, why had nothing been written about it in professional journals? The answers to both questions seemed to relate to one's context. The "involved publics," in this case members of local communities or of governmental departments, know something of CPF but far less is known by academics and possibly educators in general of its organization, function, methods of influence, and of how it is perceived by the general public.

This federation of parents lobbies governments at both the federal and provincial levels (e.g. CPF, 1986, Briefs to the Standing Joint Committee of the Senate, and the House of Commons). CPF appears effective in organizing or supporting "grassroots" associations at the local level (Goodings, 1985). With an expanding membership, the financial support and possibly, the "ear" of both the Department of the Secretary of State and the Commissioner of Official Languages, one might suspect that this organization influences (or has the potential to influence) educational policy and/or practice.

One might also expect the existence of a body of literature (empirical or conceptual), delineating CPF's structure, function, methods, and how it is perceived by the public. Such is not the case: given CPF's "potential" to influence all levels of the education system, this is surprising. Pross (1985) claims there is a need for such studies of Canadian pressure groups based on relevant, theoretical frameworks. He asserts that the case studies of interest groups to date have generally lacked such appropriate conceptual "underpinnings".

This study is largely exploratory in nature. It is tied, however, to suitable conceptual models. Thus it satisfies the two criteria set for the case study. According to Pross (1986), "Case studies help us classify: typologies help us find out why groups play the roles they do " (p.15). The study proceeded on the premise that classification of CPF would rest partly on a case study, which would then help explain CPF's roles.

As for the study's practical contributions, members of educational "sub-governments" (governmental departments, committees, and bureaucrats), need to understand the nature and methods of influence of CPF. An understanding of CPF's impact on educational policy alone makes this study's findings useful.

Besides operating in different government arenas CPF seeks to influence educational policy at the local level (Goodings,1985). Several theorists (Kernaghan, 1985; Pross, 1986; Sackney, 1984) predict this extension of interest group influence to policy-makers at the local level. Hence an analysis of this group, particularly of its structure and methods of influence, needed to continue to the school district level. The study's findings have practical applications for school board trustees and administrators. For example, several authors offer sets of guidelines for dealing with interest groups, once classified, based on "predictive behaviour" models (Pross, 1985; Sackney, 1984: Steele, et al., 1981).

Clearly the time was right for a study of what Dr. Norman Robinson termed " possibly the most successful parent interest group in the world" (personal communication, March 7, 1989).

Limitations of the Study

CPF is organized as a three-tiered federation so similar types of empirical data were collected at all levels. Data sources included documents,

nterviews, and questionnaires. A decreasing emphasis from the local level to the provincial and federal government levels was dictated by practical restraints.

Most of the research questions focussed on the local level. Hence, the interviews at the local level were more detailed. More contextual data were sought from participants, particularly regarding research questions concerning CPF methods of influence and degree of success. In like manner, more attention was paid to local level documents and questionnaire responses. Yet financial, temporal, and spatial restraints prevented the comprehensive three-level coverage necessary to a definitive study of CPF.

Similarly, practical limitations reduced the number of school districts studied. Those chosen may not be representative of others in B.C. or in Canada. They were chosen, nevertheless, to present as much possible contrast between school district level CPF operations. Interviews at all levels comprised only "significant actors" (experienced with CPF and in key positions). Interviews did not, however, include all significant members of government "policy communities" (the group of bureaucrats, politicians, political elites, and leaders of major interest groups largely responsible for government policy) or district officials, who had experience with CPF. It was also unlikely that samples of all relevant kinds of documents were analyzed . Thus my findings and subsequent conclusions may not be representative, and should be read with caution, outside the confines of the study's sample.

Thesis Overview

The thesis has six chapters. The literature review comprises the second and third chapters, within which the background to the research problem is further delimited and defined. Chapter two discusses interest groups' origins

and goals, structures, functions, and methods of influence (strategies). Several interest group typologies are presented.

Chapter three includes material on the administrative structure of curriculum decision-making. Its subsequent sections offer rationales for parent involvement in curriculum, an outline of parent participation in educational decision-making, and the influence of parents in such decision-making. Also included is a review of some issues and effects in French language programs in Canada. The chapter concludes with a summary of the concepts of how interest groups influence curriculum decision-making .

The fourth chapter outlines the research methodology. I describe and justify the research design, data sources (including additional information about the participants and documents) and collection, and techniques of analysis. Literature review methodology and methodological limitations sections are also included. Chapter five presents the findings and analyses of my study.

The final chapter offers interpretations of the research findings with respect to my research questions and the literature. Conclusions based on these interpretations and implications for educational practice and theory are presented. I conclude with some suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Interest Groups: Government and Community Levels

"At some time, there will be graduate students and political scientists who will describe, in far more dispassionate prose than mine, the evolution of this remarkable association" (Goodings, 1985). Despite a lapse of four years since this remark was made, and over twelve years since CPF's inception, such descriptions have not yet occurred. Nor have scholars written more conceptually-relevant studies considering this group's origins and goals, organizational structure, or methods of influence. There is similarly a lack of analyses of CPF's functions, relative success, or the public's perception of it.

What has been written about CPF usually consists of non-academic, descriptive or anecdotal articles. These works are frequently penned by members of CPF (Carter, 1982; Abbott, 1979; Fleming, 1985; Goodings, 1985; Poyen, 1979). They are generally published in CPF publications (Goodings, 1985; Poyen, 1979), in French "content" journals (e.g.-Contact), in teacher association newsletters (Abbott,1979; Carter, 1982; Fleming,1985: Malmberg, 1984; Williston,1982), or in federal government department's journals, e.g.- Language and Society, (Sloan, 1989).

The lack of scholarly, empirical studies or conceptual analyses is evident. Whether empirically or conceptually-based, these treatises would best be framed within extant academic perspectives from one or more of the fields of political science, sociology, or education (Pross, 1986). As Presthus advocates (1973) "If empirical data are to be meaningful, they must be anchored in an explicit theoretical framework" (p. 87). Similar advice has been offered for all political pressure group studies (Gillies & Pigott, 1982; Thornburn, 1985). To meet its objective of classifying CPF, this study requires two types of information.

First, a summary of the literature on interest groups is necessary to compare, analyze, and synthesize what would be gathered on CPF. Second, a brief anthology of classification models or typologies of interest groups is needed, applicable to both the government and community levels. This will assist my classification of CPF or the synthesis of a new scheme based on existing schema. At least, suggestions on how to classify this organization could then be generated. The knowledge of interest groups provided will also help answer the study's other research questions (in addition to concepts presented in Chapter 3).

A survey of the information and concepts on interest and community groups involved with education, therefore, follows. This also serves to illustrate the range of levels at which CPF may influence education. A summary of the typologies of interest groups and community educational organizations completes the chapter.

Interest Group Characteristics

Origins and Goals

How and why interest groups form have a great bearing on their subsequent strategies (methods of influence), structure, and functions. A short foray into this conceptual realm is, therefore, appropriate. Many scholars have addressed the question of the formation of "interests" in society. Their arguments are often esoteric and originate with broad, philosophical suppositions. The works of Truman, Bentley, Olson, and Lowi cover the range of perspectives.

Bentley's (1949) classical "*The Process of Government*" deals with interest groups in general terms. He perceives interest groups as forming around a need or interest. This interest is the *raison d'etre* of the group and

determines its actions. Bentley believes that organized interests are so pervasive and important within society as to "...create the government, and work through it" (p.270), and that government is "...considered as the adjustment or balance of interests " (p. 264). This perspective of the central or collective purpose determining group functioning so permeates Bentley's ideas that he believes that the terms "interest", "activity"and "group" are synonymous.

Truman (1958) portrays interest group formation as a reaction to "imbalances" in society. These are a result, partly, of a relative shortage of resources/funds or services to address all the needs of society. Truman suggests that there are always potential interest groups "waiting to form". Pross (1986) calls these "latent" interests. Certain members of society, usually middle- and upper-class members, have greater resources and access to decision-makers. Hence, they receive more favourable treatment vis-a-vis the distribution of wealth and benefits controlled by governments. Truman maintains that interest group formation is a reactive attempt to redress such imbalances.

Truman's theory, however, does not explain <u>how</u> potential or latent interest groups form actual interest groups. Nor do Bentley's ideas explain the relative success or survival of some groups, while others fail or disappear. (Paltiel, 1982)

Other theorists are more specific regarding the origin of "interests". Olson (1965) claims that it is specific, personal benefits which increase the likelihood of formation and enrollment of members in interest groups or other organizations. What Olson (1965) calls <u>selective incentives</u> help ensure member enrollment and retention, not the group's espoused goal(s). He argues few people join collectivities unless they stand to gain something--be it economic, informational, social, or political.

Lowi (1967) writes of the "costs" and "benefits" of interest group formation and membership. He argues that new government policies (U.S.) target certain social groups for some benefit, thereby creating potential interest groups. The consultative mechanisms government agencies frequently establish with the affected populations lead to organized groups out of "latent interests"(p.186). Lowi (1967) proposes this has created a new political perspective, or moral justification paradigm, which he terms "interest group liberalism". Thorburn (1985) finds similar grounds for interest group formation in Canadian federal policies over the past two decades.

For these theorists, group membership is a rational choice by individuals to commit time, effort , and other resources in return for anticipated gains. These gains represent a range of benefits from favourable taxation, housing grants, or recreational facilities, to improved curricular programs, lunch subsidies, or alternate languages of instruction in schools. If the costs of membership outweigh the benefits, Olson (1965) and Lowi (1967) argue, people do not participate.

Lowi's model assumes group members will gain access to decision makers. Lacking access to decision or policy makers, few group demands are realized. Yet Davies and Zerchykov (1981) argue that, traditionally, parents have little access to educational policy or decision making. They add that parents have so few selective benefits as to preclude their joining "parent" interest groups. They are, therefore, generally unmotivated to participate in organizations seeking to impact on educational policy (p.185). In the case where opportunities to access decision makers do exist, membership becomes worthwhile to parents for as Lowi suggests "...access to the policy making process is a benefit...lack of access is a cost" (p.188).

As evidence in Chapter Three will demonstrate, existing parent advisory committees in many countries reveal generally low levels of parent interest and influence upon local educational policy. This may be a consequence of the "free-rider" effect (Peterson, 1974). Peterson refers to there being few incentives for parents to join or contribute their efforts to the cost of providing "collective" goods (such as a new French program) as the benefits are enjoyed by all once the program is established.

Of greater importance in determining why parents join special interest groups may be what Duane, Townsend, and Bridgeland (1985) term solidary and purposive reasons. Given that educational processes are often inherently ideational and value-oriented (see Chapter Three), Duane et al. (1985) suggest non-economic motives. These include "purposive"--value-ideological and "solidary"--social cohesion-integration reasons. Besides the material benefits anticipated, a "cause" may initially attract or later hold members. Wilson (1973) in Duane et al. (1985) submits that:

> A voluntary organization driven by very tangible self-interests could tap additional political energies by having a stirring cause to rally around. This tapping could help explain certain successes of special-focus functional groups....e.g.- the Canadian champions of linguistic, Catholic, and women's education.

Salisbury (1980) claims this is not always the case as some interest groups are the "expensive", non-political kind for which sociability or status incentives exist Regardless of the incentives, "special" interest groups are now more the "norm" than the exception. Some authors lament the total lack of concern for the "public good"; that no groups speak for that "constituency" any longer (Brosseau, 1989; Elliot, 1989).

Many scholars observe a proliferation of interest groups since the 1960s. Group activity in various policy arenas is also widely recognized (Faulkner,

1982; Kaplan, 1982; Kernaghan, 1985; Presthus, 1973; Pross, 1982, 1986; Sroufe, 1981; Walker, 1981). Thompson and Stanbury (1979) suggest the recent increase in academic attention to interest group representation is due to: 1) the increased use of empirical methods, 2) the wider assumption of a "self-interest" rationale for political behaviour, and 3) interest group activities having become more salient (pp. 9-12).

Several authors suggest a governmental genesis of many interest groups (Paltiel, 1982; Presthus, 1973). Presthus (1973) states "Equally germane is the little-known practice whereby an agency [government] creates an interest group to make claims upon its resources. Our research indicates that close to half of all departments have at some time inspired such groups" (p. 79). Paltiel (1982) warns that in cases where "start-up and maintenance" funds for such groups exist, a patron-client relationship development shifts power to bureaucrats and departments, away from political parties and parliaments (p. 206). Possibly these "government-created" groups become pawns of the agency involved, through funding-dependency or cooptation while lobbying in the subgovernment.

Interest group proliferation may be due to "general environmental" factors such as the growth of bureaucracy in governments (Thompson and Stanbury, 1979; Presthus, 1973). Pross (1986) suggests a reactive spiral effect may be the cause, meaning the formation of one group triggers the formation of other groups or the intensification of their activities (p.171). Steele, et al. (1981) suggest interest group growth is due to: a) pressure for increased accountability of public servants, b) competition for scarce resources and c) social/judicial impetus for "rights" (p. 258)

Whatever the cause, the outcome has been the creation of numerous "public" and "special"- interest groups. Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980)

suggest that the economic, educational, and social conditions of the members or communities involved in their formation greatly affect the type, longevity, and influence of the resulting interest groups. In summary, the context--social, political, and the issues involved--all affect the origin and goals of the group concerned.

Methods of Influence

The strategies or methods of influence an interest group uses depend largely on its resources (particularly financial), and its goals. Strategies, in turn, dictate a group's structure and function (Gittell, 1980). As methods of influence are a primary focus in this study, and largely determine the other major variables being studied, these are reviewed first.

Gittell (1980) claims resource base is largely indicated by a group's social class(p. 66). While interest group funding is dealt with later within group structure, it is worth noting here that this factor plays a seminal role in determining group strategies and that it is related to social class. Sackney (1981) suggests other "determiners" of group strategy include: time restraints, the immediate issue, and the success of methods previously used. For interest groups seeking to influence educational policy at either the local or government level, several strategies are available. The most widely used are methods of persuasion. Interest group leaders make an appeal to their membership to "take the fight" (individually or collectively) to the appropriate decision-maker(s). Presthus (1973) finds this the preferred method of group leaders. This consists of individuals or group leaders approaching decision-makers either formally or informally, attempting to persuade them to support the group's objectives. Pross (1986) labels this -- an access-oriented method. The group leaders(or members) often use their personal relationships with these targeted decision

makers to gain access. If the targeted person knows the group's member through an "elite" organization or lifestyle, what Presthus (1973) calls "elite accommodation" takes place. At the government level he claims it is the norm between elections for group leaders and politicians (p. 60).

What interest group members or leaders are doing is lobbying. A useful and generic definition of lobbying is " ..any effort on the part of an individual or group to influence political elites and the public by direct or indirect persuasion" (Presthus, 1973, p. 81). Lobbying occurs at all levels of decision-making. The ensuing communications may be analyzed according to "content" and "form" (Kernaghan, 1985).

Pross (1986) identifies four directions for interest group lobbying at the government level. These are: (a) the Cabinet and its lead agencies, (b) the lead agency, which is the centre of the sub-government, (c) the subgovernment in general (bureaucrats), and (d) the "attentive public", which constitutes others who are actively concerned (pp. 137-149).

This raises the important issue of "access". To persuade targeted person(s), group members must be able to contact them, preferably at a personal level. This is true at all levels of the educational or political structure where contact is desired. Second to a group's resources, its ability to access the appropriate policy-makers is the most critical factor in the success of their strategy, and the attainment of their goals (Kernaghan, 1985; Pross, 1986).

Faulkner, Presthus, Pross, and Van Loon and Whittington attribute a group's ability to access decision makers to their recognition by the policy-makers involved. Thornburn (1985) argues that group recognition is a product of its membership size, the prestige of its leaders, and its willingness to cooperate with policy-makers (p.6). Presthus (1973) posits the process is based largely on the interaction of social/economic elites and on group

effectiveness (pp. 188-89). While the importance of elite accommodation may still be true of large financial and industrial interests, it is no longer universally true (Thornburn, 1985).

Pross (1982, 1986) provides a more accurate explanation of interest group recognition and access. He suggests a group's "degree of institutionalization" determines its recognition. He argues this is based largely on the group's recognized expertize in the affected field. Pross posits a group's goals and resources determined their structure, with the financially and purposively stronger (hence, more highly organized) groups becoming more institutionalized. He claims the more institutionalized a group, the more closely it approximates "its" government agency. It is better able to function in the highly bureaucratized world of the subgovernment. With Kernaghan, Presthus, Van Loon and Whittington and Faulkner, he suggests these groups evolve an organizational structure which mirrors the political structures they seek to influence. When combined with Presthus's elite accommodation theory, this accurately describes the issues of access and recognition.

Lobbying occurs at every level of government and in communities (therefore, school districts). This is certainly true of Canadian educational interest groups because here education is a three-tier hierarchy. The provinces have official jurisdiction over education within their boundaries. Local school boards are responsible for the implementation of provincial curricula. The federal government, nevertheless, is actively involved in funding a variety of educational programs (Hodgson, 1976).

This occurs either through "equalizing" payments to balance regional inequalities or through shared funding of programs which accord with federal goals based on cultural (Berard, 1981) or national security requisites (Stevenson, 1981). The federal coordinating agency for education is the Office

of the Secretary of State (Hargraves,1981). Berard (1981) suggests this central government role in certain education programs (e.g.-"French as a Second Language") has significant influence on provincial curriculum policies. The creation of the PMO and the PCO has also reduced interest group impact on policy making (Thornburn, 1985). Interest groups attempt to structure themselves to apply lobbying pressure on as many of these decisional levels as possible.

CPF is a federation operating at all three of these levels. So a closer look at interest group lobbying at all levels is warranted. At both the federal and provincial government levels groups persuade, or attempt to persuade, various decision-makers. Pross (1986) uses the term policy community to describe a model of the environment within which most of the relevant "political actors" interact. Faulkner (1981), an ex-minister in the federal government, approves of this conceptualization. The policy community consists of the governmental department (or occasionally, departments) responsible for formulating, drafting, and implementing most policy in a given area. Within this milieu are many other relevant participants. In addition to the bureaucrats, assistant and "full" ministers, are politicians from other jurisdictions who may have departmental interest in some of this group's activities. Finally, there are interest group leaders and other consequential individuals (either"elites" or academics). Together, this group of people "in the know" generate all policies, and after passing into legislation, the regulations associated with this legislation. This is a very accurate and useful model to use in considering interest group lobbying.

It is so because the policy community is a popular avenue for interest group lobbying, as access to M.P.s and bureaucrats is easier than to Cabinet ministers and central office agencies (Gillies & Pigott, 1982). As members of a policy community, interest group leaders have access to the information and the

socialization occurring within this arena and their group is recognized. It also means their leaders generally comply with norms of this group. Due to "enrollment criteria" Pross (1986) suggests only institutionalized groups are permitted entry. Groups without the benefit of access to this "inner circle" are forced into more confrontational ploys with policy-makers. These are usually less effective as they are reactionary to proposed legislation. One could describe the former situation, wherein an interest group is well recognized and belongs to the policy community as a supportive group (not to be confused with the general strategy mentioned below). Such groups are highly integrated with the bureaucrats with whom they interact

In contrast, Faulkner (1981) describes groups denied such access as being adversarial. These opposites of the powerful, accepted interest groups are what Pross (1986) terms issue-oriented groups. Their often temporary nature, lack of resources and recognition, and underdeveloped organizational structure force them away from the preferred access-oriented tactics of more established interest groups.

Scholars have not indicated if the same mechanisms are in operation at the local level. Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980) identify three basic strategies available to community groups. These, in turn, are subsets of two main roles. If a group seeks to change the programs or policies in an educational system, this is a purposive role (Salisbury, 1980). The strategy for this role is that of advocacy (Gittell, 1980). If a group seeks to maintain or see a school's existing structures or functions continued, its role is supportive (Salisbury, 1980). The two strategies available then are "service" or "advisory" (Gittell, 1980). As with interest groups, funding sources affect the strategy adopted. Both Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980) find that advocacy groups

need be self-funded (internal), whereas service and advisory groups are inevitably supported by governments or foundations (external).

Even at the community level, interest groups attempt to persuade a variety of the "involved public". One suspects similar methods of influence are involved. People with contacts use them to win favours or garner information. They attempt, directly or indirectly, to influence local outcomes in their interest. Local, and occasionally national, groups can initiate "grassroots" movements to sway a community in favour of their goals. This entails trying to start, alter, or halt a program or policy, or simply attempting to influence attitudes. Local lobbying or attempts to persuade are aimed at those who make the decisions such as school board trustees, senior administrators, or school district staff. At the school level, this can include principals, teachers, students, parents, or schools' communities.

Both interest groups lobbying governments and community groups working in school districts employ a variety of tactics to persuade the general public. Interest groups also seek, although less often in Canada, to influence international or court decisions that support their aims.

Groups have a variety of "tactical" options available to them. Concurrently or independently of lobbying, these include the use of media, consultation (advisory committees) and networking. Interest groups frequently use the media concurrently with attempts at lobbying. This includes television, radio, newspapers, magazines, posters, journals, newsletters, and flyers. These are used to inform the public, garner its support, or attempt to change public opinion. Pross (1986) suggests more institutionalized interest groups prefer to avoid use of media in any sort of confrontation with decision makers, due to the normative constraints of the policy community. Issue-oriented groups do not

suffer from these restraints, however, and Pross suggests all groups are less and less restrained in this use of media.

Strategies, therefore, refer to the matters of "targets" and "tactics". I have briefly described the ways groups use tactics. Now for an even shorter account of "targeting" procedures. Groups or their leaders must know who to attempt to influence, when it is appropriate to do so, and where to do this. All this calls for a thorough knowledge of the "system" in which they seek changes and their environment (social and political), in general. (The subject of educational "access points" is detailed in Chapter Three.) Effective group leaders, therefore, are skilled diplomats of their cause and exert considerable influence.

Peterson and Rabe (1983) warn, in an historical analysis of interest group impact on U.S. federal educational policy, "...many studies of group influence may confuse high visibility with political muscle" (p.708). Kernaghan (1985) chronicles that in Canada, nevertheless, provincial and federal politicians admit lobbying by interest groups impacts on their day-to-day operations and decision-making. Presthus (1973) says these activities provide the substantive and ideological information that governments need to operate effectively (p. 177). Finally, Sroufe (1981) proposes these groups have considerable indirect influence on public policy. He claims they impact through their unequal representation of public interests, their ability to keep some important issues latent, and their influence on regulatory agencies and bureaucrats.

Structure

Interest groups adopt strategies to achieve their goals, limited by their resources and their degree of access to relevant decision-makers. (Who, in turn, recognize such groups and ensure their access based on the groups'

goals, membership, and resources). Structure refers to the type and degree of organization, both internal and external.

Presthus (1973) asserts Canadian interest groups share many similar characteristics, such as 1) legal status, 2) goals, 3) internal organization, 4) financing, and 5) democratic ideals (p. 103). Internal structure refers to a group's: (a) leadership and staff, (b) membership, (c) internal organization, and hence, internal democracy, and (d) funding methods. External structure refers to networking and overall organizational structure (if federated).

In Canada, Presthus (1973) claims interest groups' general organizational structure is usually unitary or federated. As the structure of Canadian education and the need for interest groups to match the structure of their target agency have been explained previously, nothing more will be added here.

Networking, or more accurately, interorganizational networking, is important to all community and interest groups. Groups network for a variety of reasons including the exchange of resources and information or favours, the exchange of ideas or moral support on mutually-shared ideologies or goals, and, the coordination and planning of joint ventures (Gittell, 1980; Upton & Fonow, 1984).

Purposive (advocacy) community groups were found (Gittell, 1980; Upton & Fonow, 1984) to network more frequently and effectively than supportive groups. Both studies identify finances and authority as the commodities most sought by groups in networking. Information, materials, and personnel were more common "currencies of exchange". An interesting discovery of both studies is that networking involved a mutual sharing of power. Only groups, therefore, with something "real" to exchange, were accepted within

a network. Older, more respected, or more powerful groups, therefore, tend to dominate networks.

Several authors note the critical role played by the leaders of interest groups. Pross, Presthus, Faulkner, and Gittell recognize this whether in a large, institutionalized group or a small, issue-oriented one. Leaders must act to maintain the internal cohesion of their group and represent their group's interests to other groups, the public, and "targets" (Presthus, 1973). They need to possess a number of personal characteristics and skills, a knowledge of the field of their interest group and the political realm within which they function, and often, either experience or contacts in that realm. The knowledge and skills required depend on the type of organization involved, but generally include extensive knowledge of politics, substantive knowledge in their field and current, related issues, and of the nature of funding for their "issue area". Sroufe (1981) identifies leadership-membership exchanges as one of interest groups' chief problems. Hence, other characteristics needed by such leaders include strong interpersonal skills, a certain amount of charisma, intelligence, commitment to the group, and support of group membership.

Leadership within interest groups can be classified according to a range of factors. Gittell (1980) classifies it by "type", of which there can be: rotating, externally-appointed, constant, or staff. These differences are often related to the funding basis of the group. For example, advocacy groups are often internally-funded, and possess either rotating or staff leadership. All mandated, externally-funded groups have the other types of leaders (Gittell, 1980). The term of office is another factor. Closely related to this is access to office. However, neither of these factors were found to relate significantly to any of the variables considered in this study. Degree of representativeness is another way of analyzing these group "managers". This approach may have merit as it

might reveal the democratic ideals of the group. Both Gittell (1980) and Van Loon and Whittington (1981) note the more effective or larger groups are basically oligarchic. Many decisions are made by the director or staff with little membership involvement.

Members are of vital importance to interest groups as they are the "soldiers" upon whom falls both the financial and personal responsibility for achieving the group's goals. Group members' social, educational, and financial characteristics colour the nature of the resulting organization. The recognition given groups by politicians depends partly on the basis of a group's membership. Specifically, factors such as the membership's size, social status, and political "clout" are important features of access, and hence, influence (Presthus, 1973, p.131).

Membership can also be characterized according to several factors. One can consider membership "type", which consists of either voluntary, representative, or client (Gittell, 1980). Members' degree of commitment is a "resource" of considerable value to groups and their leaders. Other member resources are critical to the success or even survival of the group. Presthus (1973) summarizes these membership resources as: size and social status, income, experience, commitment, cooperative ethic, and political efficacy.

Funding is very important to a group's structure as the level of funds available largely dictates the variety and duration of group strategies. Sroufe (1981) suggests the scarcity of this "resource" is the most serious interest group concern. Funding patterns often depend on a group's type of membership (Gittell, 1980; Presthus, 1973). For voluntary groups, dues comprise the largest source of group income. For mandated or service groups, whether possessing voluntary, representative, or client memberships, the funds include government grants, or subsidies from other groups or organizations (Gittell, 1980). If the

interest group has powerful business or personal patrons, gifts can provide some of the necessary monies. Voluntary groups also resort to various fundraising devices. At the local level these may be quite mundane, such as bake sales. At higher levels, this might include monies gained through the sale of display space at conferences or in publications, or from research. Funding, whether internal or external, is closely tied to the degree of freedom a group has in terms of its strategies and structure. (Upton & Fonow, 1984)

Functions

Interest groups serve a number of functions within society, other than the aggregation and articulation of the group's interests. These occur both internally and externally of the group. They range from general, philosophic "benefits" to society, to more concrete services they render to governments and other institutions, other groups and communities. Presthus (1973) and Pross (1986) term some of these external roles systemic functions.

Some theorists claim interest groups serve a vital and general function to society by helping transform general (individual) unrequited needs into "ordered interests". As Presthus (1973) claims "...interest groups, in sum, are a functional requisite of all modern societies, as they displace "...a purely 'mechanical' social solidarity with an affirmative,'organic' solidarity" (p. 141). This serves not only to reduce the frustration felt by those with needs, but transforms these into a form more readily (and likely) to be processed by governments and others in positions to distribute public resources.

These groups also serve as sites for the development of social and leadership skills (Gittell, 1980). This is a particularly crucial role for people from low SES groups whose opportunities for this are limited outside such organizations. Pross (1986) adds that interest groups also provide a number of important social, welfare, and charitable functions for society.

The research many interest groups perform to help gain recognition or to persuade policy-makers within their policy communities frequently finds its way to the public. Davies and Zerchykov (1981) claim certain "non-associational" groups provide information about educational policy and, as such, act as brokers and providers of information to parents (p.18). Sometimes information is presented to the public to convince them of the worth of the group's objectives, at other times it is prepared for the benefit of the group's members only. Whatever the original purpose, it serves to enlighten the public and decision-makers.

This ties-in appropriately with one of the four systemic functions these groups serve for governments. Pross (1986) lists these as communication, legitimation, regulation, and administration. The most valued function of "interests", according to the politicians involved and theorists alike, is that of two-way communication (Faulkner, 1982; Presthus, 1973; Pross, 1986). Communication consists of providing governments, usually through policy communities, with substantive and ideological information. Substantive information is that which politicians most want. It consists of material that impacts on that department's or ministry's functioning and policies. This can be either statistics vital to policy and regulation preparation or input from groups membership or society on the reaction to proposed policy. Ideological information, in contrast, consists of information regarding the political "consequences " anticipated of such policy. Both forms of information are of concern to politicians or decision makers at all levels.

Policy-makers seek legitimacy for their decisions and mandate in general. One of the most important functions of interest groups, therefore, is to provide legitimation. Politicians or any decision-makers can only claim to be

making decisions in consultation with the "concerned " public if a wide variety of interest groups are represented.

Finally, certain professional, trade, and industry groups perform the regulation and administration of their members for the government. Examples are teacher and doctor associations monitoring the certification and discipline of their members.

Steele, et al. (1981) suggest other roles for educational interest groups at the local level. They may also apply at the government level. These are (a) defusing the potency of other interest groups, (b) coalescing the power of other interest groups, (c) reflecting public opinion, and, (d) maintaining community support for an issue or program (for a longer period of time than can educators) (pp.262-263).

Despite my emphasis on the political roles of these groups, for many groups this is a minor concern of the leaders or membership. Within interest groups, other functions are performed. Hence, services to members such as social, insurance, or informational benefits have a high priority. In fact, for some members these "selective incentives" (Olson, 1965) are the main reasons for remaining in the group. Their leaders are aware of this fact, and are not slow to keep these services and benefits in place.

Interest Group Typologies

Now that interest groups have been described, it is appropriate to consider how they have been classified. Interest group classification has depended upon the discipline or field of the scholar concerned, the level at which interest groups were considered, and the scholar's purposes .

For these reasons academics manage to agree on few salient features of these organizations. The general definition of interest group, for example,

receives almost universal support. The choice of labels for such organizations, however, defies consensus.

Whereas the term "interest group" is generic enough for general agreement, terms like pressure group, special interest group , or lobbyists, cause disagreement. Pross (1986) claims the term "pressure group" is suggestive of a group's political orientation . Presthus (1973) suggests interest groups, in contrast, are generally viewed as being non-political. He also suggests the term pressure group has a negative connotation. Yet he contradicts himself by stating that almost all groups engage in activities with other groups, governments, the public, or within themselves which are basically political in nature (p.70). (Similar arguments discount the term lobby group or lobbyist as most groups perform this role).

Due to this lack of agreement among scholars, I chose to use the general label--interest group (and for the group in my study--special interest group). Regardless of which label applies, Pross (1986) identifies three characteristics of interest groups which differentiate them from government agencies (a distinction some scholars contest). These are membership, autonomous use of resources, and common interests which are internally determined (pp. 9-11). These are important criteria when studying an interest group which may have been created by a government agency.

As the taxonomies of interest groups vary so much, I chose to present them in order from more general typologies to more specific ones. Also, I listed those concerning government interest groups before those relating to community and school district-level, education groups.

Dichotomous models present the most general frameworks for classification. They are usually based on "paired opposites" of characteristics believed to typify particular groups. Presthus (1973) offers a range of

exemplary dichotomies. He purports groups could more appropriately be classified using continua, as dichotomies often don't reveal certain aspects of interest group influence or their political roles (p.67). Some examples of such dichotomies (continua) include; economic vs. expressive or instrumental, political vs. non-political, producer vs. consumer, federated vs. unitary, and private vs. public (p. 67).

Van Loon and Whittington (1981) also employ continua to classify pressure groups in government. The four group characteristics used are orientation (goals), structure, creation (origin), and methods of mobility. They base their analysis of structure on Pross's (1986) typology.

Pross (1986) develops a classification scheme based on an interest group's "degree of institutionalization". He focuses on pressure groups operating at the provincial and federal government levels in Canada. He envisions, within pressure groups, a range of organizational structure from "institutionalized" to "issue-oriented". The former is at the highest level of group development, the latter, at the lowest. To help graduate this continuum, Pross suggests two intermediate groups, which he terms "mature" and "fledgling" groups. Kernaghan, (1985), Sackney (1984), Thorburn (1985), and Van Loon and Whittington (1981) use this typology, or part of it, within their works on interest groups in Canada.

Another general model is that of Walker (1981), who uses a group's interest area (membership type) as the determiner of classification. This scheme identifies four types of interest groups, which span all levels of policy-making. These are private sector, public, non-profit, mixed, and non-occupational citizen groups.

Several typologies exist for educational interest group classification. As an educational special interest group is the focus of this study, a closer look at

this "type" is particularly warranted. Davies and Zerchykov (1981) produced a model which classifies groups by structure and function. This yields a "four by four" matrix, resulting in sixteen cells which collectively account for all possible group types. Prior to generating this matrix from these two variables, the authors delimit exactly what types of parent, educational groups' structures and functions qualify for inclusion.

Thus they identify groups' structures according to being either multi-issue or education-only. Within the latter exist interest and non-interest organizations. Finally, these interest group categories subdivide into delegate, associational and trustee, non-associational groups. Within the function variable, groups can be episodic (not temporary) or continuing. Groups with a continuing function can be either moral- or material-ended. Finally, this latter type could be organized around either a grievance or a benefit (p. 178).

Davies and Zerchykov (1981) argue there is a lack of persisting, delegate-associational (parent) groups due to systemic restraints in education, preventing parental access to pertinent information and decision making (p.187). Thus, trustee-non-associational (non-parent) groups have come into existence to redress this imbalance.

Another means of classifying groups is by interest area, such as business, professional, religion, etc. Presthus (1973) suggests similar groups often possess similar internal structures, processes, and fringe benefits (p. 66). Townsend (1982) studied interest groups in the Ontario education system. His conceptual schema considers group "power" in terms of "authority", "sanction", and "influence". The three main foci of Ontario groups listed are: 1) labour, 2) management, and 3) special focus. He then organizes the groups studied on a chart with the axes of "power", and "scope".

Townsend later used interest group power conceptualizations in a joint study (Duane, Townsend, and Bridgeland, 1985) of educational interest groups in Ontario and Michigan. This is only one of three conceptual frameworks used to provide what the authors' term an "exploratory frame of reference"(p. 109). Besides Townsend's "power analysis", Duane et al. (1985) incorporate economic incentives theory (Olson; 1965) and Ricker's "coalition -building" theory to provide an "objective/material" perspective. To this they add "political culture" analysis (p.109). This considers purposive incentives, social movement analysis, perspectives on the influence of SES, and political culture differences. These latter perspectives provide a contextual "depth" lacking in other interest group studies.

At the community or school district level, five typologies were found. Salisbury (1980) studied six American school districts and organized citizens participating in the education systems according to the roles they play. This can be either supportive or purposive. Gittell (1980) conducted a longitudinal study of sixteen citizen groups, including lower and middle-to-upper SES groups. Contrary to the initial classification model developed, groups are found to be best classified by their social/economic class and group structure. (Gittell's use of the term "structure", equates to my use of the word "strategy"). Thus the three community, education group strategies are found to be advocacy, service, and advisory.

Steele et al. (1981) offer a three-descriptor model of educational interest groups appropriate for classification of community-level groups. The descriptors used are interest group origin, relative permanence, and organizational structure. Each of these is divided into two categories, making the resulting model a product of three dichotomies. Relative permanence divides into ad hoc

versus standing. Origin divides into appointed versus emerged. Finally, organizational structure divides into formally- versus informally-organized.

Lusthaus et al. (1976) developed a "systems" model to analyze a case study involving several community education interest groups (CEIGs). These included teacher, parent, and taxpayer groups. The classification model is based on Etzioni's (1961) concept of degree of value congruence. In the Lusthaus et al. model this results in three types of CEIG-school board relations, namely--collaborative, utilitarian, and coercive. These represent, respectively, the most to least degree of positive, supportive relations between the concerned groups and the educational leaders. This model's creators also use Summerfield's (1971) concepts to classify the opposing groups as petitioners (the CEIGs) and allocators (the school board).

Saxe (1983) developed another model for classifying CEIGs. Although simple, it focuses on two key variables, both of which impact on group effectiveness. The model consists of a "two-by-two", four-cell grid which cross-references group tactics and objectives. By tactics, Saxe refers to either demand (purposive) or support (supportive) strategies. Objectives refers to whether a group is local or affiliated (thus assuming different agendas between local and federated organizations).

At this point, it may be noted that classification schema shift from what is officially considered the study of interest groups to that of citizen/community or parent participation in education. The terminology used or field of study involved, however, is of less consequence than the contributions these bodies of literature make to this study. In my view, much of this relates to interest groups, for what are community parent or citizen groups, if not "interests" operating at the local level?

Summary

In summary, there are many factors or variables to consider in studying interest groups, whether at the government or community level. Similar processes, however, are in operation at either level. The literature suggests differences are largely a matter of scale.

This chapter has presented an overview of these group characteristics. The importance of a group's goals, leaders, and members is emphasized. These characteristics largely determine the group's potential influence, and hence, effectiveness.

Key among these were the organization's resources, including financial, material, and psychological assets. Several authors have specified that resources (chiefly financial) have a direct or indirect influence on: (a) the group's choice of strategies, (b) the group's structure, (c) the extent of contact with other organizations (networking), and (d) the group's recognition and access to decision makers.

The chapter concluded with a survey of interest group typologies. These varied considerably, reflecting their originator's selection of group characteristics or variables deemed relevant to their model. All models, however, used factors relating to interest group goals and origins, structure, strategies, or functions--factors or characteristics described in this chapter.

Chapter 3: Parents, Interest Groups, and Curriculum

To understand the methods of influence, recognition, and degree of success of Canadian Parents for French it is necessary to provide more specific, context-related information and concepts. Curriculum policy making at the local level, therefore, is the initial focus of this chapter given CPF's goals and strategies. The chapter contains an overview of the processes and influences involved in school district policy making, while ensuing sections concern the structures, processes, general trends and influences upon curriculum policy making beyond the district level. These perspectives explain the context within which Canadian Parents for French operates to influence the education system.

A brief historical and conceptual overview outlines parents' instructional and non-instructional involvement in their children's education. This explains the formation of parent special interest groups in education and their strategies. It also permits a comparison, hence a measure of, CPF's degree of success relative to other parent actions.

Several examples highlight other education interest group's accomplishments, to help determine CPF's recognition and success within the education system. Analogies may later be made with CPF. The major issues concerning Canadian school districts' French programs (particularly French Immersion) are presented to highlight issues relevant to CPF. A summary concludes the chapter.

Local Educational Policy Making: An Overview

Burlingame (1988) considers the local influences on educational politics and policy making in a comprehensive review based on Boyd's (1976) model of local governance. This review identifies and clarifies the role of local factors which influence several variables central to this study. Interest group goals, structure, and general strategies relate to their origins (community "make-up") and the issues which led to their formation. The key factors influencing educational policy making processes and structures (hence, curriculum) are, similarly, a community's type (urban, suburban, or rural; homogeneous or heterogeneous), and the issues involved (or policy questions)-- by content-- curriculum, facilities, district organization, personnel, and finance; and by type-- routine or strategic. The local policy making processes and structures, in turn, delimit an interest group's functions, recognition and access, hence, their methods of influence. Boyd's (1976, 1978) findings regarding the factors of community type and issues involved, therefore, warrant mention.

Urban, suburban, and rural communities demonstrate different responses to policy making, being more or less, "public-regarding" or "private regarding". School boards' responsiveness, furthermore, varies according to district location and community homogeneity. Boyd (1976) argues each policy decision may be considered a "routine"' or "strategic" issue--depending on community type. Later, Boyd (1978) suggests content issues such as curriculum and personnel are viewed by school boards as internal issues, for which they do not typically seek community input (p.597). The variables of community type and issue, therefore, influence the "output variables" of "type of politics employed" and "policy outcomes". The type of politics employed , as related to local interest groups, concerns the frequency of community control (or

major influence upon) school policy making, and, the extent of community influence on professional educators (Boyd, 1976, p. 552).

Within this local policy forum, key actors include the district senior administrator (superintendent), school board members, teacher groups, and special interest groups. Several other of Boyd's concepts pertaining to local influences on policy are germane to this study. Boyd advocates the study of "crisis" decisions. Boyd (1978) submits that as the educational decision making process is "tradition-bound" and "incremental" regarding routine policy making, it is only necessary to analyze those events that are "non-routine" or "non-incremental". These represent the only "advances" the system makes. Benson(1982) agrees with this perspective.

Also important is Boyd's (1978) concept of zone of tolerance-the leeway communities allow local policy makers, related to the nature of the policy issue and the degree of community homogeneity. Finally, his (1982a, 1989) concept of mobilization of bias can be used in conjunction with the zone of tolerance, to identify why communities might react negatively to a new program (i. e.- French Immersion).

Other research directly or indirectly corroborates some of Boyd's perspectives on influences on local policy. Levin (1982) chronicles the public's generally low knowledge of, participation in, and impact upon education policy making in Canada. While various reasons are presented (Levin,1982; Mann, 1974) the consequence is that most people are not involved in educational policy making. This low level of involvement may affect the issues to which they react, in terms of a community's zone of tolerance and the mobilization of bias. Levin (1982) adds "Public attitudes still have a considerable influence on school curriculum, especially on such areas as languages and family life education" (p. 8).

From the school board perspective, Wirt and Kirst (1982) note school board members are not "passive receptors" to their superintendents, communities, or interest groups. Community homogeneity influences the level of conflict school boards encounter. As the level of conflict in a school district increases, a school board's receptiveness to change or likelihood of producing new policy increases. Wirt and Kirst (1982) identify three types of school board response to inputs from the community--null, negotiated, and prompt (pp. 136-7). These response types represent a sequence, which parallels the increasing pressure or conflict generated by a policy issue.

Kirst (1989), nevertheless, notes a decrease in school board influence in policy making coinciding with an increase in interest group influence. This matches the concurrent growth of national interest groups and may relate to Warren's (1963) concept of the vertical axis effect (quoted in Boyd, 1982a). Warren suggests important linkages exist between local interest groups and the state and federal levels of their organizations. Local group objectives, and political and technical expertise originate at these higher levels. Kirst (1989) proposes "The complexity of school policy making tends to provide considerable influence to those who control information and analyses of policy alternatives "(p. 147). If the decline in school board autonomy is attributable to the increasing influence of the national interest groups, then local interest groups' activities may be more influenced by their national group's agenda, than by local concerns.

Burlingame (1988) advocates the use of Benson's (1982) "A Framework for Policy Analysis" and Boyd's (1982b) "The Political Economy of Schools" in analyzing local policy. Both models address questions related to both "deep" and "surface" variables at work in local policy making, and to the external variables in the system. Parts of both models apply in this study.

Benson (1982) provides a framework for policy analysis that is strongly "contextualized", suiting it to application to education (despite not being its sole use). He maintains two levels of factors operate within a given policy sector to influence policy making. He defines a policy sector as "... an arena in which public policies are decided and implemented... conventionally bounded by substantive policy names- health care, welfare... (Benson, 1982, p. 147). The public education system thus constitutes a policy sector.

The upper, "level one" factors, Benson suggests, are more visible to us, yet are largely determined by the lower, "level two" factors. Within a policy sector, level one factors include: its administrative arrangements, policy paradigms, and interorganizational dependencies. Level two factors comprise the interest-power structures and the rules of structure formation. Two other of Benson's concepts of resource dependencies and types of groups are applicable here.

His model assumes all interorganizational interaction is based on resource dependencies. Benson (1982) defines resources as anything needed by an organization to survive or attain its objectives, such as funds or authority (p. 148). Benson's model also identifies five types of groups within policy sectors. These include: demand, support, administrative, provider , and coordinating groups. Benson's typology reveals parents may serve, simultaneously, as members of two or more groups. The typology also synchronizes this policy analysis model with Boyd's political economy model.

Boyd's political economy theory (1982b) also called "public" or "collective choice" theory, focuses on the costs and benefits to groups of information gathering, participation in decision making, and mobilizing political action. He maintains individuals form collectivities for rational purposes, with clear objectives in mind, having met with frustration through other avenues. Boyd,

furthermore, deems the costs and benefits of group membership important considerations to group operations (as does Olson, 1965)

Boyd (1982b) suggests that service organizations (such as schools) professed goals should not always be accepted as their real goals. Political economy theory considers both their professed (official) and other (unofficial) goals. Boyd (1982b) argues that as public schools are assured of indirect financial support and lack a profit motive, they instead seek to survive, avoid conflict and control their organizations (p. 114). This "self-serving" behaviour may lead to what Boyd terms "perverse" results such as striking bargains with teachers or external groups to "...meet environmental expectations" (p. 115), rather than their official goals. Parent interest groups may exist, partly, to counteract this self-centered tendency of professional educators.

Another useful concept is Boyd's perspective on parents' alternatives when dissatisfied with the services they receive from the schools. Boyd (1982b) suggests parent's options are either to "exit" (remove their children) or to "voice"(speak against or modify the system). He notes the inherent inequality of both of these options given parents' differing levels of education, SES, and political contacts or knowledge. This may aggravate problems of the "free-rider" effect (Peterson, 1974).

Boyd (1982b) claims, furthermore, that "...teacher and professional groups associated with the provision of special services themselves are inclined to become potent lobbies to protect and enhance their programs (p. 121). All of these factors bear upon the motivation of parents seeking changes in education policy or programs.

Why Parent Involvement in Curriculum?

Kerr (1987) helps explain why curriculum is the target of education interest groups such as CPF. Education is justified from several perspectives, other than purely academic reasons. Education's justification comprises moral, cultural, and political aspects. To Kerr, an education includes: a "moral aspect"--it advances the good of society's members and informs them of its principles of justice; a "political aspect"--it keeps a democracy functioning, and a "cultural aspect"--it empowers one to understand experiences, interpret what one sees, and helps structure one's experiences.

Townsend (in press) defines curriculum as "...who gets taught what..." (p. 1). As part of the cultural aspect of education, this view is central to purposive parental involvement in curriculum policy making. "What is taught" largely determines the next generation's concepts, knowledge bases, and attitudes on a wide range of topics. Mosher et al. (1979) note that in the United States, curriculum became a focus of both special interest groups--the bilingual education and special education lobbies, and social reform movements. It coincided with the end of the "closed system" view of school district governance and the increased use of activist methods by interest groups (p. 5). Mosher et al (1979) suggest the topics of discipline, curriculum, textbooks, and school closures were the most contentious issues.

Groups within society, holding different philosophies and values, want different subjects taught or with different emphases. Decisions made by Canadian provincial ministries of education, regardless of how liberal their view of society and education, can not be expected to satisfy all these groups. Hence Boyd (1978), Levin (1982), and Townsend (in press) claim curriculum policy making is basically a political act. Of this, Greenfield (1973) suggests "Organizations are political, with political decisions (and acts required to carry

them out) being manifestations as much of individual or group purposes as they are of stated organizational goals "(p. 8). The question of whether schools are agents of change or maintenance in society also bears on curriculum decisions. "What gets taught" involves people making choices that shape the future generation, often with immediate political consequences for the decision makers involved. A few examples illustrate this point.

Curriculum content may be opposed by certain societal groups. Lipschutz (1988) details the reaction of several different ethnic groups to the Ottawa Board of Education's decision to include the Holocaust as part of a study of discrimination (Feb. 1986). Considerable rancor was evident at media-attended school board meetings which, along with other avenues of pressure, led to the school board's withdrawing the program. Lipschutz proposes several reasons for the school board's "defeat". The nature of the topic was critical, as some groups found it too "Eurocentric", while others believed the Holocaust alone comprised too much or too little coverage within the program. The program's timing was ill-conceived, occurring soon after the announced findings of the Duchesne Commission and the Kurt Waldheim, Ernst Zundel, and Jim Keegstra affairs. The setting for the program may have been inappropriate--Ottawa is home to many embassies (a similar program initiated in North York and Toronto school districts did not draw a similar reaction). Finally, Lipshutz (1988) deems the Ottawa Board of Education's handling of the matter inappropriate.

Another example of a community-level reaction is provided by Robinson (1982) who reports the reaction of a middle-class, suburban community in halting a planned French immersion program for their school. The school board had always received widespread support from this community for its policies and programs. This time, however, it misread a "strategic" decision to

implement a French immersion program in the community's school as being a "routine" one (one which would not require community input). Despite the decision being presented to the community as a *fait accompli* and considerable media pressure against them (as being racists), the parents organized an effective grassroots movement which halted the new program. Boyd's concepts of zone of tolerance and mobilization of bias may have operated in this case.

A final example comes from the provincial rather than the community level. Trueman (1988) details the reactions of several interest groups to the Ontario Ministry of Education's list of social studies texts, over a ten year period. In 1975 a report from the Canadian Society of Muslims was sent to the Director of Curriculum Development Branch, the Chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, and other politicians complaining of the historical content (for accuracy) and perspective (philosophical) of certain texts. Later texts were carefully scrutinized for the disputed materials.

In May 1978, the Indian Students' Association wrote a report ,with government funding, on the social studies texts (in relation to India) which drew government attention. Finally, throughout this period, Trueman reports several feminist groups claimed differing amounts and degrees of sexual bias in these texts. These examples illustrate a few of the issues and reactions to curriculum content and policy making by societal groups.

Citizen involvement in curriculum, therefore, has historical precedent. It may relate to curriculum content or process. Reaction may take a variety of forms, from community/local actions, to nationally-based interest groups or societal "movements". For largely cultural reasons parents get involved in matters often deemed the responsibility of professional educators or elected officials (school trustees or provincial governments).

Other justifications for parent involvement in curriculum exist. Henniger (1987) lists several parental rights and responsibilities under two categories--social and legal rights (American). One pertinent social right identified is "planning and maintaining parent groups" (p.227). Three legal rights listed include the right to be represented in policy-making decision, the right to access to special services for children with special problems, and the right to privacy, protection, and due process (my emphasis). These latter three rights have been widely used as justification for parent involvement.

Mosher et al (1979) remark the considerable upswing of citizens' seeking their "rights"-- particularly low SES parents or those with handicapped children or seeking bilingual language programs. Through these activities, parents have gone beyond the boundaries of what is typically considered curriculum policy making (both as regards curriculum "content" and "process"), into that of school governance (Mitchell, 1984). Hennessy (1985) notes a similar increase in citizen influence in educational policy making in Ontario (which probably applies across Canada). Hennessy attributes this to increased citizen dissatisfaction with unresponsive school boards, rising school taxes , school board-teacher bargaining, and survey results indicating declining academic standards.

Whatever the cause, this increase in citizen (usually parent) interest and involvement in curriculum finds several new avenues of expression. Yet the "traditional" means of access to the curriculum policy making processes remain. These are briefly described next.

Curriculum Policy Making: Structures and Processes

This brief overview of Canadian curriculum policy making elucidates both the typical structures and processes involved. Duhamel and Cyze (1985) provide a concise historical and structural account of this subject. Section 93 of the British North America Act (1867) allocated the provinces jurisdiction over education. Provinces possess a single document or a series of acts outlining and legislating responsibilities in this regard. These statutes and laws are subject to review/revision on varying scales of time. Their exact intent is made explicit through prescriptive orders and regulations (p. 5). A Minister of Education is typically responsible to the government for education within his or her jurisdiction. These responsibilities are typically discharged with the assistance of a Ministry of Education (or Department of Education). Curriculum development, monitoring, and evaluation comprises a large part of each Ministry of Education's duties. These ministries usually practice a cyclical, curriculum revision process. Duhamel and Cyze (1985) note they increasingly practice a participative approach in involving representatives of interest groups in the decision making process. Housego (1972) claims "Depending upon the nature of the issue being settled, representatives from other groups [other than teacher federations and trustee associations] may be involved " (p. 14).

School boards are established locally, empowered to enact the Ministry's policies and programs. These are transmitted to school boards through a number of Ministry publications- newsletters, curriculum guides, etc., as well as reports and orders. Boards set local policy for the effective operation of public schools within Ministry guidelines.

The curriculum itself, except for certain, locally-developed programs, is generated by ministry committees constituting what Housego (1972) calls a "subgovernment". This consists of interest group leaders, department of

education heads, and other political elites involved in that subject area. Curriculum is again shown as much a political act as an educational one, for, "...laws and policies operate to the advantage of some groups [in society] and to the disadvantage of others" (Housego, 1972, p. 13).

Curriculum Policy Making: Trends and Influences

A number of trends in curriculum and in Canadian society impact on curriculum policy making. At the school board level of the system, Housego insists, elites also dominate the process-- although they can be influenced by local political pressures. Isherwood and Osgoode (1986) and Isherwood et al. (1984) detail the considerable influence of the Ministry of Education on school district curriculum policy making, as well as other "external" influences. In "What Makes School Boards Tick: A Chairman's Perspective", Isherwood and Osgoode record their subjects' concern over: the involvement of the media , lack of school board involvement in "substantive" issues, frustration with provincially determined agendas, and of interest groups' influence in policy making. Isherwood et al.(1984) also note the number of new "players" now to be considered in local policy making-- including parents and interest groups. In this article, school superintendents also list the key policy development forums. These include school board meetings, the Ministry of Education, sub-committee meetings, task force meetings, luncheons, and PTA meetings.

Worth (1986) claims that in the past curriculum topics were largely ignored by school board members who preferred to leave this matter in the hands of the district's professional administrators. A number of recent developments have changed this tendency. Fiscal restraints in education have forced school boards to set priorities in curriculum. More attention is being paid to curricular matters by parents , interest groups , and teachers. This is evident

in the increased number of programs/ curriculum "open meetings" and of presentations by teachers at board meetings. Worth (1986) asserts sources of influence on curriculum development now include parents, as well as educators, administrators, and trustees (p. 13).

Common (1985) and Duhamel and Cyze (1985) note an increase in ministries of education's centralization in policy making and school finance. An example is B.C.'s increased control and emphasis on the core curriculum. This has been somewhat counterbalanced by the need to provide parents with better communication and increase their participation.

Ralph (1982) suggests in modern language policy making, there are additional factors affecting school board decisions. School trustee's norms, international factors, the political situation in Quebec, the actions of other school boards, and the federal commitment to French language policies must all be "factored-in" to the policy making process. French language programs also receive mixed responses and levels of activity across Canada, depending on local factors (Duhamel and Cyze, 1985, p.7). Boyd (1982) argues that this type of influence is largely "covert"--as represented by a community's "zone of tolerance" or society's " mobilization of bias " factors. In any community, school board members' attitudes or cultural backgrounds regarding French language programs may range widely. This presents a scenario of growing complexity, due in part to the multiplicity of "actors "involved.

Fullan's (1982) study of superintendents revealed curriculum to be the "third most important" issue they deal with. Also, a major recent change of concern to them was "...a more vocal citizenry" (p. 160). Zeigler et al.(1977) similarly found curriculum "...the most conflictual school board issue "(p.241).

Prior to providing some illustrations of other parent, education interest groups, however, a brief summary of "typical" parent involvement in education is

given, to present a general context against which to gauge CPF activities. The effectiveness and salient features of both -- unorganized, individual, and, mandated parent advisory committee participation are presented.

Typical Parent Involvement in Education

The recent literature on parent involvement in their children's education (schooling) suggest it benefits children at all grade levels (Barth, 1979; Dauber & Epstein, 1989; Epstein, 1987). Dauber and Epstein (1989) suggest parent involvement in schooling impacts on children's - learning, attitudes, and aspirations. Several typologies exist to classify types of parent involvement in education. These schemes vary, depending on their recognition of the importance of purposive parent involvement in school affairs. Salisbury (1980) defines purposive activities as those aimed at changing existing policies and practices. They are issue-oriented. Supportive activities, he suggests, comprise those efforts aimed at helping the teacher/school within existing policies and practices.

Davies (1987) presents a typology with four categories of parent involvement including both purposive and supportive participation. The categories include: (a) coproduction, where educational professionals guide parents in the shared responsibility of teaching children, both at home and at school (also called partnership); (b) decision making, where parents are involved in a range of purposive, often governance issues; (c) citizen advocacy, where parents, alone or in groups, champion student causes; and, (d) parent choice, where parents choose their children's school, curriculum, discipline programs, or teachers. This classification embodies Davies' conviction that both partnership and empowering forms of involvement serve a purpose-- to parents, students and schools.

Recent research, however, does not support Davies' notion that the last three types of parent involvement in his model result in benefits to students. Many scholars , consequently, prefer to present these purposive activities within their classification schemes while qualifying their lack of academic impact.

Fullan (1982) offers a simple dichotomy in keeping with the lack of information relating purposive involvement with improved student achievement. Parent involvement is either instruction-related, or non-instruction related. He suggests non-instructional activities divide into involvement regarding governance, home-school relations, and community services. Epstein (1987) takes this tendency to its limit, offering a typology of four types of parent involvement-- all related to parent assistance of student learning. The four categories include basic obligations of parents, school-to-home communications, parent involvement in school, and parent involvement in home learning activities.

These differences in classification systems may be due to more than a lack of empirical evidence of tangible benefits to students, and of purposive forms of parent participation. Davies (1987) suggests "low" level forms of parent involvement "...are the least threatening to teachers and administrators and the least controversial.... In addition, moving to adopt such purposive plans requires a shift in attitudes, about what education for children is, from 'delivery of services' to a 'partnership' model" (p. 150). Whether or not Davies' suggestion can be verified, the fact that these types of activities are the most common is *a priori* evidence of that likelihood.

Arguments for supportive forms of parent involvement generally tend to be paternalistic in nature, defending only parents' "rights" to information, professionally-guided assistance in learning, and supportive participation of their children's schools Chavkins and Williams (1987) find that educators, including superintendents, principals, and teachers, all supported parent involvement of the supportive kind. They generally offered paternalistic arguments for justifying parent unsuitability for purposive activities. Compared to teacher and administrator perspectives, parents did not see themselves as being incapable of such roles (p. 181).

In support of the parents' position, Bridges(1984) offers several non-paternalistic arguments for such parent involvement. Henniger (1987) lists several parents rights, both social and legal, which transcend "supportive" roles. Beattie (1989) suggests a number of benefits through the development of a partnership attitude and approach to parent involvement. He suggests, as does Davies (1987, 1989) that parents have too long been omitted from the processes of educating their children. Similarly, Chavkin and Williams (1987) suggest parents of all social contexts are seeking increased parent participation, which entails their acquiring real influence in a range of matters affecting schooling. Educators can accept this reality , thereby reaping the benefits of collaboration, or continue to lose legitimacy.

If what Davies and others suggest is even partly true, then some evidence of these professed benefits should be evident in some recent studies. Two large longitudinal studies of community group participation in schools in the United States support previous assumptions about the lack of benefit to students of purposive parent involvement (Gittell, 1980; Salisbury, 1980). Salisbury's study of citizen participation in public schooling concludes: (a) the large majority of those involved were parents, (b) most parent activity consisted of supportive involvement, and (c) parents had little influence in educational decision-making processes. The Gittell study (1980) of sixteen, American community organizations involved in schools has produced similar results.

To determine the extent of this condition, parent participative bodies from a range of polities were also considered. Beattie (1989) studied parent consultative or decision-making committees in five polities. These were in Massachusetts, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Germany. He claims despite a legislated structure and mandate, their impact on educational practice and programs is minimal. He posits this is a function of: (a) the lack of a clearly-

defined and accepted role for parents within these mechanisms, (b) the consequent lack of commitment on the part of educational professionals and politicians, and (c) the political nature of their establishment in the first place (pp. 3-4). Davies (1987, 1989) corroborates this view, attributing it to the lack of acceptance of parent involvement in purposive activities by educators; the nature of organizations in general, and schools specifically; and class "perceptual" biases that have limited the impact.

Notwithstanding these general research findings, there is evidence that parents can be involved in purposive activities with effect. Despite his general prognosis of little benefit to students of non-instructional parent involvement, Fullan (1982) qualifies this statement. He suggests possible benefits for the parents involved and for home-school relations.

The benefits to students of involving their parents in purposive activities are mostly indirect ones. Davies (1987), Chavkin and Williams (1987) and Beattie (1989) suggest many parents feel "shut-out " and helpless regarding the operation of their children's schools. For some parents, schools are hostile places where their children are poorly served. As students' motivation and expectations are largely coloured by home/ community perceptions of school, any attempts to improve this perception will ultimately impact positively on student learning.

Chavkin and Williams (1987) suggest other benefits in involving parents on decision making bodies. Having parents as participants on these bodies may provide a better framework for dealing with problems. With the broader perspective and enhanced legitimacy parent-members confer on decision making school bodies, the authors claim principals may better be able to deal with previously difficult problems (p.167). Beattie (1989) argues, furthermore, parent advisory and decision making bodies have helped spend sums of

money effectively, called mass parent meetings, and resulted in teacher changes in practice (pp. 10-11).

Through these structures, a range of governments - federal, provincial, and state, have sought to empower parents in matters of schooling. Beattie (1989) claims Britain's Education Reform Act (1988) is a political tool to subvert the power of the local education authorities, political parties, and teacher unions (p. 4). Similarly, political motives apparently lay behind the establishment of other parent advisory committees. Goldring (1989) claims this kind of parent participation is most often mandated for low SES class parents. Davies (1987) cites the example of the American I. E. P. programs which seek to offer greater parent input into the education of handicapped and low SES children (pp. 150-151).

Thus a number of benefits accrue to parents, students, and schools through purposive types of parent involvement. Such parent involvement in a range of curriculum and governance functions is seldom supported by educators and is, therefore, frequently subject to failure. It is appropriate now to determine how certain "contexts" influence this parent involvement, in general.

Davies (1989) has a considerable body of evidence to suggest that low SES parents are less informed, involved, and participate less-frequently in school affairs, than do their higher-class counterparts. His Institute for Responsive Education study confirmed similar conditions in Liverpool, Boston, and Portugal. Other studies corroborate this view. Gittell (1980) notes class differentiation has a great influence on the characteristics, goals, and functions of community organizations involved with schools. She insinuates that these groups are "class bound", with consequences for both their behaviour and the power they were allowed to share (p.37). The lack of financial resources and

power greatly limits the choice of strategies for achieving their goals, and their overall effectiveness. This is not the case for higher-SES organizations.

More direct evidence is found in a study by Hallinger and Murphy (1986). Specifically, parent involvement in high-SES schools is widespread, in-depth, often parent-initiated, and includes many types of school support. Conversely, parents with children in low-SES schools are minimally-involved, seldom initiate such activities, and there is little support for schools.

Other evidence derives from studies by Dauber and Epstein (1986), Epstein (1987), Goldring (1989), and Salisbury (1980). Salisbury calls social class a "predisposing factor" in parent involvement, with much higher levels occurring in high-SES communities. In a study of Israeli schools and their communities, Goldring's (1989) findings on principals' perceptions of and responses to, parents from differing social contexts, closely mirror those of Hallinger and Murphy.

Dauber and Epstein (1989) find the higher the educational level of parents the greater the amount of involvement. If both parents work, there is less involvement. Families with fewer children participate more with home instruction, but not with school activities. Marital status, however, does not relate to the amount of parent involvement. A similar finding is recorded by Epstein (1987), as both single and married parents are found to be "...equally helpful and responsible in completing learning activities" (p. 130).

Salisbury (1980) also concludes that parents' education relates closely to amount of parent involvement. The higher their education, the more they participate. It was also found that the majority of parents actively involved in schools are young mothers, involved in supportive activities (p. 129). Interestingly, men comprise more of the "activist groups, and are more often leaders of parent groups or advisory/ decision making bodies.

In summary, social class and a number of family background characteristics affect parent participation. Most of the contexts presented demonstrate, with varying degrees of confidence, that contextual effects are important to the amount and type of involvement parents presently experience in their children's schools. The context of family background reveals differing types and amounts of parent involvement (except parent marital status). The contexts of parental education, employment status, and number of children are all found to be significant effects

The difference between what educators now engage in with parents, and what needs to be done, is the difference between parent involvement and parent participation. Jenkins (1981) and Ornstein (1983) make arguments for a shift from the former to the latter. The arguments of Beattie (1989), Bridges (1984), Chavkin and Williams (1987), Dauber and Epstein (1989) Davies (1987, 1989), Epstein (1987), Fullan (1982), Hallinger and Murphy (1986), and Jackson and Cooper (1989) also focus, directly or indirectly, on this issue.

While acknowledging the greater impact on student achievement of instructional parent activities, this issue of parents participating is central to the entire matter of parent involvement. Why must the schools engage parents more actively in the purposive forms of involvement such as decision making? How can such participation influence the effects of the social contexts described, given their supposedly "fixed"and complex nature?

Chavkin and Williams (1989) state "..American education is being asked to narrow its focus and to improve its effectiveness and its productivity" (p. 104). The same may generally be said in Canada. Increased demands of accountability necessitate a partnership approach, between the schools and parents. Parents have arguably the greatest stake in the entire enterprise after their children. As many authors suggest (see Goodlad, 1987, The Ecology of

School Renewal), within an increasingly complex environment an "ecological" approach to school-community relations is not just sensible, it is necessary. Chavkin and Williams(1987) suggest "...the job [curriculum decisions] is becoming too large to be done only by administrators" (p. 183). Parent interest groups are one means for parents to enjoy this participation typically denied them.

Successful Parent Groups and Individual Parent's Activities

Duane et al. (1985) observe several important features of successful education interest groups, in their comprehensive analysis of Michigan and Ontario education interest groups. "Special interest groups", meaning those with a relatively narrow focus, are generally found to be more successful than larger, "generalist" groups. Hence the Ontario special education groups and a French minority language coalition fare better than some of the larger groups with substantially greater membership and funding bases.

The authors posit that the former's sharper focus permits them to apply all of their resources--both financial and personnel, in one area. Smaller groups may also enjoy greater cohesion (p. 112). The result is greater expertise in that specialized realm (hence--recognition). Smaller groups offer more "direct and immediate " material incentives, therefore possessing greater membership commitment. They have the potential to realize what Olson (1971) terms "selective benefits" for which parents join such groups. Larger groups may "spread themselves too thin" to regularly achieve either of these goals.

In special interest groups, furthermore, members join for non-economic, purposive (value-ideological) and solidary (social-cohesive-integration) incentives. Duane et al.(1985) purport their "cause" may allow a self-interested group to "...tap additional political energies by having a stirring cause to rally

around" (p. 113). Finally, the smaller groups tend to more frequently form what Duane et al term " minimum winning coalitions". These groups' coalitions are "...big enough to win and small enough to win big" (p. 113). In summary, Duane et al (1985) laud special interest groups' (a) specialization, (b) cost-to-benefit ratio, (c) successful coalitions, and (d) "power thrust" due to their causes.

Ginsberg Riggs (1984) describes the organizational characteristics of such an education, parent interest group. The organizational structure, goals and strategies of the New Jersey Gifted Child's Society (NJGCS) are provided. This group meets many of the success criteria identified by Duane et al. (1985). The group made some initial errors in strategy, attempting to "bully" educators into granting their wishes and providing recognition. Several years of work cooperating with these same authorities were required to undo the "damage done" (p. 11). Several organizational and operational characteristics of the NJGCS are listed and advocated as requisites of an effective education interest group. These include:

1) written goals, in a constitution,

2) competent, dedicated leaders,

3) written-- policies, committee and staff responsibilities,

4) periodic group self-evaluation,

5) a group "scrapbook" (or chronicle of accomplishments),

6) systematic use of all of members' "strengths",

7) an informed-advocacy function, and

8) effective use of finances. (p. 113)

Similar success stories have occured in Canada. Duane et al (1985) list the most effective Ontario education interest groups as all being involved with special education or second language programs. These include the Ontario Association of Children with Learning Disabilities, the Ontario Association for

the Mentally Retarded, and l'Association des Ensiegnants Franco-Ontariens (AEFO). All of these groups have used political means and "social movements" to their benefit. They were also willing to go to Court for their causes.

Such a group is "VOICE". An Ontario parent group founded to ensure the provision of special services in schools for hearing impaired children, it is presently the largest parent support group of its kind in North America. In an historical/descriptive article, Fox (1987) documents this group's grassroots origins and goals, and some of its strategies. VOICE's roots lay in the early 1960's with its founder, Louise Crawford. Its members are committed to the use of the "auditory-verbal" method of remediation, and to the mainstreaming of their hearing-impaired children (p.112). Its shift from a solely advocacy role (information sharing and support for parents), to a mixed advocacy and service role (service-oriented and politically-active) is also detailed.

Key factors in the group's success include a committed membership and dedicated, effective leaders. Other important factors in its success include liaison with American "hearing impaired" parent groups, recognition for establishing and on-going funding of a major hearing-impairment therapy centre, and its widespread and continuing efforts to network with organizations and groups with like objectives.

Fox (1987) suggests its successful strategies for goal achievement are effective public relations campaigns and its "grassroots" organization. It has continued these activities, while maintaining and monitoring what it has accomplished and expanding to new activities. It does so despite Ontario Bill 82, which now guarantees what VOICE has achieved.

Not all successful parental action takes place within interest groups or at least a single one. A similar tale of success occurred with British Columbia's "gifted education" movement. Laine (1983) records how not a single group, but

several groups' efforts were responsible for the achievements in this particular realm. Concurrent efforts by parent, (Coquitlam Association for the Gifted), teacher (Association of Educators of Gifted, Talented, and Creative Children of B.C.), and societal groups (Mensa), in conjunction with the active support of B. C. Ministry of Education personnel (Dr. Pat McGeer) helped create the existing programs. Laine notes the efforts of Dr. Burdikan in the Coquitlam School District and Dr. Blank (of UBC) in the Chilliwack School District (1970) in this regard. With a history of experience and experiment, and a "critical mass" of knowledge and awareness of gifted education (derived from two decades research and efforts in the U.S.), this led to subsequent legislation, policy, and budgeting for gifted and enriched learning programs in B.C. (p. 13).

Townsend (in press) identifies four new means for "non- educators" to influence curriculum policy making. These are: the Courts, school budgets, government commissions, and political parties. Budgets have a profound, but short-term impact on curriculum. School authorities "take on the colours" of their political roles, with agency leaders (CPF) seeking increased funding while officials want to lower expenditures. CPF (1979) has used its knowledge of federal government French language funding to successfully stifle school board concerns on this matter.

The last two decades have seen a spate of federal and provincial government commissions on a range of educational and language issues.(i.e.- B.C's Royal Commission, 1988). Nothing was found in the literature on the influence of political parties on Canadian curriculum.

Of Townsend's four new means of access to curriculum, the Courts have been most widely and successfully used by parents (individually or in groups). Townsend (in press) suggests the place of religion and bilingual education have been challenged by Canadian judges (p.5). Gilbert (1986) and MacKay

(1987) describe cases in Quebec and Nova Scotia where parents attempted to litigate the mainstreaming of their mentally handicapped children into regular classes.

Gilbert (1986) notes how three years of court actions and a "well-orchestrated" and constant pressure from the media were successfully used to force several school boards in Quebec to mainstream the defendants' children (p. 8) . Parents were assisted in these efforts by l'association du Quebec pour les deficiants mentaux (AQDM) and l'office des personnes handicapees du Quebec (OPHQ) (p. 5). The similar Elmwood Case in Nova Scotia (MacKay, 1987) did not go to court but its pretrial settlement set something of a national precedent. It recognized the parents' right to involvement in decisions regarding their handicapped child. It permitted, furthermore, settlements to be made out of court between parents and educational authorities, rather than by judicial decree.

De Luna (1985) describes how Edmonton francophone, minority parents won their case to have a separate, all- French school for their children. These parents, however, enjoyed the protection of Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights. This was not always so in cases involving French language school programs.

Anderson chronicles (1986, 1988) how CPF (as individuals and a CPF provincial body) lost court cases. Anderson(1986) describes, in one case, how CPF was judged lacking the legal status to represent a group of Saskatchewan parents (p. 23). In the other case, several CPF members lost a ruling against a B.C. school board because the French Immersion program they were supporting was not protected under Section 23 of the "Charter" (p.28).

Evidence presented in this chapter indicates parents have been successful in influencing curriculum--both individually and in groups. There

are, however, still some issues concerning French language programs that warrant attention. French immersion programs (still the main focus of CPF) provide a number of challenges to school districts according to several reports (CEA,1982; B.C. Royal Commission, 1988; North Vancouver School Board Report, 1986). These reports from national, provincial, and school district perspectives identify common problems or issues associated with French immersion program initiation, implementation, and evaluation. Many of them apply to other French language programs in that they receive federal funding, incite similar in-community controversy, and draw reaction from varied interest groups. These include:

1) program location (i.e. - school sites , transportation issues)
2) availability of resources (i. e.- teachers and materials)
3) budgeting
4) enrollment (i.e.- registration and access)
5) community input/reaction (includes-implementation survey)
6) program selection (early, late, type of program, etc.)
7) methods of maintaining parent input/involvement.
8) program in-service and monitoring.
9) teacher-opposition.

Summary

This chapter encompassed information, concepts, and issues related to the local politics of education associated with policy making, curriculum policy making, and parent involvement in education--both the "typical" experience and examples of successful groups. These were presented to delineate the critical dimensions and identify the contextual variables applicable to three of this study's research questions. These are:

> 2) How does CPF attempt to influence educational decisions, particularly at the school district level?
>
> 3) How is the CPF perceived by government officials, senior administrators, and school board members where CPF has attempted to influence policy or practice?
>
> 4) How successful has CPF been in achieving its goals, particularly at the school district level in B. C.?

Theoretical perspectives by Burlingame (1988), Boyd (1978a, 1982), and Benson (1982) were presented. These help explain the factors operating, the actors involved, and the interactions comprising local curriculum policy making. The importance of the contextual variables of "community type" and "issue(s) involved" are germane to the study of CPF's influence at the local level. These variables may also influence CPF's recognition and degree of success.

Other pertinent factors/concepts are Boyd's (1982b) concepts of "zone of tolerance" and "mobilization of bias", given Ralph's(1982) observations on the factors influencing language policy making. Warren's (1963) idea of the "vertical axis" and the increased role of interest groups may also impact on these questions. Benson's (1982) concept of resource dependencies among actors in policy sectors, and Boyd's (1982b) concepts of the "voice" option and of political economy may explain CPF's formation, role, and strategies. As

parental SES and amount of education were noted to impact on both parental participation in purposive types of school involvement and in selecting the "voice" option, these parental characteristics may also bear on the study's questions.

Parent involvement in curriculum policy making was explained as a quest to influence what is taught based on differing normative values of groups in society. Henniger (1987) also justified it on legal and social grounds. Several examples illustrated this point. These perspectives and illustrations helped explain CPF's goals thus relating to my first research question. These examples also elucidate CPF's choice of strategies and possibly, why they are recognized. This concerns their access to educators, therefore, their degree of success (research questions two and three).

Curriculum policy making structures, processes, trends, and influences were briefly described to explain the context within which CPF and other parent groups operate. Findings about curriculum policy making structures and processes bear upon the same research questions. Specifically, elite domination is the "norm" for routine policy decisions between "crises", except for the intervention of special interest groups. Ministries of Education tend to dominate curricular decisions leaving small place for local input. The growing influence of national interest groups compounds the problem of weakened local autonomy as school boards are caught between government mandates and interest group pressure. This possibly affects school board member reaction to, and recognition of, CPF.

Parent participation in such purposive roles as curriculum policy making and governance were highlighted to reveal its generally "unsatisfactory" quality and quantity. Such parent activity is often unsupported by educational decision makers, ineffective, and generally performed by middle and upper class

citizens. This justifies CPF's advocacy function in communities, as well as explaining why it meets with more than token resistance from some school boards. Finally, as most parent involvement is related closely to SES and level of education, determining these characteristics in CPF members may demonstrate some relations.

Some characteristics of successful education interest groups were described by Duane et al. (1985) and Ginsberg Riggs (1984). Examples of these were offered. Parallels may be drawn between these general and specific success criteria and CPF. New avenues for influencing curriculum were listed along with examples of the use of litigation by parents. Again, evaluations of CPF's use of these means of influence may be made. Finally, some of the main concerns (issues) in French Immersion were highlighted. The classification of these issues into routine and strategic types, or internal versus external issues may permit the future application of concepts involved in local policy making (detailed earlier).

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter presents the study's methodology and information on the participants and school districts involved. The chapter's second section outlines the literature search processes used for chapters two and three. The third section describes the sample and sampling methods. Section four concerns research design and procedures. This rationalizes a mixed-methods evaluation design and outlines participants' tasks, data collection, bias reduction procedures, and a description of problems in fieldwork.

The fifth section focuses on instrument--rationale, descriptions, and development. Findings are offered on questionnaire response consistency and interview intercoder reliability. Information on documents analyzed is presented in section six. The final section concerns data analysis methods.

Literature Search Process

This study investigated the politics of education and local policy making, curriculum policy making in Canada, parent involvement in education, and governmental and local level interest groups. These domains' importance to the study necessitated two chapters of literature review (involving investigation of different topics at differing depths and ranges).

The first chapter focussed on interest groups to answer the study's questions regarding CPF's classification and methods of influence (strategies). The second chapter addressed issues regarding CPF's strategies, focussing on local activities, and its recognition and degree of success.

The literature review started with a purposive sample of bibliographies and reference lists, directly or indirectly related to the study's topics. The most important primary references included: Benson (1982), Boyan (1988),

Burlingame (1988), Davies and Zerchykov (1978), Hastings (1980), Pross (1986), and Presthus (1973).

ERIC database and manual searches were conducted using numerous descriptors. Hence both the Current Index of Journals in Education and Resources in Education were searched for the period 1982-1989 (some references dated back to 1978). The descriptors searched included:

> lobbying, activism, educational change, citizen participation, parent participation, parent associations, community organizations, networks, linking agents, change agents, school-community relations, curriculum, curriculum change, policy formation, advocacy, bilingual education, immersion programs, parent influence, lobbying, learning disabilities, special education, and interest groups. (Identifiers included: Canada and educational policy).

All relevant references were sought relating to interest or community groups. I chose those on other topics selectively (not being the central focus of the study).

The Canadian Education Index was searched from 1981 to 1989, Vols. 17 - 24(2) inclusive. The subjects were: parent influence, citizen participation, Canadian Association of Community Living, curriculum, Education (by province), decision-making, immersion programs, French, policy making, politics of education, and pressure groups.

Other important reference sources were sought, providing they related to a study topic, from several major educational research series. The Review of Educational Research was searched from 1979 to 1989, Vols. 49 - 59 inclusive (except Vol. 56(4),1986). The Review of Research in Education was searched from 1979-1988, Vols. 7-15 inclusive. The Yearbooks of the National Society

for the Study of Education were searched from 1979 to 1987 inclusive (except 1987, pt. 1, 1985, and 1981, pt. 1):

Participant and School District Descriptions

Participants

Twenty members of Canadian Parents for French or school district officials and government representatives participated. This sample comprised: ten CPF members (leaders or staff)--three each from the national and provincial (B.C.) levels, and two each from two B. C. school districts. Also, ten government and school officials participated, in like numbers as for CPF participants.

These participants were chosen for their knowledge and experience of CPF and the Canadian education system relating to their level of government or school district. This selection reflected a desire to gather information to answer the study's four central questions and to avoid surveying CPF members or parents, teachers, and principals. The response reliability to questions about CPF by members, parents, educators, and inexperienced leaders was anticipated as too poor to warrant such a sample. Hence, the selection of people deemed capable of answering both interview and questionnaire items. (The pilot tests of the instruments reinforced this view.)

The study sought individuals with considerable experience as both historical and current perspectives on CPF were desired. Pross (1986) maintains that interest groups tend to "mimic" the structure and methods of the decision making body they lobby, therefore, CPF possesses a three-tier structure, paralleling the levels of educational jurisdiction in Canada. The sample thus included both CPF and educational representatives to provide answers about all three levels of CPF's hierarchy. Officials were also included

as Gittell (1980) finds that interest group representatives and "target" group members seldom share similar perspectives on the degree of recognition, influence or success of the interest group involved Participants' descriptions are offered in Table 4.1.

Participants each completed a form detailing personal information (see Appendix B-1). A few individuals did not answer questions they deemed personal (i. e. - age category) or for which no category of answer described them (i. e.- current occupation). A summary of the findings of this form appears in Table 4.2.

The "typical" gender of CPF participants was female. No effort was made to select a disproportionately female sample. This accords with personal observations at both the B.C. and national CPF conventions attended. A tally, furthermore, of B.C. chapter's district CPF representatives for 1988-1989 (3/47 male "reps." or 6.4%), and the National Board of Directors for the years 1983-84, 1985-1987, and 1988-89 (an average of 2.25 men in a body of fourteen members) indicate the same high proportion of women to men. The NCPF participants were predominantly male.

Both participants groups were middle-aged. The "resident children" item was more relevant to the CPF than the NCPF participants, seeking to verify that parents joined the organization to benefit their children's education.

Modes better demonstrated the most common occupation among participants than means, which did not make sense (i.e - CPF M =3.4 or "farmer"). The modes (i.e.- MD = 1 or professional) matched personal observations at meetings and conferences. The mode of NCPF participants was "9" or the category "other" which is explained in that most of the government civil servants and school officials did not feel any other category fitted their occupations (and almost half did not complete this item).

CPF participants reported having less education that their NCPF counterparts. Similarly, they had less experience with both their level of CPF's executive or the organization in general. One explanation may be that NCPF participants were senior officials with considerable seniority. While also true of the CPF leaders at the national level, the CPF participants at the lower levels were somewhat younger (and assumedly less experienced). Finally, no participant had less than four years of experience in or with CPF.

School Districts

Normton School District serves the municipality of Normton, situated close to B.C.'s largest city in the southwest part of the province. The municipality has a student population of over 18,000, approximately 1000 of whom are in French Immersion programs (CPF Immersion Registry, 1988). The school district initiated these programs in September 1977 and they have expanded from a debut of one "early immersion" program in a single elementary school to three programs located in seven schools--at both elementary and secondary levels.

Normton School District is a large, suburban district with a long-established French immersion program. Relations between the CPF chapter and the school board/administrators have been cordial, even during the initial period of CPF lobbying. Conditions are so relaxed that member complacency was evident, for active membership support appears to be declining.

Table 4.1

Participants: General Description (by level)

Level	CPF	Educational System
Federal level	CPF's founder & first president	a past Commissioner of Official Languages
	CPF's current president	Secretary of State rep.- Languages Department
	CPF's Executive Director	Secretary of State rep.- Education Department
Provincial level	BCPF's rep. on the National Board of Directors	Director-Mod.Languages Division (B.C. Min. Of Ed.)
	current BCPF president	Coordinator-(FI) (Modern Languages Division)
	BCPF Liaison Officer (staff)	Coordinator-Secondary (FI) (Mod. Languages)
Local level		
Normton	Founding member and past president	Past School Board Chairman and trustee
	Founding member and VP/ Treasurer	Assistant Superintendent
Lutteville	Founder and first president	Past District French Coordinator
	Past president and VP	Current School Board Chairman

Note. rep. = representative; Mod. = Modern; FI = French Immersion; Min. of Ed. = Ministry of Education.

Table 4.2

Participant Information Summary

Characteristic	CPF (n=10) M	CPF (n=10) SD	NCPF (n=10) M	NCPF (n=10) SD	All participants (n=20) M	All participants (n=20) SD
Sex[a]	.90	.32	.30	.48	.60	.50
Age[b]	3.00	.00	3.1	.32	3.05	.22
Children[c] (resident)	2.30	.82	2.00	.00	2.18	.64
Occupation[d]	1	--	9	--	--	--
Education[e]	3.60	.97	4.50	1.07	4.00	1.09
Experience[f]						
-Executive	3.90	1.10	4.90	1.10	4.40	1.19
-in general	4.80	.42	5.00	.82	4.90	.64

Note. NCPF= non-CPF participants. Occupation scores are modes, rather than means, as the mean values were meaningless. Thus no value was given for "occupations-all participants".

[a] men = 0; women = 1. [b] 1 = 18-21; 2 =.22=39; 3 = 40-65; 4 = 65+

[c] 1 = none; 2 = 1-2; 3 = 3-4; 4 = 5-6; 5 = 7-8; 6 = 9+; 7 = N/A

[d] 0 = clerical; 1 = professional; 2 = skilled white collar; 3 = farmer; 4 = managerial; 5 = skilled labourer; 6 = service/sales; 7 = housewife; 8 = unskilled labourer; 9 = other. [e] 1 = < high school; 2 = high school; 3 = some post-secondary; 4 = Bachelor degree or equivalent; 5 = graduate degree or equivalent. [f] 1 = < 1 year; 2 = 1-2 years; 3 = 3-5 years; 4 = 6-9 years; 5 = 10+ years

Lutteville School District serves a rural community located close to one of B.C.'s larger cities. Its twenty schools contain a student population of over 7,000, of whom 500 attend French immersion classes (CPF Immersion Registry, 1988) The French Immersion programs initiated in 1980 have grown from a single early immersion program site in an elementary school to a similar program in two elementary schools and "continuing immersion" programs in a junior secondary school and a senior secondary school. Considered a "bedroom community", Lutteville is being overwhelmed by the neighbouring city. This has steadily changed its demographical make-up and has impacted on it previously "small-town" milieu.

Lutteville School District has experienced years of conflict between the school board and the CPF chapter. This conflict divided parents, educators, trustees, and administrators resulting in the considerable rancor that continues to be felt. (Past superintendents refused to participate in the study and CPF members sought guarantees of anonymity for fear of reviving the past unpleasantness)

Sample Selection

Participants selection was based on active or real decision making ability (leadership positions), as characterized by Boyd (1982). All participants possessed first-hand knowledge or experience of CPF. They were all volunteers. The methods of contacting CPF and non-CPF participants differed somewhat (see-"steps taken to collect data").

The researcher selected most participants based on references from CPF leaders (provincial and federal) as to their knowledge of CPF, which had to meet the study's criteria. Corroboration of these candidates' suitability came from discussions with officials from within the same level of jurisdiction. For

school district and B.C. Ministry of Education levels, the candidates' suitability was verified by a superintendent, two assistant superintendents, and two school district French Program coordinators. Two members each of the Offices of the Secretary of State and the Commissioner of Official Languages verified the suitability of my federal sample.

Participants came from a range of geographic settings (Ontario, Quebec, and B.C.). The initial contacts and the federal-level interviews took place at (a) BCPF's "InfoXchange", held in Richmond on Oct. 13-16, 1989 , and (b) the CPF National Conference at the Banff Conference Centre on Oct. 26-28, 1989. Other interviews were held in Victoria, B.C., at the offices of the Modern Languages Department. The interviews of other participants occurred in private residences, at work places, in school district offices,and at the provincial office of BCPF in New Westminister, B.C.. One interview was conducted over the telephone.

As school district participants were promised anonymity (a prerequisite of one district's participation), pseudonyms were created to disguise the sample districts' and participants' identities. The two school districts were selected to present as much possible contrast between school district level CPF operations.

Research Design and Procedures

Research Design

As this was an exploratory study, largely descriptive research questions were answered (see Chapter One). Data sources included interviews and questionnaires of twenty participants and documents from the local and governmental levels of CPF.

Justification of a mixed-method research design came from three sources. In choosing to pursue a Master's degree full-time I was strongly influenced by a research designs course. The instructor inculcated in the class a respect for all disciplined forms of educational research, which was further reinforced by the arguments of Lee Shulman. These were in the form of an article "Disciplines of Inquiry: An Overview" (Shulman, 1984) and an oral presentation on the same theme. Shulman strongly impressed me, particularly with regards to his argument that students learn more than one research method during their graduate studies.

Another influence was a course assignment requiring a critique of a journal review. The review focussed on a range of qualitative research traditions. This provided an exposure to the range of potential qualitative methods available.

Finally, the range and complexity of this study's questions necessitated some means of increasing the interpretability, validity, and meaningfulness of constructs, and of enhancing inquiry results. This could best be achieved, given the low small sample involved, through the use of mixed-method research designs.

Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) evaluate five mixed-method evaluation designs with respect to their purposes and a range of issues concerning design elements. The arguments presented served to defend my

use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The use of a survey comprising a questionnaire and an interview, as well as the use of document analysis are defendable as serving the purposes of triangulation , complementarity, and initiation.

Greene et al. (1989) claim triangulation seeks convergence, corroboration, and correspondence of results from methods. This addresses concerns regarding complex constructs and results. It does so, the authors claim, "...by counteracting or maximizing the heterogeneity of irrelevant sources of variance..."(p.259) whose sources include inherent method bias, inquirer bias, and biases of substantive theory and inquiry context. The study's use of documents and an interview, along with a questionnaire to assess the same constructs is an example of the use of triangulation.

Where the study's purpose was complementarity, however, "...qualitative and quantitative methods are used to measure overlapping but also different facets of a phenomenon....This differs from the triangulation intent in that the logic of convergence [triangulation] requires that the different methods assess the same conceptual phenonmenon " (Greene et al.,1989, p.258). The questionnaire, for example, measured participants' perceptions of CPF's nature, structure, and ranking of certain constructs. The interview evaluated similar but not identical constructs or focussed on recorded perceptions of influences and issues affecting these constructs.

Finally, Greene et al. (1989) suggest that initiation "...seeks the discovery of paradox and contradiction, new perspectives..."(p.259). This was the purpose sought in using both questionnaire and interview items to discover new insights on CPF. The development of perspectives, from the quasi-statistics generated by my interviews followed procedures from Becker and Geer (1960) accords with such a purpose.

Participant's tasks

All participants underwent (a) an "open-ended", audio-taped interview comprising seven (or eight) questions. (CPF members received one extra question as a reliability check). In addition each interviewee was asked to briefly outline their grounds for initial involvement with CPF (to provide a context for their responses) and (b) a 48 item, fixed-response questionnaire, which they completed in the presence of the researcher, or having been instructed in how to do so, they mailed it. Finally, participants completed a "Personal information" sheet.

Steps taken to collect data

Telephone and personal conversations with members of BCPF and CPF (national) offices provided the study with the names of important executive members (past and present). Written requests were then made to attend the upcoming provincial ("InfoXchange") and national (AGM) conferences (see Appendices A1-A3). Personal contacts made at the provincial conferences lead to a number of chapter representatives volunteering to participate --both from school districts with controversial and routine school district-CPF relations. A surplus number of "volunteer districts" participant were "cultivated", to permit some flexibility in the selection of the school districts involved. A similar procedure was followed at the provincial and national levels.

I contacted school board members and administrators by telephone or letter (see Appendices A4 & A5), explaining the study and requesting the participation from each district of two participants, experienced with the CPF local. Appropriate candidates' names where also offered by a senior school district administrator who piloted the instruments. Once two participants were found for the target district (administration & school board), the chapter

representative (CPF) was contacted and the two participants for that CPF chapter notified. Once I had received approval of these CPF members' participation at the provincial conference, I found two participants for the school districts prior to notifying the local CPF, (as I sought a "balanced" number of participants for each district.)

It was through the BCPF (InfoXchange) conference that I made contact with Ministry of Education officials whom I interviewed. The Director of the Modern Languages Department agreed to a subsequent interview. For reasons of availability, two assistant directors (both of key jurisdictions regarding French programs) were interviewed instead of those present at InfoXchange.

Federal level interviewees were contacted while participating at the CPF National Conference (Banff, Oct. 1989) or through suggestions from conference attenders. Thus two representatives of the Office of the Secretary of State's were interviewed at this conference. The representative of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages present at Banff felt she lacked the knowledge of CPF required of participants. She helped arrange, nevertheless, a telephone interview with one of the Commissioners of Official Languages present during CPF's history.

A number of documents were volunteered during the conferences and interviews. Other were requested of the various branches of CPF involved in the study (see Appendices A7-A9). These corroborated certain factual responses within the survey instruments, regarding CPF structure and activities.

Procedures to reduce bias

Interviews were conducted individually to reduce contamination. Most questionnaires were completed by the same participant who was interviewed. (The exception was a federal department head who felt he lacked the

necessary technical knowledge of CPF. He provided an alternate, his previous assistant within that department during his tenure in office).

The questionnaire was reviewed for completeness. Participants were contacted to verify any omissions. Two questionnaire items were altered after an appropriate comment by one participant. Those who had already completed the instrument in its previous form were contacted to determine how (if at all) it altered their responses. While attending the two CPF conferences and other meetings little mention of the intent of the study was made. Research data collation and analysis attended the return of all data.

Participants were cautioned against discussing the contents of either the interview or questionnaire with other participants. They were given both written and oral instructions on the questionnaire. Furthermore, those completing it at a distance were provided with a "glossary " for terms that might be misconstrued (see Appendix B-3).

Problems in Fieldwork

After pilot testing the instruments it became evident that inexperienced participants would have difficulty answering some questionnaire items. Hence school district superintendents, governmental department heads and new CPF leaders (because they lacked in-depth knowledge) seemed inappropriate participants. Nevertheless, one federal department head was interviewed(with obvious results).

Several questionnaire items were inappropriate for non-CPF participants--for a lack of knowledge (e.g. frequency of CPF leaders' functions). One interview question did not apply to either the local or federal levels.

One interview was lost when another interview was taped over it. This was due to having scheduled interviews too close to each other, not allowing sufficient time to check the audiocassettes.

A procedure started with the initial five interviews was stopped. After the five federal- level interviews, the brief personal commentary on each participant and initial reaction to their responses was dropped as unnecessary. These notes would later have helped analyze the interview findings.

In all but one research "locale' access to participants was accomplished through unscheduled telephone conversations followed by confirming letters. In the case of Lutteville School District this process almost resulted in my not acquiring any school district or school board participants. A more formal procedure ultimately succeeded in obtaining these (see Appendix A-6).

Given the sensitivity of these elected and appointed officials to the topic of CPF, a formal contact letter to both the superintendent and school board chairman should have been my first contact. This eventually did succeed in providing me with two such representatives, however, these were found after numerous failed telephone calls. Several past superintendents and trustees refused to participate despite assurances of their anonymity. Finally, a school board chairman agreed to participate--provided that the responses were taken to represent personal views, not those of the school board. As the school board members had already refused to participate in two previous graduate-level research studies, the offer was accepted. It proved difficult to obtain the participation of a senior, school district administrator until a retired French programs coordinator finally agreed

The Measures Used

Instrument Rationale

The interview protocol, the questionnaire, some documents, and a literature review served to collect information regarding CPF. The knowledge,

perceptions, and opinions of leaders of CPF and the organizations they seek to influence were recorded. The exploratory nature of the study necessitated that data interpretation be largely descriptive. The analysis for the questions on classification and strategies were mainly descriptive. The remaining questions were analyzed more inferentially.

The lack of empirical and conceptual information on CPF suggested a survey approach to garner the lacking material. Without this data classification and analyses of the study's other questions could not proceed. The most efficient method to amass such data, given the typical time and financial restraints of graduate-level research, was by survey. Corroboration came from documents. Yet to gain a national perspective of CPF's three-tier organization, data had to be collected at all three levels of this federation. In order that the data be as representative as possible, only "key" participants were chosen.

Participants all completed a questionnaire and an interview to achieve the benefits of both methods and reduce each method's biases. The justification for such a mixed-method design was offered in the discussion based on Greene et al. (1989). For the purpose of initiation, interviews were conducted to garner participant's perceptions on broader, more complex questions than were provided in the questionnaire.

Becker and Geer (1960) suggest, furthermore, "Techniques which maximize the possibility of coming upon unexpected data include the free or unstructured interview" (p.268). As my interview protocol was "semi-structured", it met the necessary preconditions of "unstructuredness".

Guba and Lincoln (1981) outline the seldom-tapped benefits of the use of documents and records. Some of these benefits sought by this study included: ease and low cost of acquisition, provision of a legally-unassailable base (for defense against misinterpretation or libel) and provision of a "natural",

non-reactive, context-related information source. These benefits alone justified the inclusion of document analysis in the research design. Miles and Huberman(1984) offer similar advantages for their use.

The Interview Protocol

The protocol consisted of six open-ended questions relating to complex variables deemed unsuitable for division into fixed-response items (see Appendices C-1 & C-2). These questions often referred to attitudinal or perceptual responses of a complex nature. They were based on the interest/community group literature and concerned only important constructs under study.

An additional, preliminary question was used to acquire personal information on participants and to determine their experience with CPF thus providing a context within which to analyze their responses. After the six content questions CPF members were asked a final question. This served as a reliability check for some of the previous questions. (Non-CPF participants were not asked this as their participation, both in the interview and the questionnaire, served different purposes.)

As mentioned earlier, reliability of interview questions was partly determined by the seventh question-- "If you had a magic wand, what would you change to help CPF achieve its goals?" This served as a check for participants' responses to questions: one (goal achievement), three (CPF's visibility versus its influence), four (leader-member relations), and six (concerns). Content and construct validity were provided through pilot testing and the items being directly based on the literature.

The Questionnaire

This consisted of 48 "fixed-response" items requiring factual, perceptual, and opinion responses (see Appendix B-2). The item's scales were mainly

ordinal and nominal although a few questions used interval scales. Most items employed Likert or ranking scales, with several frequency counts, a few checklists, and one closure item.

Construct validity was established by items being based directly on the literature (eight items were copied *verbatim* from Pross's, 1986 typology). All key variables under study comprised several items in the questionnaire, addressing different aspects of the same variable or using an indirect approach to the same question. Finally, reliability coefficients were calculated for several key variables.

The Document Summary Form

Based on a model from Miles and Huberman (1984), this sheet served to clarify, explain, and summarize the documents collected. It also related a document's significance (its entirety or parts) to specific variables and questionnaire or interview items (see Appendix C-4).

Instrument development

The questionnaire and interview items were based on relevant constructs or variables pertinent to an understanding of interest group structure and function. Within the questionnaire eight categories from Pross's(1986) interest group typology were used to construct items later used in determining CPF's "type" of governmental interest group.

Most fixed-response items were generated, after a suitable scale was selected, with at least two items for each important variable. In some cases several items were required to encompass all relevant aspects of the variable. Indirect, "duplicate" items served as checks on other, more direct questions for that variable. Those variables deemed unsuited for fixed-response items (due to complexity or the likelihood of being misunderstood) were slated for the

interview protocol where prompts and explanations from the interviewer ensured more complete answers.

In the construction, review, and pilot-testing of the interview guide and the questionnaire, the primary references included Borg and Gall (1983), Orlich (1978), Kidder (1981), Slavin (1984), and Tuckman (1972). An experienced university researcher (laboratory technician) was consulted regarding the questionnaire's construction. He later reviewed it.

Both measures were pilot tested by individuals possessing equal or greater knowledge and experience with CPF than subsequent participants. These included: a CPF chapter president, a vice-president of BCPF, a school district French programs director, and an official from the Modern Languages Department of the B.C. Ministry of Education.

Reliability Information

Questionnaire Response Consistency

Measures of the internal consistency of several questionnaire items were calculated. For the key variables several items evaluated the same variable. These consisted of indirect questions on a variable which had elsewhere been evaluated directly, or, subscales on two different items evaluated the same variable. Consistency of responses was calculated using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. The items in the questionnaire for which these were calculated follow:

Leadership functions	α = 0.93 (n=18, items = 12)
Leadership skills	α = 0.77 (n=18, items = 12)
Direction of Communication, Strategies(general)	α = 0.58 (n=15, items = 4)
Formation influences and External influences	α = 0.80 (n=15, items = 7)

Interview Intercoder Reliability

An intercoder reliability coefficient was calculated for the interview transcripts. A graduate student was given the coding framework (with concept and variable definitions) and one, randomly-selected transcript. Prior to coding statements which constituted the basic "units", called "incidents" (Becker & Geer, 1960) were identified. The coefficient (I.R.C.) was calculated using the formula:

$$\text{I.R.C.} = \frac{\text{number of times coders agreed}}{\text{total number of incidents coded}}$$

The first coefficient calculated was 0.71. The coding scale was then adjusted by changing the size of some of the incidents and some coding categories and subcategories. The procedure was repeated with a second transcript with a resulting coefficient of 0.75. A final adjustment to the coding scale was performed and three final transcripts were compared. The resulting coefficient was deemed acceptable at 0.85.

Documents Analyzed

A range of documents and records were obtained and analyzed over the course of the study. Content analysis of these followed methods outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1981), however, only those from BCPF or the "locals" were analyzed in-depth. These chapter documents were used to corroborate findings regarding local CPF strategies and develop chronologies. In addition, they were used to determine the "tone" and intent of written and oral presentations. CPF materials, in contrast, were briefly previewed to garner corroborative evidence for findings from the survey instruments. Conference materials, newsletters from BCPF chapters, personal copies of briefs volunteered by participants, CPF pamphlets and special reports, and school

district parent handbooks were gleaned serendipitously. Other documents, however, were purposively acquired, and as such, the representativeness of some may be questioned more than documents for which CPF members did not select for my analysis. These included briefs, a BCPF provincial "Annual Report", the BCPF "Provincial Profile", the CPF "Board Manual", and other "office" regalia. The nature, number (in parentheses), and use of these documents are outlined in Table 4.3.

Data Analysis

Documents

Following the suggestions of Guba and Lincoln (1981) data was aggregated on a "Data Summary Sheet" (see Appendix C-3). Most data served to develop chronologies or to verify the range and frequency of specific CPF activities. Little interpretation was required.

Inferences were drawn and issues identified, however, for the questions concerning CPF recognition and its degree of success. Procedures suggested by Guba and Lincoln's (1981) on content analysis were applied.

Interviews

Analysis of the interview results followed appropriate, "data-reduction" techniques described by Becker and Geer (1960). These included determining the frequency and distribution of phenomena to develop perspectives about CPF. Becker and Geer (1960) use the term perspective "...to describe a set of ideas and actions used by a group in solving collective problems" (p.280). The perspectives were based on "quasi-statistics", a means of quantifying qualitative data from interviews or participant observations. Becker and Geer(1960) suggest that perspectives encompass the nature (directed or volunteered), frequency, and distribution of statements illustrating a phenomenon under

study. The credibility of informants and the "observer-informant-group" interaction are also evaluated. Statements constitute the evidence of the validity of a perspective. Thus generated, perspectives are deemed more reliable than generalizations which lack some form of quantitative support and they meet the criteria for mixed-method evaluation described by Greene et al. (1989).

Questionnaire

Two experienced university researchers advised against the use of parametric inferential tests. The only inferential statistical tests which the low sample size permitted were chi-squares (the eight items taken from Pross,1986). The remaining data was collated and analyzed using "exploratory data analysis" methods advocated by Tukey (1977). Other descriptive data analyses were performed based on procedures outlined by Glass and Hopkins (1984) and Borg and Gall (1983).

Several measures of central tendency, standard deviation, and analysis of outliers constituted the chief means of analysis. Thus raw data was studied using "box and whisker" and "stem and leaf" schematics. Various graphs (histogram, line, scatterplot, and pie) were generated, both for all participants' and different subgroups means and raw data.

Table 4.3

Documents Analyzed (by level)

Level	Description (number)	Application (study variable)
National	Briefs to government(3) Recommendations from "founding" conference (1)	Goals, Strategies, Goals, role, external influences.

(table continues)

	Contact letter to provincial reps./first press release (2)	Goals, media, strategies, targets, "vertical axis"
	Pamphlets (9), special reports (3), newsletter (1)	Media, goals, "vertical axis"
	National Board Policy (1) manual	Formal organization
	Annual Reports (4)	Formal organization, funds.
Provincial	Provincial profile (1)	formal organization
	1988-89 Audit (1)	Funds
	BCPF Annual Report (May 1989)	Funds, goals, formal organization
	BCPF newsletter	Media, formal organization, "vertical axis"
	Chapter Report (May 1989)	Local events, FI program info.
	Major briefs to gov't (3)	Strategies, targets.
Local		
Normton	Pamphlets , etc. (6)	Strategies, media
	Briefs to S.B. (6)	" "
Lutteville	Briefs from LPF to SB(6)	" "
	Briefs from other groups (2)	Networking

Note. info. = information; gov't = government; FI = French Immersion: SB = school board; LPF = Lutteville Parents for French

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

The purposes of this study were (a) to classify Canadian Parents for French with respect to its origin and goals, structure, functions, and strategies, (b) to analyze CPF's strategies, (c) to survey school and government officials' perceptions of CPF, and (d) to determine CPF's degree of success.

As two research questions focussed at the local level, two B.C. chapters of CPF were studied in detail and compared. The BCPF and federal levels of this organization were also surveyed--both CPF leaders and "non-CPF" (henceforth called NCPF) school and government officials. The survey instruments comprised a semi-structured interview and a multiple-choice questionnaire. Document analysis supplemented the survey findings. The findings appear in the same order as the research questions presented in Chapter One. Greater detail is paid to those questions with a local focus.

For each research question results from the questionnaire appear first, followed by findings from the interviews, then documents. As questionnaire items were based directly on the research literature (seeking to corroborate concepts therein), these findings all related directly to my questions. The same holds true for document results. The interview transcripts, however, provided broader, more "generative" findings which did not lend themselves as readily to directly answering the study's questions. The interview findings are thus presented as fifteen perspectives following methods suggested by Becker and Geer (1960, see Chapter 4). While these perspectives generally relate to the study's questions, in some instances they span several questions. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Classification of Canadian Parents for French

The study' s first question called for a classification of the organization with respect to its: origin and goals, structure, functions (roles), and methods of influence (strategies). Based on a selective review of the theoretical and research literature, the general variables were subdivided as follows:

a) Origin and goals--joining reasons, member characteristics (occupation, gender, education), formation influences (external), and goals;
b) Strategies--"targets", strategies (under routine and crisis conditions), committees, interorganizational networking, influences (on use of strategies), and media;
c) Structure--leadership, membership, leader-member relations, resources (largely financial), democratic tradition, and
d) Functions--roles(in society) and functions (other than the primary or "stated" function).

CPF's Origins

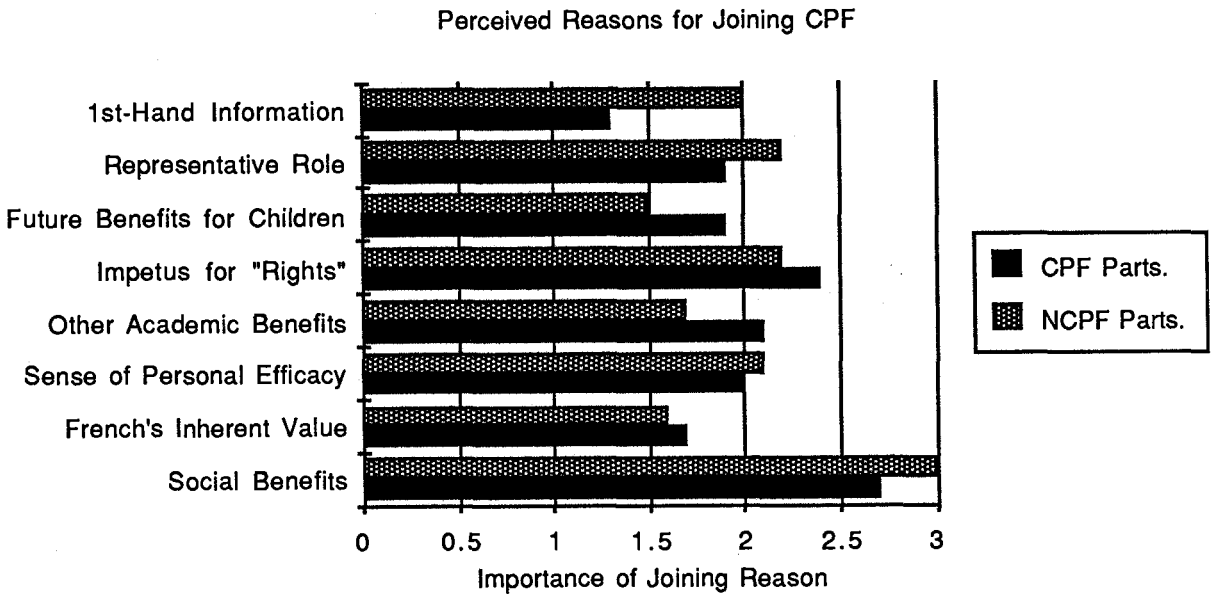
Data was gathered on reasons members joined and external influences on chapter formation. As Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980) indicate that member characteristics are salient to the type, longevity, and influence of the resulting interest groups, such information was also gathered on CPF members.

Quantitative Findings: Joining Reasons. CPF and NCPF participants agreed that CPF members join the organization more for reasons related to the French programs, than for other reasons (see Table 5.1). Reasons such as "sought 1st-hand information", "for the inherent value of French" , "for future benefits (to their children) in learning French" , and "other academic benefits" (related to the program) were ranked as being the most important.

As Figure 5.1 indicates, however, there was discrepancy between the two groups on "sought 1st-hand information". CPF members felt the search for such information to be the most important reason. NCPF respondents ranked it fourth. Also, CPF participants' ranked "playing a representative role" as third, others ranked it seventh. Finally, NCPF participants ranked "future benefits"

third, while CPF ranked this fifth. This is surprising, given the attention in CPF publications to this benefit of French. .

Figure 5.1



(Scale - 1= very important; 2 = important; 3 = not important).

CPF Member Education. The general perception among participants was CPF members had "some post secondary "education, although there were differences between CPF and NCPF participants, as well as differences between levels. CPF participants ranked leaders' and members' education equally at "some post secondary" (see Table 5.2). They rated staff slightly below this between "high school graduation" and "some post secondary". NCPF respondents ranked leaders' and staffs' education equally while members were rated lower.

Table 5.1

CPF Members-Joining Reasons

	CPF (n=10)		NCPF (n=10)		All participants (n=20)	
Joining reasons	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
social benefits	2.70	.95	3.00	.94	2.85	.93
value of French	1.70	.82	1.60	.84	1.65	.81
personal efficacy	2.00	.67	2.10	.88	2.05	.76
other academic benefits	2.10	.57	1.70	.68	1.90	.64
impetus for "rights"	2.40	1.13	2.20	.92	2.32	1.00
future benefits (for children)	1.90	1.10	1.50	.97	1.70	1.03
representative role	1.90	.88	2.20	.92	2.05	.89
1st-hand information	1.30	.48	2.00	.94	1.65	.81

Note. Scale: 1 = very important; 2 = important; 3 = somewhat unimportant; 4 = unimportant.

Table 5.2

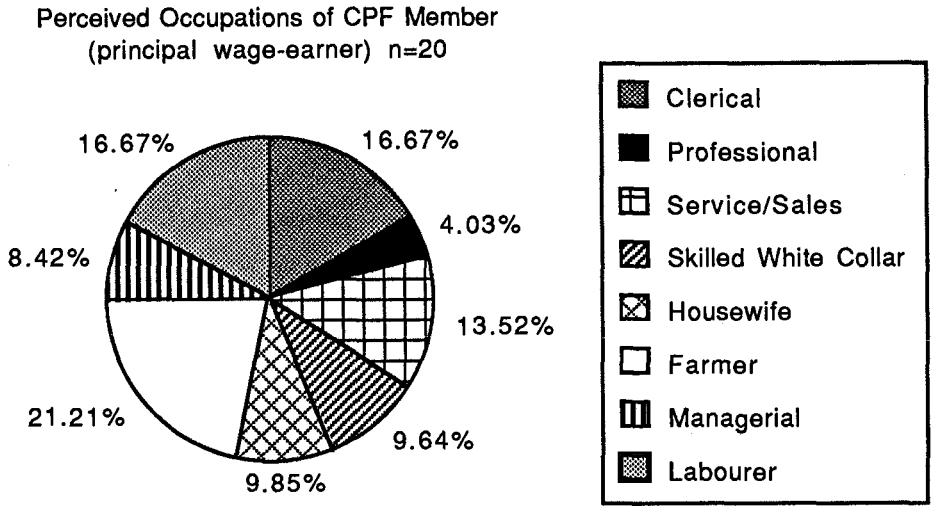
CPF Members- Gender and Education

	CPF (n=10)		NCPF (n=10)		All participants (n=20)	
Characteristic	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
gender[a]						
leaders	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
staff	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
members	.90	.35	1.00	.00	.95	.24
education[b]						
leaders	3.00	.82	3.40	.54	3.18	.73
staff	2.50	.55	3.40	.54	3.00	.71
members	3.00	.58	1.70	.95	1.90	1.02

Note. [a] men = 0; women = 1. [b] 1 = < high school; 2 = high school; 3 = some post-secondary; 4 = Bachelor degree or equivalent; 5 = graduate degree or equivalent.

CPF Member Occupations. The findings of the "perceived occupations of CPF members" (or principal wage-earner in the family) were deemed nebulous enough and CPF and NCPF respondents' answers similar enough, to warrant presenting combined results (see Figure 5.2). The occupations "clustered" into three distinct groups. The most common occupations in the first cluster were (in order of importance)-professional, managerial, and skilled "white collar". The second cluster consisted of housewife and service/sales. The third cluster (with considerably lower mean scores) were clerical, labourer, and farmer.

Figure 5.2



(Scale - the lower the %, the higher the occurrence of the occupation among CPF members).

Combining the findings on CPF's member's education and occupations offered a proxy estimation of their typical socio-economic status (SES). With a typical education rating of "some post secondary" and occupations of "professional, managerial, or skilled white collar", it was reasonable to say that CPF is a "Middle Class" organization.

Formation Influences. A pair of interesting dichotomies were noted between CPF and NCPF participants concerning "external and governmental" influences (see Figure 5.3). NCPF and CPF participants agreed on the primary

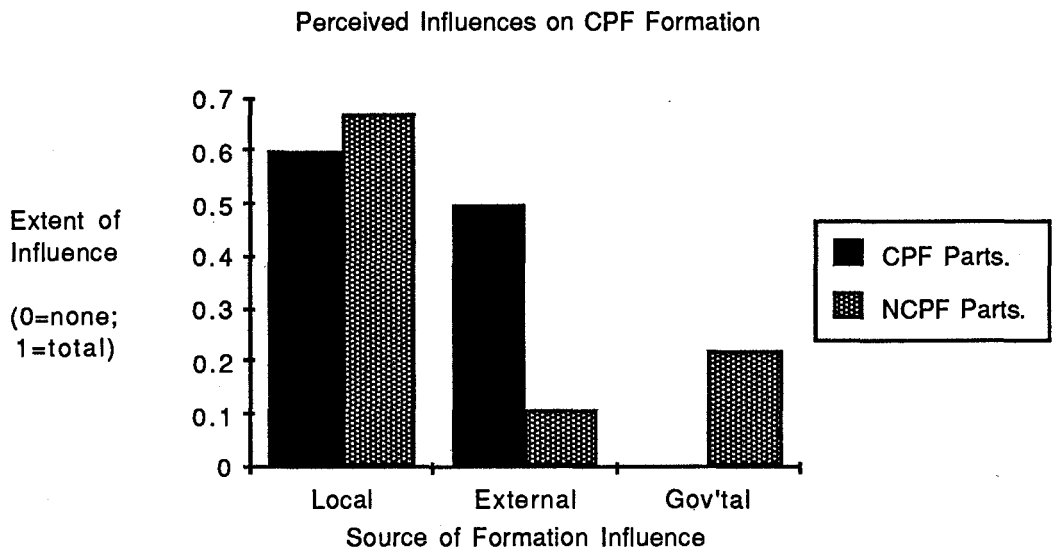
importance of local factors in CPF formation -on the original, national association and at the chapter level. While CPF members recognized some influence from external factors in this process (i.e. contacts from other chapters or levels of CPF), however, NCPF respondents rated these less an influence.

The most striking difference was that CPF members saw no governmental influence on their formation at any level compared to some influence by NCPF participants. This has different ramifications depending on whether the respondents were from governmental or local levels.

CPF's Goals

The three goals of CPF, originally drafted in March 1977, remained unchanged until October 1988 when the National Board of Directors suggested they be amalgamated into a single one. These goals were classified by questionnaire respondents as ..."multiple, broadly-defined goals/objectives"(see Table 5.11). This was the closest description of goals using a question modelled directly on Pross (1986).

Figure 5.3



Interview perspective on CPF Formation.

Table 5.3 presents the "quasi-statistics" (Becker & Geer, 1960) used to establish the characteristics of the perspectives developed on the goals and formation variables. Their presentation consists of stating the perspective (or generalization), offering illustrative quotations expressive of the perspective's characteristics, detailing the quasi-statistics which verify its authenticity , explaining the relative weight of directed to volunteered statements, and the existence of negative cases. The first perspective on "local formation" states:

> ***A local group of parents seeking to initiate or influence a French immersion program in their school district seek, are contacted or influenced by, CPF representatives or activities.***

Table 5.3
CPF-Local Formation and Goals Perspectives

	Frequency & Distribution					
	Nature		CPF		NCPF	
Perspective	Vol.	Dir.	+	-	+	-
Local formation	21	8	17	0	12	0
Goals	26	32	29	0	29	0

Note. Vol. = volunteered statements, Dir. = directed statements.
"+" and "-"refer to positive and negative statements regarding the perspective.

This common pattern of local interest catalyzed by CPF influence external to the community was reiterated throughout the interviews. A BCPF president said, "I'm a founding member of the Surrey chapter. I got involved when CPF had their national AGM here in Vancouver in '81. Never heard of CPF. Something about French immersion. We came to the Hotel Vancouver,

were very impressed and decided there to form a chapter in Surrey". Similarly, one of the founders and a past president of the Normton branch of CPF stated:

> That was in '75 ...there was a ground swell of interest in French immersion ... I remember getting a lot of phone calls during that period of time from other parents who were interested in French. Then I heard that anybody that was interested in French was being flown down to Ottawa for an inaugural meeting to form Canadian Parents for French and ...so they sent me down.

Finally, the founder of Lutteville parents for French (LPF) had to say of its formation,"...and so it was through that network of people involved in cooperative preschools that I made my phone connections to people. And [in] many of those people had the same reaction I did to the concept of French immersion" and "...Well then time went by and then we got linked up with, Janet Poyen got us linked up with CPF National".

The district French coordinator at the time of its founding in Lutteville added:

> First of all, the school board ungraciously had to admit that parents wanted it and if there were so many parents, then they would start a kindergarten and grade one and so on. That's where we started in 1980 and of course there weren't 15, there were 50, 60. There were enough to start two classes which we then did. '80-'81.

These quotes illustrate both the extant interest in French immersion programs in these localities and the influence of CPF in the form of conferences, "contact people "or guest speakers. Also present elsewhere in the transcripts was evidence of concurrent lobbying of school boards for French programs.

There were no dissenting statements concerning this perspective, so it seems highly tenable as the common way CPF locals are formed. In addition, the majority of participants' statements (21 of 29) were volunteered rather than directed, thus they are less likely to represent the "... the observer's preoccupations and biases..." (Becker & Geer, 1960, p.274).

The formation of the national level of CPF reflected most of the same components and influences as that at the local level. Pat Webster, a founding member and CPF's first president, described how a group composed mostly of parents were brought together in Ottawa by the Commissioner of Official Languages (Keith Spicer) and helped form a national group to act on their concerns. This is revealed in statements such as:

> So the question is was Keith Spicer a catalyst or was it really his idea and I can't tell you. I really don't remember in that kind of detail....What he did was call together people that he had met in his role as Commissioner of Official Languages who he knew, people he knew were interested in the topic and people who wanted to do something to improve the situation...and the meetings were held in the office of the Commissioner... the strongest recommendation that came out was that the kind of networking which happened there was something that should continue and that it should continue in the form of a national association.

Documents. Documentary evidence supporting this perspective includes a list of the "Recommendations- CPF Founding Conference". It reinforces the quotations provided. The interest of the parents who formed CPF, references to the March 1977 conference's goals, and its location all support what Pross (1986) and Presthus (1973) have suggested relating to the external influence of the federal government.

Similar evidence was not found among local or BCPF-level documents which were analyzed. However, that BCPF has a seminal influence in chapter formation is illustrated by a statement made by a BCPF liaison/chapter-relations officer.

> The typical thing in B.C. is a group of parents in a community have decided...that they want immersion and they see forming a chapter and becoming a CPF chapter as being probably the most successful way of starting a program. So they usually seek us out. Go through the process of forming a chapter and then they now have our support behind them to start lobbying the board etc., to look at putting in a program.

Interview Perspective on CPF Goals

The second perspective, on CPF's goals, may be stated as:

The relative importance (or stress) of CPF's goals/ objectives is dependent on the level of the organization concerned, with greater stress on French programs at the chapter level, while governmental levels focus on issues of an economic, political, or French-minority group nature.

Prior to offering illustrative quotes to support this perspective, a word on the actual goals themselves. Until October 1988, CPF's goals were

1) to promote the best possible types of French language opportunities;
2) to assist in ensuring that each Canadian child has the opportunity to acquire as great knowledge of French language and culture as he or she is willing to attain;
3) to establish and maintain effective communication between education and governmental authorities concerned with the provision of French language learning opportunities (Goodings,1985).

These earlier goals served to guide CPF's efforts for the eleven or so years prior to their amalgamation. Thus the goals have determined the nature and accomplishments of the group up to and beyond the change. They were the basis for my questions, so, they will remain the goals I discuss during this study. Their rewording , furthermore, does not alter their intent or focus. This is best illustrated by exemplary quotes. The first president said, of the general aim of CPF(from her perspective) " And I'm of a bit of an anomaly in the association because I see the school program itself as being an instrument rather then an end in itself....". On the topic of "major trends or issues affecting CPF National ", she claimed, "The biggies are the political questions. As an association I disagree, well, the Meech Lake Accord to me is a central one now. The association took a position opposed to it because of the 'preserve-promote' distinction for Quebe ". Other national level CPF leaders also discussed educational and cultural issues and concerns, but as the quasi-statistics will

demonstrate, political issues increasingly dominate their discussion at higher levels of the organization.

A quote from a BCPF president contributes to an understanding of the relative importance of the three goals to BCPF:

> To promote the best possible types of French language learning opportunities, one of our goals for a long time was to get core French expanded in the province. And as you know that's coming in in '92. Now I don't think that we should take credit for that necessarily. I think we were just, one of many pushing for this particular thing. And then of course effective communication between parents and various authorities. Speaking from the BCPF point of view, our relationships are excellent with the provincial government.

Before presenting the quasi-statistics supporting this perspective, a short aside on the topic of the type of French Second Language program sought by CPF's founders:

> There is...absolutely no question that initially that referred to immersion programs only. In the mind of every person there, the best possible type of program was an immersion program. The association's mandate has been broadened and the words allowed us to do that but there's no question that initially it was immersion only. That's what the people there wanted and that's what they couldn't get and that's what they went out to look for.

This is not surprising, as the CPF makes no bones about their original focus in French programs. CPF members assert, however, that this emphasis has diminished considerably with the continued public stigma of "immersion only" a consequence of a few, bitter confrontations or of the initial efforts in most districts when "immersion" was the goal. When one considers how many chapters of CPF have been established and why they were (and still are) being founded, the "program" goal still remains to initiate and monitor "immersion", rather than other FSL programs. The question also comes to mind," How many chapters have reacted in a "crisis" fashion to major changes in other FSL programs, compared to like changes in immersion programs?"

Like the first perspective, there were no dissenting statements regarding the "goals" perspective. All participants commented on CPF's goals (as it was a selected one of the interview's foci). Of these, all reflected the same view (directly or indirectly). A total of 29 CPF and 29 NCPF participant direct statements or indirect references were recorded.

The only aspect of the quasi-statistics which could detract from the solidity of the findings was that there were more directed than volunteer statements. The second interview question directly addressed CPF's goals (hence 32 directed statements). To counterbalance this, indirect references to goals were derived from questions seven and eight (concerning issues and concerns). These provided some balance as 26 responses were volunteered statements.

Documents. A wide range of documentary evidence supports this perspective. From the national level these include: briefs to the federal government, the national policy manual, the "recommendations-Founding Conference", the general content of four "Annual Reports", and numerous publications. From the BCPF level this includes: The Provincial Profile (1988), the BCPF Annual Report 1988, and Newsletter. Local documentary support comprises print material, and local briefs and presentations.

What the documents reveal is a tendency for locals to be relatively more concerned with the local issues, particularly--French programs. The higher levels continue to work on these goals, but more in a supporting role, while actively pursuing the broader, more political goals previously listed. While hardly an earthshaking revelation, this does indicate a differential focus and possibly, group of "concerns". This will be discussed in later sections.

CPF's Strategies (Methods of Influence)

The next part of the question classifying CPF focussed on strategies. Only five of seven strategies offered within the questionnaire items concerning CPF's use of strategies (under routine and critical conditions) were selected by participants.

The five strategies were lobbying, networking (interorganizational), media, advertising, and committees (consultation). Table 5.4 compares the results of the two questions. In all strategies but advertising CPF and NCPF responses showed such a degree of agreement (within a question) that the entire sample's values are discussed jointly.

The results indicated that CPF's preferred strategies under both routine and critical conditions were lobbying and networking. These switch positions relatively from routine to critical conditions, or, under pressure CPF uses lobbying more frequently than other strategies.

The other three strategies of media, committees, and advertising do not change their relative frequencies, although the absolute frequencies of media and committee use shows some increase. The findings regarding use of advertising were (a) there is no relative or absolute change in advertising frequency, and (b) CPF and NCPF respondents showed considerable difference in how they weighted the frequency of this strategy. The NCPF means were markedly lower (signifying greater use) than were those of CPF . All these findings are more clearly shown in Figure 5.4.

Table 5.4

CPF Strategies under Routine and Critical Conditions

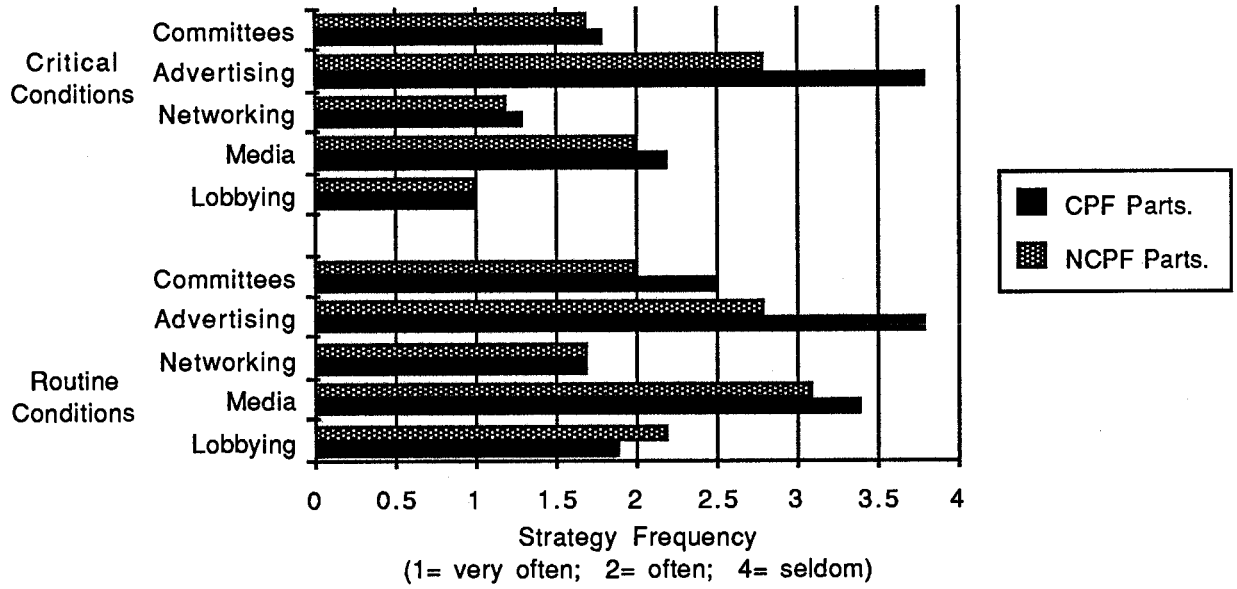
	CPF (n=10)		NCPF (n=10)		All participants (n=20)	
Strategy	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Routine						
Lobbying	1.90	.74	2.20	1.55	2.05	1.19
Media	3.40	1.17	3.10	1.20	3.25	1.16
Networking	1.70	1.06	1.70	.82	1.70	.92
Advertising	3.80	1.32	2.80	.79	3.30	1.17
Committees	2.50	1.35	2.00	.67	2.25	1.07
Critical						
Lobbying	1.00	.00	1.00	.00	1.00	.00
Media	2.20	1.32	2.00	.94	2.10	1.12
Networking	1.30	.68	1.20	.42	1.30	.55
Advertising	3.80	1.36	2.80	1.03	3.30	1.17
Committees	1.80	1.03	1.70	1.06	1.75	1.06

Note. Scale: 1 = very often; 2 = often; 3 = equal frequency of use/disuse; 4 = seldom; 5 = very seldom.

The next applicable questionnaire item focussed on "influences on CPF's use of strategies". The results indicated a difference between CPF and NCPF responses on the relative importance of the three "influences" offered. These were the restraints of time, funds, and the previous history of use of a strategy (termed "History"). CPF rated funds as the greatest influence, time restrictions as the second greatest influence and history as the least important influence. The most notable difference with NCPF was in the ranking of funds,

Figure 5.4

Comparison of CPF Strategy Frequency under Routine and Critical Conditions



which NCPF ranked as <u>least</u> important, with time and history as increasingly more important. This complete reversal of these factors is an interesting commentary on the perceptions of government and school officials towards CPF's reliance on federal government funding. The remaining quantitative and qualitative findings on strategies are presented in the section of the chapter dealing specifically with strategies.

Internal and External Organization

In Chapter Two the term "formal organization" was divided into two categories-internal and external. The former refers to an interest group's leadership and membership, democratic tradition, and resources. The latter divides into its interorganizational networking and "external" hierarchy. This latter term is particularly applicable to a federation such as CPF which has different goals, activities, and resource-bases at different levels. External factors precede internal ones in this section.

Interorganizational Networking. Only the findings related to three questionnaire items are discussed here as part of CPF's external organization. These items focussed on three different aspects of interorganizational networking (hereafter called "networking"). These were: similarities between CPF and the groups with which it networked, network exchange "currencies", and part of a larger question on "who represents CPF"-in this case- to other organizations. The findings are presented in Table 5.5.

The findings on "network similarities" showed considerable agreement between CPF and NCPF participants in all but the "representation" part of the item. Both sets of values are presented, nevertheless, to corroborate CPF answers.

The results indicated that CPF usually networks with groups sharing similar: strategies, goals, roles (e.g. advocacy), and, similar or smaller membership sizes. In the one section of the item dealing with "CPF representation" (to such groups) there was a wide separation in the two groups' means. CPF thinks most of the contact between themselves and

Table 5.5

Interorganizational Networking

Characteristic	CPF M	CPF SD	CPF n	NCPF M	NCPF SD	NCPF n
Representation[a]						
To other organizations						
Leaders	1.00	.00	10	.90	.32	10
Staff	.50	.53	10	.30	.48	10
Members	.3	.48	10	.5	.53	10
To the Public						
Leaders	.90	.10	10	.90	.32	10
Staff	.40	.52	10	.20	.42	10
Members	.30	.48	10	.40	.52	10
Network Similarities [b](with CPF)						
Similar or different						
Strategies/goals	.00	.00	9	.00	.00	7
Roles	.67	.50	9	.71	.49	7
Membership size	.67	.50	9	.67	.52	6
CPF representation	.10	.32	10	.60	.55	5

(table continues)

	CPF			NCPF		
Commodity exchanged	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Network Exchange "Currencies"[c]						
Information	1.10	.33	9	1.00	.00	8
Funds	5.00	.00	8	4.60	.55	5
Materials	3.00	.58	7	2.70	.49	7
Personnel	3.80	.50	6	4.30	.50	6
Moral support	2.00	.50	9	2.30	.46	8

Note. a 0 = not applicable, 1 = applicable. b 0 = similar strategies/goals, 1 = different strategies/goals; 0 = different role, 1 = similar role; 0 = larger membership, 1 = similar or smaller membership (than CPF); 0 = contact between group leaders, 1 = contact between members.
c 1 = most exchanged commodity, 5 = least exchanged commodity.

other groups occurs between leaders, while NCPF believe it occurs between members. Given the upcoming evidence within the item on "representation", the CPF response seems more accurate.

The item upon which this judgement was based is presented in Table 5.5 under the subtitle "representation". It shows that CPF and NCPF respondents differed markedly in determining the role of CPF staff and members in representation to the public and other organizations. On the importance of this role for CPF leaders, however, there was similarity.

The next item's findings revealed the network "currencies" or commodities/ services exchanged between its members. In accordance with

the research of Upton and Fonow (1988) the volunteer groups with which CPF networks had few funds or resources to exchange. The more common currencies of exchange, in descending order of importance were: information, moral support, materials, personnel, and funds.

External Hierarchy or the"Vertical Axis". The term "vertical axis" (Warren, 1963) was used to describe the anticipated influence of CPF's hierarchy. As the organization was a three-tier federation with permanent staffs at the federal and provincial levels, I expected directions for operating to be "top-down", in view of the nature of incidents related to me demonstrating CPF's influence (see Chapter One). Such was not the case. Proof came from interviews and a perspective developed from these. Prior to elucidating this perspective, a few questionnaire items' findings on a variety of subjects relate to this topic.

First are two items from Pross's typology (1986) on CPF's "knowledge of the System" and "organization description" (general). Using a combined mean , CPF was rated as being between the descriptions of "extensive knowledge of the sectors of the government/school system and ease of communication with those sectors" and "knowledgeable concerning those sectors of government/ school system that affects [their] concerns". Understanding the "System" which one seeks to influence is a mark of the interest group's maturity of leadership and of degree of continuity (a function of internal organization-Pross,1986).

The combined mean for "organizational description" was very close to the description, "well-organized, but generally not bureaucratic". This accords with previous references to CPF's staffs as being adequate but not fully professional (at the BCPF level) and lacking at the local level.

The perspective regarding the "vertical axis" might better be entitled "CPF's external organization" (between levels). The perspective claims:

Although a federation, CPF exists at three distinct levels. The higher levels' (federal and BCPF) offices provide support to the local chapters. Despite the locals existing under the legal and formal organizational "umbrella" of the higher levels they are generally free to act on their own accord on matters of local jurisdiction.

That the higher levels exist (conceptually) to support the local, "grassroots" level locals has already been demonstrated. What follow are examples of some of the supportive activities performed and efforts of higher levels to influence locals' decisions. A BCPF president made a reference about their "influencing" locals to make presentations to the Royal Commission (1988) saying, "...admittedly we gave them background but they each had to write their own brief and make their own presentation...". Of BCPFs efforts to inform, train, and organize its B.C. locals she mentioned:

> We've made InfoXchange. We've invited two members from each chapter down to InfoXchange because the majority of our remote chapters were only entitled to one....The other thing we've tried to do is to get the chapters to work together. And so part of our travelling has been to attend what are called mini-conferences and both times I went up to Terrace we had four chapters represented there from that area and on the island as well.

A reference concerning the BCPF office attempting to influence their locals' reaction to the recommendations in the B.C. Royal Commission was:

> Plus I think we can encourage our members to be open-minded about the changes and to try and work with them rather than work against them. I think the whole thing has a far better chance of succeeding.

NCPF leaders in Lutteville were also aware of CPF's hierarchy, seeing it in a different light depending on their view of the organization. Thus a school board chairman from Lutteville with strongly anti-CPF sentiments felt the "vertical axis" had helped the local in its struggle with the school board, saying," They go to learn how to lobby at national conferences....Our local people are locked into the provincial and federal organization very, very strongly". A past administrator also recognized the role of higher levels of CPF in the Lutteville conflict.

> They also brought in information that by this time in the '86, '87--the organization from Ottawa was working back again. People like Janet Poyen were giving them advice, in reverse order, from Ottawa back this way.

Interestingly, the Lutteville past-president claimed the local felt the higher levels had failed them in their "hour of need", saying:

> LPF felt very much that we at that point when we were in the middle of our crisis - we felt at that time very much as though we were cut loose by B.C. Parents for French. Very many people felt we were also cut loose by national. We felt that - mind you those were thoughts that were very rarely stated because they felt if they were, we'd be biting the hand that fed us - but we felt that we would like to have seen other ways of at least...
> [Interviewer Support of some sort?]
> Some more support coming. And I can understand and now particularly since I'm on the BCPF board that there are certain, there's probably **very little that the provincial board can do apart from providing statistical information and studies.** [my emphasis].

The quasi-statistics supporting the perspective (see Table 5.6) on the internal hierarchy were strong. There were 66 references within the interviews to this perspective, all of them positive cases. Of these 65% were from CPF sources and 35% from NCPF sources. There were 61% volunteered and 39% directed statements. As all references supported the perspective and the majority were volunteered statements, it is likely an accurate representation of the organization.

Funds. Many NCPF participants did not reply to questionnaire items concerning "the importance of external funding" (to its operations) and "means of fundraising". Only two questionnaire items had sufficient response rates to be included in this discussion. More reliance was generated on this topic through the "resource concerns" perspective, document analysis, and another questionnaire item addressing "CPF concerns".

One item yielding adequate response rates concerned the ranking of CPF's funding sources. The findings are presented in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5

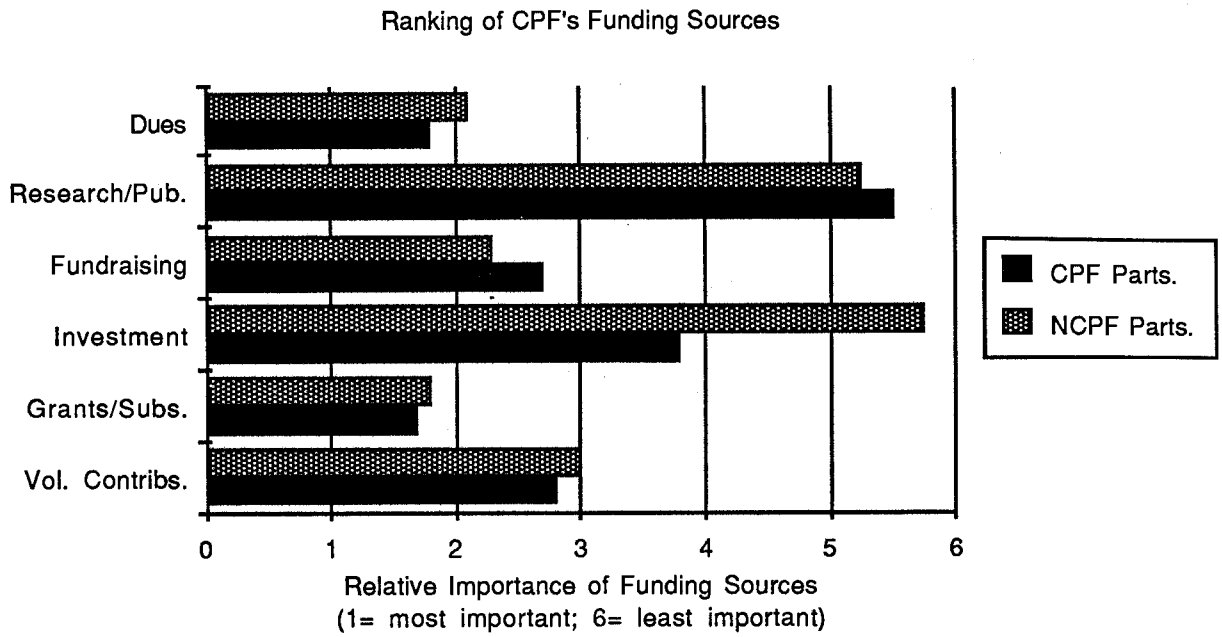


Figure 5.5 shows that both participant groups held similar views on all sources of CPF's funds, save one-"investment income". The funding sources were universally ranked, in order of importance as: grants and subsidies (federal money), members dues, voluntary contributions, fundraising (only at the local level). Research/ publications and investment income were ranked low enough not to warrant close scrutiny.

The second reliable questionnaire item relating to this variable was termed "resource description". Within the four-item scale describing CPF's resources, CPF identified itself as possessing, "limited human and financial resources"; whereas the NCPF choice was closer to the description, "adequate and stable access to human and financial resources".

Table 5.6
Perspectives on CPF's Organization

	Frequency & Distribution					
	Nature		CPF		NCPF	
Perspective	Vol.	Dir.	+	-	+	-
External hierarchy ("vertical axis")	40	26	43	0	23	0
Resource concern	19	2	16	1	6	0

Interview Perspective on Funding

The "resource concern" perspective indicates:

CPF leaders perceive a shortage of funds particularly for staff positions such as executive directors and for a permanent (paid) provincial president. This in spite of the considerable growth in offices at the BCPF and CPF national levels and substantial government (largely federal) support money.

Sample statements illustrative of this perspective include one by a president of BCPF indicating the substantial growth in the provincial office, staff, and funds:

> When I started on the Board...almost five years ago now, our office was one room in someone else's office....We now have two paid employees, a large office. Our organization, our office organization has improved by leaps and bounds...[and]... I don't know if you want administration, but administration is a large part of what we do. I mean our budget is about $125,000.

It is difficult to determine if this amount is large, relative to other parent interest groups in B.C. with similar goals and memberships. It does appear that the provincial level of CPF in this province, however, has grown substantially and if indications from the documents are any evidence, its operating budgets are fairly stable.

An interview with a past Commissioner of Official Languages indicated that CPF has always had that office's support (as well as sizeable financial support from the Secretary of State's office), and not just financial:

> I confirmed and reiterate[d]...that they would always have our support and I think that they did indeed have that support during the seven years when I was Language Commissioner....You know, we provided them with secretarial help at one stage before they had a secretary. We used to help them get their meetings organized. A number of things of that sort.

Despite this continued support, and the admitted growth of the national and BCPF offices, numerous statements were recorded such as,"...I would like more money. Primarily to have the luxury of having an Executive Director." Direct statements such as this or indirect references to CPF's desire for greater resources were noted 23 times during the twenty interviews (see Table 5.6). Of these 74% came from CPF sources, while the remaining 26% were of NCPF origin. Only one reference constituted a negative case (4% of the references). Furthermore, 91% were volunteered statements, rather than directed responses- thus increasing the likelihood of their validity. What the table does not indicate is that the majority of these comments were made by government-level CPF leaders.

One senior federal official made two astute comments in reference to this matter. This representative of the Secretary of State's office noted, "...as any organization which receives a large part of its funding from government, [it] would want to get more funding from government". His second point addressed one possible solution available to CPF, namely, to abdicate its volunteer status and accept the greatly increased funding available as a government agency

> I mean obviously they have access to greater funds and greater professional and human resources to kind of do the work because anybody who's a parent knows the great difficulty. I mean we're talking about volunteers and volunteer time and lack of highly developed

professional resources or the professional resources are more or less accidental or incidental.

Documents

Documentary evidence from six years of CPF Annual Reports partly belied the "resource concern" perspective. These financial summaries showed a general increase in yearly total revenue. The largest share of this came from federal government agencies.

Year	Total Revenue	% Members' Dues/ Donations	% Government Sources
1983-84	$252,254	11.7	75.3
1984-85	$331,168	13.2	74.5
1985-86	$480,739	10.4	74.1
1986-87	$438,957	16.1	61.8
1987-88	$502,363	17.1	64.0
1988-89	$606,205	14.9	64.6

Democratic Tradition. Some notion of the amount of member (compared to leader/staff) input within the organization is offered by the "frequency of CPF meetings" item. The results indicated a meeting frequency of being between monthly and quarterly. This may be often enough at the local level during routine conditions, but at the BCPF and CPF (national) levels staffs and leaders must make certain decisions without member input.

The chief source of quantitative evidence on CPF's democratic tradition came from two questionnaire items. These related to the "selection of targets" and "development of objectives". Table 5.7 presents the findings. The results of the "selection of targets" show that "leaders/ staff" and "directors/staff meetings" were equally ranked as the greatest contributors in these endeavours. The results of the "development of objectives" item , furthermore, indicated the prime role of "directors/staff meetings" over other sources of input including "members meetings". It would appear that leaders play a critical role within the organization. It was natural to assume (from the research literature) that CPF was a "top-down" organization. The qualitative evidence indicated otherwise,

and, given the limited nature and the low response rate for some of the questionnaire items (see Table 5.7), the former "held-sway" on the matter.

Table 5.7

Formal Organization: Decision Making

	CPF			NCPF		
Focus	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Selection of "Targets"[a]						
Leaders/ staff	1.50	.71	10	1.20	.41	6
Directors/ staff mtgs.	1.50	.55	6	2.30	1.53	7
Members	3.70	1.16	7	3.50	.58	4
Members mtgs.	2.70	1.03	6	4.50	.71	8
Development of objectives [b]						
Directors/staff mtgs.	1.40	.52	10	1.50	.76	8
Members mtgs.	2.40	1.58	10	2.10	.90	7
Media/ current events	3.60	.88	9	4.30	1.51	6
Government input	4.30	1.39	8	4.30	1.03	6
Public input	5.30	1.11	7	3.60	1.77	8
Research findings	4.30	1.34	10	4.30	1.70	7

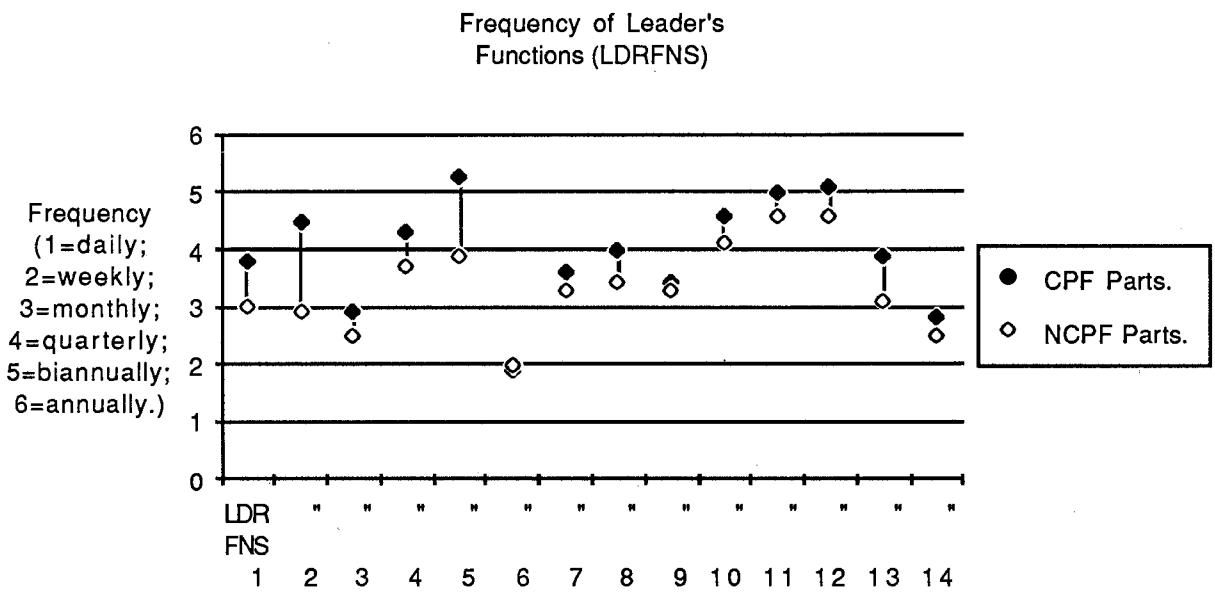
Note. "Targets" refers to people/organizations selected for lobbying. mtgs. = meetings. [a] 1 = greatest contributor, 5 = least contributor; [b] 1 = most common means, 6 = least common means;

Leaders' Importance

Quantitative Evidence. Many questionnaire items focussed on CPF's leadership as the research literature and personal experience suggested the critical roles played by leaders. This has already been indicated by some previous items' results. In selecting whom to interview, I realized that leaders generally have more knowledge and experience in an organization than do most of its members. This proved so with CPF.

The findings follow from a number of questionnaire items and an interview perspective. Direct documentary evidence is not introduced, although indirect proof abounded - all the briefs had been presented (and doubtless prepared) by leaders or staff. All CPF manuals, guidebooks,

Figure 5.6



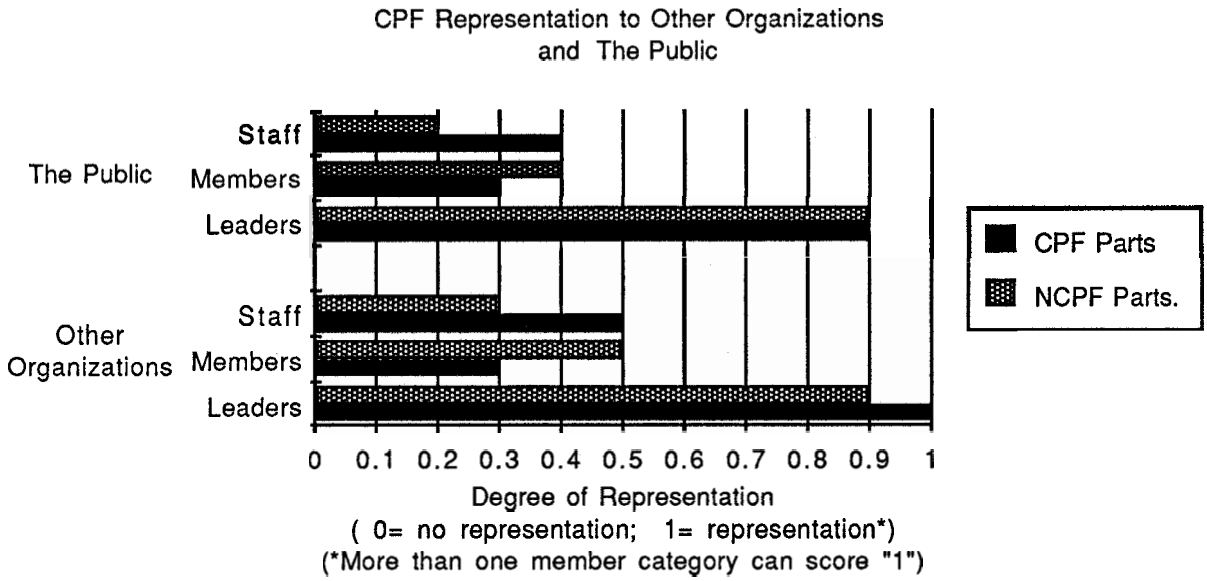
(LDRFNS: 1-social/recreational events; 2- government/school district committees; 3-consult/negotiate; 4-prepare/present briefs; 5- research; 6-information provision; 7-organize "other" services; 8-publications; 9- rebut attacks; 10-intercede re: grants/subsidies; 11-administer training/ education programs; 12-administer awards; 13-organize meetings/ conferences; and, 14-coalition/network).

pamphlets, and conference materials examined also bore the mark of some leader's initiative.

CPF's leadership type was determined to be "rotating", meaning leaders are elected by their volunteer association, often with past presidents (directors) remaining on the executive to provide continuity. Figure 5.6 indicates that leaders perform a wide range of functions with varying frequencies.

More results indicating leaders' importance are shown in Figure 5.7. This relates how leaders were ranked as most often representing CPF to other groups and the public. Finally, participants provided information on the characteristics deemed important to such CPF leaders. The findings rank the importance of leaders' skills or personal traits (see Table 5.8).

Figure 5.7.



Personal traits were generally judged as being more important than content knowledge or "SES" characteristics. All participants evaluated personal traits such as commitment, interpersonal skills, high energy levels, cooperative

ethic, and persuasiveness and as being more important qualities in CPF leaders than any others, save "time" and "legitimacy of cause". These were rated at "1.5 " or less on the scale (between very important and important).

Table 5.8

Leaders Characteristics and Skills

	CPF (n=10)		NCPF (n=10)	
Characteristic	M	SD	M	SD
Has access to decision-makers	2.90	.93	1.50	.71
High socio-economic status	3.70	.48	3.00	.94
Experience in policy area	2.30	.95	2.30	.48
Expertise in policy area	2.10	.88	2.50	.53
High level of energy	1.50	.71	1.20	.42
Political efficacy	2.10	.99	1.80	.63
Persuasiveness	1.90	.87	1.30	.48
Cooperative ethic	1.50	.53	1.60	.52
Legitimacy of "cause"	1.30	.50	1.10	.32
Interpersonal skills	1.30	.48	1.30	.48
Commitment	1.10	.32	1.00	.00
Time	1.20	.42	1.40	.52

Note. Scale - 1 = very important, 4 = unimportant.

Characteristics such as political efficacy, expertise in the political area, experience in the policy area, leader's SES, and access to decision makers

were rated lower than personal traits. Of interest is the difference in relative scores for the last two items between CPF and NCPF responses. CPF rated access to decision makers as "unimportant" and leader's SES as "very unimportant". While agreeing with the ranking of these relative to other categories, the NCPF group showed different absolute scores for each. They rated access to decision makers as being between "very important" and "important". They rated leader's SES as "unimportant".

Qualitative Evidence. I noted during the two conferences attended and interviews that CPF members were very sensitive to suggestions that CPF was a "middle class" organization. Possibly this differing perception between CPF and NCPF participants can be explained by the group's having been "sensitized" to this allegation. An interesting comment by one "pro-CPF"

Table 5.9
Perspectives on CPF Leaders and Members

	Frequency & Distribution					
	Nature		CPF		NCPF	
Perspective	Vol.	Dir.	+	-	+	-
Leaders' importance	30	18	28	1	19	0
Member motivation	23	18	31	1	5	4

Note. Vol. = volunteered statements, Dir. = directed statements.
"+" and "-"refer to positive and negative statements regarding the perspective.

local administrator related to this concern. He said they felt," 'We don't want to be an elite group'. But the fact of the matter was ...they were an elite group, you know". Allegations about Immersion programs being "elitist" have long-plagued the group.

The perspective on the importance of leadership to CPF states:

> ***A key to CPF's success has been the continuing presence of strong, committed leadership which impacts most notably upon a) chapter formation, b) crises, and c) recognition by other organizations and governments.***

In both Normton and Lutteville, founding members each went on to be first presidents and remained active within the local executives (and at higher levels). One said," We started in '77 also and then I was the president for '77/78 and '78/79....".

Besides helping found their locals and lead their members through the stormy first years of lobbying, leaders were at the forefront during subsequent crises. In Lutteville both CPF members interviewed expended considerable amounts of time and effort in their efforts to save their immersion kindergarten classes. One Lutteville administrator said, "They used all kinds of jargon and the pleas...these bright young women like [first president] and Co. and the ones she's spoken to, were brilliant!...Their arguments!"

Finally, the kind of continuous effort to sustain locals and the two government-level offices has helped gain for CPF a solid reputation among their counterparts at all levels. The kind of effort involved was described by a BCPF president:

> During the school year it's close to 40 hours a week and, you know, I'm lucky. I have a part time job that's flexible so I fit the two in fine. But the next person may be working full time in which case she's not here. She is not going to have the time to do what needs to be done.

That "what needs to be done" is often done by leaders is revealed in a comment by a leader from Normton," Most of the members don't want...they don't like coming out to the meetings so basically most of the work is done by the executive". While similar to many volunteer organizations, it still indicates the kind of effort CPF leaders expend for their cause.

The quasi-statistics supporting this perspective (see Table 5.9) on leader importance consisted of 48 statements directly concerning leaders and some indirect references obtained from other questions. Of these 60% were from CPF and 40% from NCPF participants. Only one "negative case" was found, constituting but 2% of the statements. In conjunction with the majority of these statements/references (63%) being volunteered, this speaks well of the confidence that can placed in the perspective.

Membership

Having just stressed some of the key roles of CPF leaders within the organization, the discussion shifts to consider the importance of its members. Despite the importance of its leaders, it is CPF's "human resources"- active, committed parents in this case, which have determined its success or failure. As CPF's Executive Director suggested,"... providing the people out there with the tools to do the job because they're the real doers, the toilers, who hews the wood and draws the water when you come down to it".

Several questionnaire items addressed CPF members': type, description, and a variety of topics (within several subsections of tables and figures already presented). The item identifying the membership type identified CPF's membership as "voluntary". This was verified through interview statements and CPF and BCPF documents.

The "membership description" most closely matching CPF was a "large, fluid membership". An interesting fact regarding its membership is that if one parent joins a chapter, the spouse is listed on the membership list, even if not active with CPF.

Additional findings included (a) members were ranked as representing CPF equally with staffs to the the public/ other organizations (b) members ranked second to directors/ staff meetings in development of objectives (c) "fluid

membership" ranked as being at the top of CPF's list of concerns, equal to "funds", and (d) in the upcoming section on grounds for CPF's recognition , "membership" ranked fourth (after "leadership").

There is little doubt that an interest group with over 18,000 members must receive some recognition on the grounds of its numbers alone. The importance of this large membership to CPF recognition and success are detailed in the subsequent two sections. Yet despite its sizeable membership, CPF leaders seem to have drawn more attention from government and school district officials. This may possibly be due to their above-average commitment, experience within CPF, and leadership characteristics.

The quasi-statistics supporting the perspective on CPF membership (see Table 5.9) relate to member retention, and ultimately to the evolving role of CPF. The perspective suggests:

> ***CPF members' activity and motivation is high while mobilizing to establish its French program or while defending it (usually during the early years). Motivation and activity drop in the absence of such stimuli, however, resulting in declining member involvement and numbers.***

Verification of the perspective came from many sources such as:

> The other thing I wonder [is] if the organization itself will not change as our groups mature... I wonder when a group has their program established and entrenched right through to Grade twelve. In other words there's no burning political issue. They're not fighting for the program or what have you. Will those groups still stay? A prime example right now is Surrey, one of our largest chapters ... we have three or four hundred members there. We do not have an executive.

This complaint was heard only in Normton. The recency of the crisis in Lutteville may have contributed to retaining a higher percentage of active members. Of Normton's members was said, "But of those members, they're all nominal members and just recently the national body has asked us to find out from people who do not wish to continue their membership what the reasons

are". Similar concerns were heard repeatedly from the CPF participants, either directly, or in the form of one of their "wishes" (forming part of the last interview question)- such as, "I'd like to see 100% of our membership renewing its membership every year. For whatever reason, we are much more able to attract new members than to get members to renew."

The quasi-statistics from Table 5.9 reveal that of 41 references to this perspective, 88% were positive cases supporting this view, while only 12% were negative. One CPF leader stated that CPF's membership of 18,000 "meant more" than in some other volunteer organizations as they had active members. This view does not contradict the perspective, as it states that once a local program has "settled" (i.e.-is no longer threatened), the CPF chapter begins to experience a degree of member complacency. For locals not yet at that stage, her comment seemed a propos. In one of the locals studied and in several other large "established" chapters, nevertheless, this perspective reflects their situation.

The other four negative cases were not difficult to explain as two each were attributable to B.C. government officials who were only invited to occasional CPF activities. Their experience indicated that CPF members were extremely active. Their comments may well be based on their interactions with those leaders or active members in the locals "smitten" with member complacency, or, they may not have been involved with any such locals

Functions (Roles)

The major variable of "CPF functions" was defined in two ways. The role (almost synonymous with strategy) CPF was perceived to play by both CPF leaders and NCPF officials was the first way. A single questionnaire item investigated its role. The second item detailed CPF's numerous activities (functions) performed at all levels. Thus an overall perspective could be

developed which could serve as a framework from which an overall societal function could be deduced.

The item on CPF's role indicated that all participants saw it serving a purposive (advocacy) role. This accords with the literature's description of an interest group such as CPF. Despite clear oral or written descriptions explaining the roles of "service" and "advisory" roles, the participants selected these as "partial" roles (of equal weight). Evidence from the BCPF level might suggest that as they now sit on three governmentally-created standing policy bodies, the BCPF may meet the definition of "service" role (Gittell,1980).

Table 5.10 presents perspectives spanning three of the study's research questions, namely-classification (roles), recognition and visibility, and CPF's success. Reference will be made to the latter two perspectives in the table in sections of the chapter dealing with those questions.

Table 5.10
Perspectives on CPF's Roles, Recognition, and Influence

	Frequency & Distribution					
	Nature		CPF		NCPF	
Perspective	Vol.	Dir.	+	-	+	-
Roles (functions)	42	81	69	0	54	0
Recognition and visibility	39	42	39	5	37	0
Success and influence	71	87	82	18	51	8

Note. Vol. = volunteered statements, Dir. = directed statements. "+" and "-" refer to positive and negative statements regarding the perspective.

The perspective on CPF roles claims:

The different levels of CPF play different roles depending on the primary focus of their goals, their degree of previous recognition and success, and the context within which they now operate.

The three determiners of CPF's roles are essentially- goals, history, and operating context. The first of these were discussed earlier in the chapter. The results indicated that at the local (chapter) level of CPF, the primary goal was French program acquisition (usually immersion) which required of them a largely purposive role. Lobbying the school board and developing information networks dominate the local' s efforts at this stage. Later, as the desired program is established, there is a shift away from predominantly purposive to more supportive activities. There is growing emphasis on another of CPF's three objectives-cultural and extra-curricular linguistic activities for children.

The "functions" performed at this local level, therefore, reflect the degree of "goal acquisition"-which is dependent on the history of the recognition/ success they experience. This in turn depends on the nature of the community, the school board, the local's members, and the quality of local CPF leadership. If the start-up of the target French program proceeds relatively quickly with few "threats" to its continuance and expansion at such critical points as the expansion into intermediate and secondary levels- a period of relative quiet reigns. The school board and CPF share a degree of mutual respect and there is little done of a purposive nature.

Between this situation and that in which the local program is not implemented, may feasibly exist a range of situations. Two of the many situations possible were seen in Normton and Lutteville. The two may not have been completely different in their local "contexts", but they did differ. In Normton

the local (when studied) had so "settled-down" as to be suffering from what I have described as a kind of member complacency. Cultural events and some "minimally-purposive" activity were the remaining functions in this local.

The mainly "supportive" (cultural) activities included: puppet shows, book fairs, other fundraising activities to establish a Grade 12 scholarship fund, film presentations, a Charlotte Diamond concert, and slide presentations. More "purposive" functions have included kindergarten orientations to parents of French immersion students, placing a variety of posters within the school district, and otherwise advertising the program. That purposive functions have become secondary is attested to by references to the difficulty in getting members to attend board meetings and in discovering that the policy committee they had been using to input in to the school district was unrecognized. These are some of the "costs" of a long-established, secure French program to a parent interest group with basically purposive origins.

The Normton local was aware of the school board's continuing support, actually performing some legitimating functions to show this. As one Normton CPF leader said,"They were committed right through to grade twelve and we've recognized that publicly in our meetings and thanked them. That was one of the reasons that we went to the board that year, to thank them for the job that they were doing".

While on the topic of cultural and other extra-curricular activities organized by CPF locals, the range and frequency can be extensive.

> At the local level they're just countless, the kinds of things that a local association can do. Lots and lots of summer camps. Lots of...simple things. Story hours, whatever it may be, you know. All of these things are the things which touch individual children. Those are the things that I think are the most important aspect of what we do.

In Lutteville the same pattern commenced but the threat to their primary program (French immersion-kindergarten) caused a considerable delay in the transition to mainly supportive functions (between starting in 1977 until after the last conflict in 1986) . Although the local spent no longer than Normton establishing its program in the process a "parallel" or shadow organization which was active in electing "pro-immersion" school board candidates may have contributed to a community backlash.

Other local and provincial contextual factors (discussed in the next section) contributed to a second period of conflict with the board, thus reducing the local's effort on the more supportive functions many parents in the chapter really wanted. This is verified in statements such as:

> By far the majority of people involved in LPF are really in it because they want to be supportive of the teacher in the classroom. They wanted to ...be able to concentrate in setting up a class rep system for teachers where teachers have support in the classroom. Wanted to be involved in setting up cultural things for kids outside of the classroom. So it was a totally different focus which is what LPF wanted to do originally anyway but had got side-tracked onto the political thing because we had to at that particular point.

After the crisis LPF emphasized more the supportive aspects of its role and deemphasized the purposive role. They have always been active in these functions, as well as the many kinds of similar functions already chronicled describing Normton. If anything, LPF tried even harder in these activities, as they sought acceptance from a hostile community. Hence they redoubled their efforts, for example, to include FSL students in activities for French immersion students. A past administrator noted:

> They desperately wanted to help in the classrooms, anywhere, just to show willing. and they even offered to help develop French Second Language. They said, "We'll help there too. We know that's supposed to be part of the French instruction". [and]...They published a newsletter regularly. I attended their meetings. They were always working on weekend camps, extra-curricular work, taking kids here in French, always

> trying to organize something like that. They also tried to show the others. The other people in the general programme that they were interested in developing FSL, well, by organizing things between the French immersion and FSL students.

In addition to the "cost" of having to maintain an uncommon vigilance of the school board, the local also had to pay the price of being viewed as the "immersion group". " One of our big difficulties has been convincing people that we're not just supportive of French immersion because people tie French immersion to LPF obviously because that's where the battle was...."

At the provincial and even more so at the governmental levels the context was more supportive of their goals. Hence CPF has been able to focus on a more "advisory" role at the BCPF level and a respected "purposive" role at the national level. Of the functions supporting these roles, a BCPF president said:

> We have two big meetings a year and that's InfoXchange and AGM which take up horrendous amount of our budget and a lot of time as well. And networking between the chapters. Well we certainly disseminate information. That's a big part of what we do and that not necessarily to members, that's to the general public. In other words someone could call in here and ask for information and we don't ask if they are members or anything, we just ship it out sort of thing. That's a big part of it. We also as well, in that sphere sort of, attend various meetings and set up tables to give out information, you know.
> And not only that but we gather research papers and disseminate them. In other words, somebody wants information on, oh, how are the grade sevens doing vis a vis the English program, you know.

These examples highlight the functions, hence the role, of BCPF. Also, because of its representation on three provincial level committees, it enjoys a kind of recognition and access not enjoyed by other CPF levels studied. This was explained by a B.C. government official:

> I think that what has happened is that the Ministry a long time ago recognized that the CPF were a very important, significant stake holder group. So we decided at that point that if we were going to develop policies or procedures or guidelines in an advisory committee or whatever we call it, policy committee, advisory committee, then they ought to have a voice in that because they are the clientele and therefore they should be sitting at the same table.

At the national level, CPF performs a role in supporting the infrastructure of the organization it leads. Thus it organizes the research dissemination enjoyed by other levels. New functions have developed to which other levels are unsuited:

> The national organization has been called on to play a broader role, kind of encouraging and pushing and promoting French second language programs in the broader context of supporting Canada's official languages policy and Canada's linguistic duality working with the minority communities, francophone outside Quebec and English speaking inside Quebec.

In addition, the national office organizes or generates the many publications that drive its information role at lower levels. The national office organizes its national conference, delivers briefs at the national level, and runs the national-level cultural activities, such as-Rendezvous and the national oral speaking competition.

The role of CPF in general is nicely summarized by a representative. from the Secretary of State's office:

> Obviously CPF cannot in and of itself provide French language learning opportunities out in the schools. They can provide some extracurricular and summer and weekend support activities and so on but fundamentally it's provinces and school boards who offer programs and CPF is an organization trying to impact on that and influence it.

Before leaving this discussion of roles, the quasi-statistics are presented. Table 5.10 presents 123 positive references to this perspective of CPF roles . Of these 56 % came from CPF and 44% from NCPF participants. There were almost twice as many directed as volunteered statements, as fully two out of seven interview questions addressed issues of goals, functions, or roles. There were no negative cases. This, and the near-balance between the proportion of CPF to NCPF references suggests the perspective is representative of CPF's roles.

Summary

The research question addressed by this section of Chapter 5 involved the classification of CPF with respect to origin and goals, strategy, structure, and roles. Despite having amassed a considerable amount of data and perspectives on sub-variables constituting these major variables, some interest group typology had to be adopted to classify CPF.

Out of convenience and "fit " (at least at the governmental levels) the Pross(1986) typology was selected prior to the study as being most applicable and as having the most subsequent application. Thus, it is mainly Pross's criteria which will be met and discussed in Chapter Six. Seven of Pross's descriptions of variables within interest groups were used directly as questionnaire items. These have already been described in the sections of this question to which they applied.

These were: goals, interactions, knowledge of "system", formal organization, staff description, membership description, and resource description. One other item was directly derived from Pross's work, namely- "communication strategy". The results are important as these items' scales reflect the same order of classification of interest groups as does Pross's "continuum of institutionalization". Thus by determining on how many items CPF was ranked as one, two, three, or four - one can judge it's fit to one "type" or another. The results and their significance using Chi-square, are offered in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11

Pross's Typology

	All Participants					
	Item scores			Chi-squares		
Questionnaire item	M	SD	n	X^2	D.F.	p
Goals	1.90	1.02	19	6.05	3	.11
Interactions	1.70	.57	20	9.10	2	.01
Knowledge of "System"	1.50	.61	20	7.90	2	.02
Formal organization	1.80	.52	20	13.30	2	.001
Staff	2.75	.87	12[a]	4.67	3	.20
Membership	2.90	1.05	19	13.21	3	.004
Resources	2.58	.69	20	10.80	3	.01
Communication strategy	.90	.31	18	18.00	1	.000

Note. Different scales apply to each questionnaire item, however, the "Goals" to "Resources" items share a common basis in relating to Pross's (1986) typology of Canadian pressure groups. The item scales are: 1 = "Institutionalized", 2 = "Mature", 3 = "Fledgling", and 4 = "issue-oriented"

[a] CPF locals do not have staffs, hence the low number of responses.

CPF generally fits Pross's description of a "mature" interest group. CPF rates as being almost "mature" in goals, interactions , and formal organization. It was rated as ranging between mature and institutionalized in its "Knowledge of the "System". On the other items it rated between "mature" and "fledgling". These included staff, membership , and resources. On the item "communication strategy" the rating was "access" rather than "media"-oriented.

Chi-squares indicated all scores were significant ($p > .05$) except those of "goals" and "staff". This may be explained by the lack of staffs at the local level, thus skewing the responses of local participants. Similarly, although government and local levels of CPF shared the same three general goals, their actual focus (objectives) were often different. This, along with the general difficulty in achieving agreement on goals concerning any organization, may explain the lack of significance of this category.

CPF Methods of Influence (Strategies)

Quantitative Evidence

Several questionnaire items explored the "formality" (nature) of CPF lobbying, its frequency according to level (senior or junior administrators), and its general direction. The results are summarized in Table 5.12.

The findings (all participants) indicate that CPF lobbies senior officials under more formal conditions than it does junior officials. The difference is slight when the results are combined, but the two group's perceptions of this are quite different. CPF rated contact with senior officials as less formal than with junior officials. The results were opposite for NCPF.

A possible explanation for this may be found in results of two other items (see the second section in Table 5.12). Although there were differences between how participants perceived the frequency of CPF lobbying by level (junior/senior), the two group's answers were close within levels. Using the "all participants" means, it is apparent that junior officials are approached more often by CPF than are senior.

This was verified by an item on "frequency of contact with personal acquaintances" (which was quarterly). This accords with the frequency of lobbying of senior officials found in the last item and comments of senior officials during the interviews. If CPF leaders meet senior officials less frequently, but do so on occasions such as conferences, they may view their contact as being less formal than the more frequent, yet "business-like" contact they encounter with junior officials. The findings from the item on "directions of communication" show that CPF and NCPF answers were close. Only on "from government/school board" and "to other levels of CPF" were there notable differences. So, in general the combined means are used.

CPF communications rank in decreasing frequency as: "to other CPF levels", "to government or school boards", "to other CPF locals", "from government or school boards", "between departments", and "to other interest groups". These findings may be taken at "face-value" or the results may be "clustered". The latter approach shows communication within CPF and to its primary targets are the most frequent directions of communication.

Another questionnaire item focussed specifically on "frequency of CPF lobbying " at various levels. Pross (1986) claims all communications between interest groups and their "targets" consist of (or contribute to) lobbying. This item thus served as a respondent consistency check for the "directions of communication" item.

As Figure 5.8 indicates, within a given government level or school district, CPF and NCPF participants disagreed in their ranking of the relative frequency of CPF's lobbying of various members or groups. This was anticipated, and substantiates selecting an equal number of NCPF officials to participate in the study. These officials served as a reliability check, as Gittell (1980) indicates the perceived influence, impact, or even the amount of interest group contact with officials may be overestimated. The mean values were thus used, as I believed them to be more reliable, given the disagreement on every category between CPF and NCPF responses.

CPF's "order of preference " of lobbying is (a) Ministries of Education/ school board members, (b) bureaucrats/senior administrators, (c) the "attentive public"/principals and, d) heads of agencies/ school board chairmen or superintendents. These findings agree with Presthus (1973) and Pross (1986) that bodies with authority (i.e.-Ministries of Education) and bureaucrats are the preferred targets for interest group lobbying.

Table 5.12

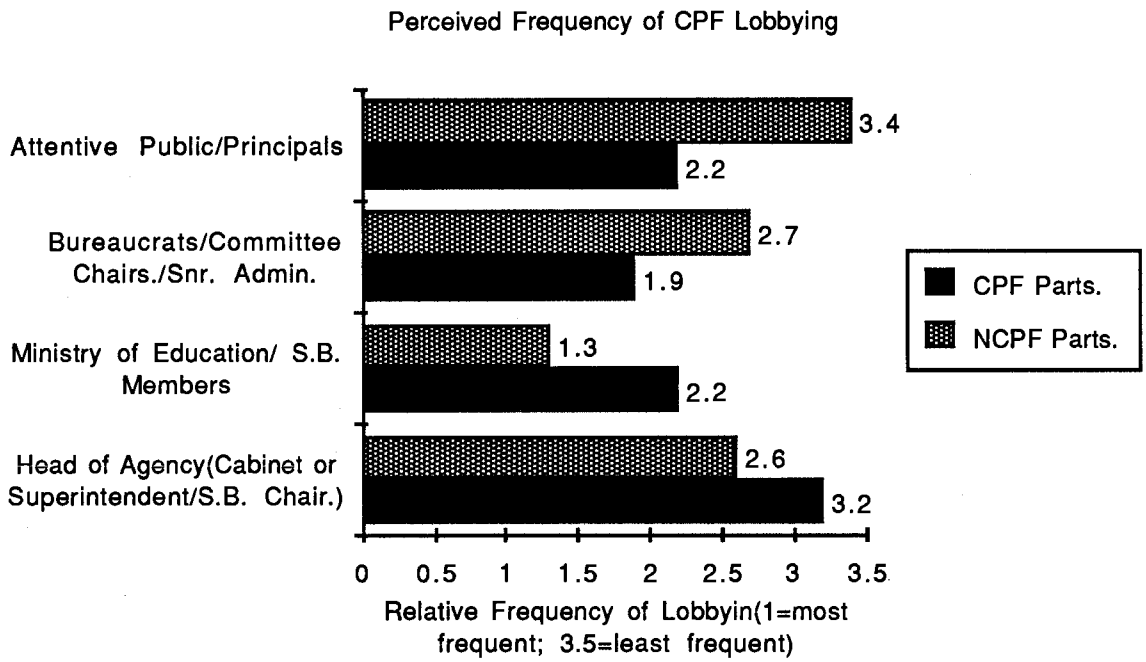
Lobbying-Nature, Direction, and Frequency

	CPF			NCPF			All participants	
Variable	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD
Nature [a]								
(formality)								
Snr. Admin.	.70	.48	10	.50	.53	10	.60	.50
Jnr. Admin.	.60	.52	10	.80	.42	10	.70	.47
Frequency [b]								
(by level)								
Snr. Admin.	4.50	.85	9	4.20	1.56	10	4.37	1.21
Jnr. Admin.	3.40	.84	9	3.60	1.24	10	3.47	1.02
Frequency [c]								
To gov't / S.D.	2.70	1.06	10	2.30	1.17	8	2.50	1.10
From gov't / S.D.	3.90	1.10	10	3.00	1.53	7	3.53	1.33
Between depts	3.80	.98	6	3.40	2.00	7	3.62	1.56
To other I.G.s	4.20	1.56	9	4.60	1.40	7	4.38	1.56
To CPF locals	2.60	2.26	8	3.00	1.67	6	2.79	1.46
To other CPF levels.	2.10	1.45	10	3.00	1.41	7	2.47	1.97

Note. Abbreviations: Snr.= senior, Jnr. = junior, admin. = administrators, gov't = government, S.D. = school district, depts. = departments, I.G.= interest groups.
a 0 = formal contact, 1 = informal contact. b 3 = bimonthly, 4 = monthly, 5 = quarterly. c 1 = most common, 6 = least common.

Another questionnaire item reinforced the notion that while CPF does not constantly interact with officials, it is active The item describing "interactions" showed quite close agreement between CPF and NCPF responses. The statement best describing CPF's interactions with public officials was "...sufficient standing in the 'policy community' to enjoy a degree of access to decision makers".

Figure 5.8

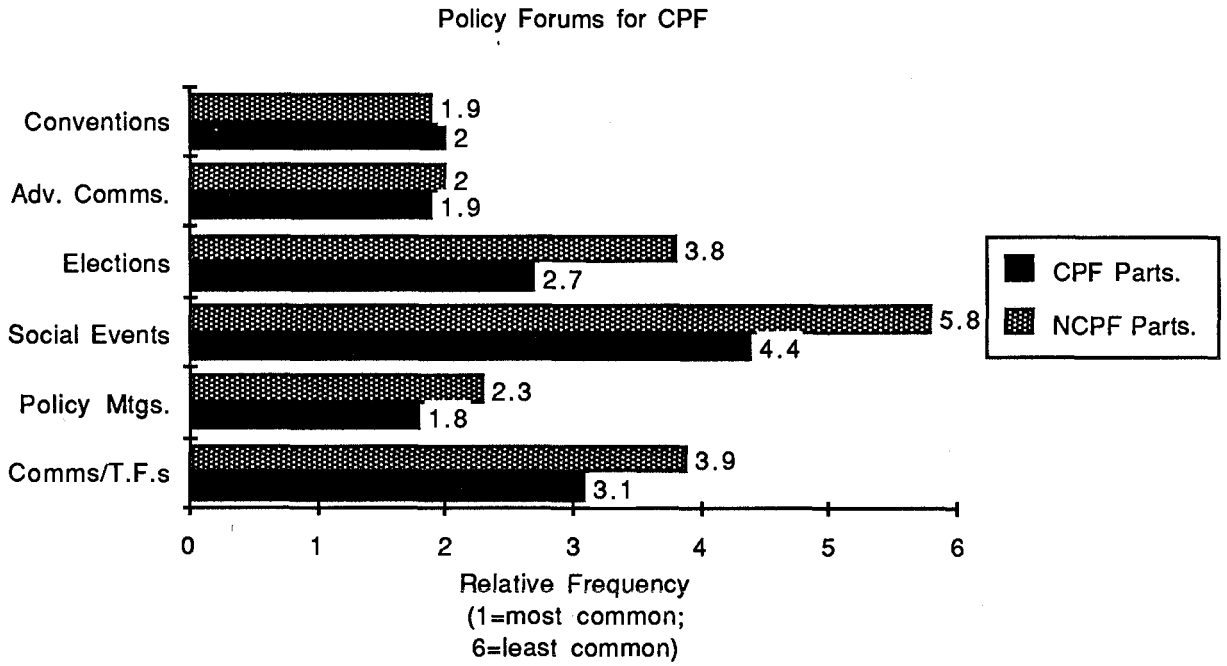


Also supporting this view of CPF's lobbying tactics was an item on "policy forums", meaning sites where CPF could influence policy making. Figure 5.9 indicates that on the three most common forums, there was considerable agreement. These were conventions, advisory committees, and policy meetings. This accords with findings from the interviews and documents.

All of the aforementioned items contribute to a general overview of CPF's lobbying. These are further developed by the qualitative findings within the interview "perspectives" regarding strategies, targets, and committees. The

questionnaire findings on CPF strategies (in general), and much on lobbying in particular are also summarized by the questionnaire item on CPF's "communication strategy" (Pross, 1986), which respondents strongly identified as being "access-oriented".

Figure 5.9



Two items focussed on CPF's use of the courts as Townsend (in press) indicates this to be an increasingly popular means of public input into the school system. The first item, however, concerning its frequency of use drew but one response and as the second item was dependent on the first, these items contributed nothing to the study.

One of the strategies identified as being poorly used by CPF was media. The results of the item "frequency of media use" are summarized in Table. 5.13.

Table 5.13

Frequency of Media Use

	CPF			NCPF		
Media type	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
TV / radio	4.30	1.34	10	5.00	.71	5
Magazines / newspapers	3.50	1.43	10	4.30	.82	6
Books / journals	4.80	1.92	9	4.30	1.03	6
Newsletters/ pamphlets	3.60	.73	9	3.50	.93	8
Advertisements	5.30	.71	9	4.30	1.37	6
Posters/placards,etc.	4.60	.88	9	4.00	.89	6

Note. Scale- 1 = daily; 2 = weekly; 3 = monthly; 4 = quarterly; 5 = annually; 6 = less than annually..

The combined results will be discussed as responses were similar (except "advertisements"). The most frequently used media types in descending order were newsletters and pamphlets, posters and placards. The remainder are equal in frequency of use (less than quarterly, but more than annually). These include magazines/newspapers, books/journals, TV/radio, and advertisements.

Qualitative Evidence

Four perspectives concerning strategies were developed from the interview findings. These related to: strategies (in general), "targets" (the objects of CPF lobbying), committees, and networking. The basis for these perspectives is presented in Table 5.14. After these have been discussed a comparison of strategies used will be made for Normton and Lutteville. Finally, a summary of the "patterns of strategies" used by CPF locals is offered.

Table 5.14
Perspectives on CPF Methods of Influence (Strategies)

	Frequency & Distribution					
	Nature		CPF		NCPF	
Perspective	Vol.	Dir.	+	-	+	-
Strategies	92	74	68	7	83	8
Targets[a]	38	37	51	5	19	0
Committees	12	21	21	0	12	0
Networking[b]	23	18	28	0	13	0

Note. Vol. = volunteered statements, Dir. = directed statements.
"+" and "-"refer to positive and negative statements regarding the perspective.
[a] refers to individuals or organizations selected (by CPF) for lobbying.
[b] refers to interorganizational networking.

Strategies. The strategy perspective states:

CPF uses an "access-oriented" communication strategy , "...preferring to develop a receptive attitude at political and administrative levels with a more narrow goal being the sympathetic interpretation of the group's requirements" (Pross,1986). Should these methods fail and the stakes are high enough, CPF chapters employ a"media-oriented" strategy.

CPF tends to use lobbying, networking, and liaison more than media or confrontational strategies. The quantitative evidence supporting this has already been presented. This perspective also appears to be true at the national, provincial, and local levels unless a crisis develops. Then a CPF local may resort to increasing use of media and other means of pressuring a school board to change its policy or rescind prior actions.

Concerning the overall type of strategy developed one CPF president said:

> The kind of approach used to get to the end may have been - almost certainly has been modified over the years as people become more confident of their knowledge base and more confident of their own abilities. Individually, I think that we have been able to perhaps become less strident and consequently more effective.

Concerning the actual methods used, a representative from the Office of the Secretary of State noted:

> One of the ways in which CPF has tried to contribute to that goal has been through communications and the establishment of a network of parents organizations able to lobby and interact with different levels of government and educational responsibilities as well as do some communications activities. The nexus of it really has to be in the kind of local and regional and provincial parents' groups and organization *working with school boards and provincial ministries and so on* [my emphasis] .

Some key concepts relating to the strategy perspective are that CPF is a network of parent groups working <u>with</u> government and school authorities, through their lobbying and interactions (the most commonly heard term for the latter was "liaising"). In addition, CPF has accepted a broader mandate in the area of minority language issues.

The primacy of lobbying was widely recognized. This was true of all levels of CPF but was especially the case during the initial phase in a CPF local chapter, when parents sought to influence or "start-up" a French immersion

program. The Director of the Modern Languages Division (B.C. Ministry of Education) observed:

> They were instrumental in getting French immersion early and late and whatever other varieties there are across the country, implemented in school districts by direct pressure, political pressure on school boards, on ministries and that kind of thing.

Although this quote sees to contradict the perspective, he continued with an example which belayed this concern. He mentioned CPF's "informal communications":

> But the informal communications are good too... picking up the phone and talking to a CPFer in a district where the French program is just beginning. And this occurs all the time. And quite often a scenario will develop whereby there will be something in the district that they don't like particularly going on. They will phone us in the Ministry and say, what can we do about it. And we say, "Well, without being invited by the school board, we can't do anything". So they go back to the board and say, we'd like to invite the Ministry to come and talk about this problem. Then the district invites the Ministry Without the pressuring the board at the local level quite often the district would not get in touch with us and yet it's a very open avenue for us and we're always telling the districts that we are available.

Other examples of local lobbying included " We had seventeen chapters that presented to the Royal Commission which I think is very good. Admittedly we have 45 chapters but still 17 presentations ...". Of the Normton local was said "...so we approached the board at least twice in that early year, whether it was '75 or '76. It must have been '76 because we kind of, the first year we were getting the playschool going. Anyway the board turned us down twice". The founder and first president of Lutteville Parents for French noted, " So we went to the board, we made our presentation, had a written brief and all the rest of it and we were turned down....So we must have, over the space of, from when we first approached board people until when it finally came in there was probably about three years."

The quasi-statistics relating to this perspective in Table 5.14 constituted strong, if not unanimous evidence that an "access-oriented" communication strategy was generally used. The events in Lutteville resulted in statements and indirect references to CPF locals not always using such. The perspective was altered to accommodate these findings - to whit, that if such an approach fails and the stakes are high enough (i.e.- loss of their French program), CPF may resort to a "media-oriented" strategy.

There were 166 direct statements or indirect references to the strategy perspective. Of these, 45% came from CPF participants and 55% came from non-CPF participants. There were 15 "negative cases", almost equally divided between CPF and NCPF. As the proportion of negative to positive cases was so low (9%), half of whom came from one participant, I sought to accommodate the negative cases within the perspective by altering it. The evidence from documents and interviews supported this alteration. Hence, the proviso to the perspective, which allows that CPF use media-oriented strategies if all else fails and a crisis exists.

Documentary support for the perspective was established in the form of copies of written and oral briefs/presentations. The majority of briefs analyzed employed a supportive tone, although some from Lutteville (during its crisis) were not.

Targets. A second perspective concerned the individuals and organizations typically selected for lobbying (or liaison) efforts by CPF. The perspective reads:

> ***Targets are selected by CPF on the basis of where their efforts will have the most impact (towards CPF goals) and thus are dependent on the level of CPF involved.***

At the chapter level this usually consists of, in descending order of importance (and frequency): school board members, senior administrators (i.e.- French Coordinator), principals, and the school board chairman or the district superintendent (source-interviews and an associated questionnaire item, see Figure 5.9). The primacy of the school board as a "target" was also attested to by the proportion of references to it by local-level participants (23 out of 26 references or 88%).

A BCPF reference to this was,"...As far as I know the majority of our chapters have good relationships with their school boards." Another, CPF national reference was:

> Certainly we've been successful in getting school boards to change policies. .In my local area ...they first started an immersion program after we had been going at them for four or five or six years...[and]...it took another five or six years but they finally said,."We're gonning to provide transportation". And there's no question that the only reason that they did it is because people kept after them and kept offering what they eventually recognized were valid reasons for doing it.

The reason for the primacy of the school board to local CPF efforts is obvious. The school board is the real font of power at the local level. It is the source of policy making regarding the implementation of new French immersion programs or their alteration. Thus it must be the centre of the CPF local's lobbying and liaising attention.

Senior administrators are the next-most selected as they have the next-most important role in terms of execution of the French program. Thus deputy or assistant superintendents, language program coordinators, and other district level administrators were contacted. Sometimes they may be the initial person contacted, as in Lutteville, " So I happened to also know the French Coordinator so I felt very comfortable about trotting along to his office and chatting to him about this".

Once the program has been initiated, school principals became important targets. They were approached for a variety of purposes: requests for postings of CPF and other French language materials, discussions of program goals and materials, establishment of a school (or class) representative system, etc.

The least-contacted persons according to the findings are school board chairmen and superintendents. This was a bit of a surprise, as unlike at the governmental levels where the head of state or agency are difficult to contact, these leaders are readily available. Furthermore, they are influencial.

At governmental levels of CPF the order of frequency of contact was: (a) the department with greatest focus on related issues (federal)-Office of the Secretary of State, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, (provincial)-Modern Languages Department of the B.C. Ministry of Education; (b) bureaucrats-within the aforementioned and other government bodies; (c) the "Attentive Public" (Pross, 1986) - concerned academics, leaders of interest groups with related interests, etc.; and, (d) the Heads of Agencies - Secretary of State, Commissioner of Official Languages and the B.C. Minister of Education or other Cabinet ministers.

The primacy of these targets to BCPF was indirectly suggested by statements such as:"...speaking from the BCPF point of view, our relationships are excellent with the provincial government...". More direct evidence of CPF attention to politicians and bureaucrats came from a senior federal politician who claimed:

> I've had ministers comment to me that local MPs for example will always and often talk to them about CPF. That even before they became aware through their responsibilities of Secretary of State funding CPF and so on, had other MPs and local leaders were very much aware of CPF and it's activities.

Similarly, a senior federal civil servant said:

> I can certainly attest that many people in the federal government, bureaucrats and politicians, believe and perceive that CPF...has had and is having a tremendous influence on the promotion of French second language opportunities in this country.

References were also made to CPF's use of political methods . Although these will be addressed in the section concerned with local strategies, reference to this phenomenon is made here as it relates to another type of target. The influencing of local politicians or support/ fielding of candidates for school board elections not only runs counter to avowed methods of CPF, it does not fall within the targets identified within the perspective generated. Thus the five references made to political targets were labelled as negative cases (Becker & Geer, 1960).

A CPF participant from Lutteville mentioned,"... there was at least one member of the Board elected by support from LPF people...". The other CPF interviewee thought three candidates had been elected through CPF support. Their school board counterpart from the Lutteville School Board claimed:

> It's difficult to get a handle on it [political activity] because the Canadian Parents for French organization in this area will tell you absolutely, that they did not affect any elections, that they did not work at that level, and you just have to talk to the defeated candidates to know what is their perception....

It appears that the local chapter's members (if not the local itself) had some involvement in school board politics. In Lutteville it was more pronounced than in Normton. Such political activity may have contributed to a crisis situation in which confrontational strategies were eventually employed. Why were such targets of interest to CPF members? In keeping with the perspective, election of board members supportive of French immersion programs would justify local CPF efforts. That this was its purpose in Lutteville is indicated by:

> It was quoted at that time that French immersion was not an issue in that election yet within a few meetings of his election, he [a CPF candidate] put the motion forward to introduce a French immersion program in this district.

The quasi-statistics supporting the perspective were fairly strong (see Table 5.14). There were 70 references or "positive cases" in support of the perspective; 68% of which were from CPF participants and 32% from NCPF participants. There were only five negative cases which represent 7% of the total. The number of directed and volunteered statements was almost equal because the topic of targets was closely tied to those of the use of strategies and goals, and was the subject of my prepared questions.

Documents supported this perspective as they indicated to whom the brief, oral or written presentation was directed. Thus all sample documents of this kind supported the perspective including the "order of preference".

Committees. The next perspective detailed in Table 5.14 relates to CPF's involvement in standing committees. At the local level these usually consist of French Advisory Committees. The perspective purports:

> ***The impact of standing committees, while a sought-after means of inputting on policy by CPF, is very context-dependent. They play a relatively small role in the two CPF locals studied and have no importance at the federal level.***

At the federal level no standing committees have existed on which CPF had representatives. CPF activity has consisted instead of briefs and presentations to various federal ad hoc committees and task forces. This is illustrated by a statement from CPF's long-serving national Executive Director:

> But to my knowledge we don't sit nationally as a permanent member. ...We of course do go before committees of the House of Commons or the Senate when there's a subject on the order paper or on the committee which is of interest to us such as we've been to the Standing Committee on Official Languages. We appeared for the committees that were looking into the Constitutional Accord. We've been before the Committee on Official Languages Bill That kind of thing.

While standing committees for French programs do exist at the local level, their importance to CPF's goals may be questionable. This, despite the establishment and continued input on same by CPF representatives is a sought-after practice. B.C. chapters have been reasonably successful at this venture. As of the spring of 1989, 59% of B.C. locals (Chapter Reports.May 1989) had representation on such bodies.

Problems occur less often in their establishment than in their real influence (a function of recognition by the Board and administrators) once established, or their continued influence. Several quotes are illustrative of their origins and problems related to their influence,including:

> I made a presentation to the board that night and requested that there be an advisory board, committee set up made up of parents, LPF [Lutteville Parents for French] and parents who were outside of the program, trustees and administrators. And so they went with that.

In Normton School District the representation was obtained as follows:

> Dr. Bjornsen ... in about the third or fourth year maybe, enabled us to have a voice and a forum at the board level, district wide, where the person who was acting to coordinate French and other modern languages in Normton and the principal came together with the parents and a representative from staff at the school board, one of the superintendents, and about three times a year that group got together

The problems related with these bodies can also detailed in references such from a CPF leader in Normton:

> Then the year came up eventually where, and it didn't take too long, where CPF executive[s] were not represented at all there by any of the volunteer parents who were chosen from the school, one each school.... So we wrote a letter to John Smith who was in charge of this committee or the coordinator of the committee at that particular time and he said that

> he thought he had enough people around the table as it was that CPF did not need to have somebody specially representing CPF alone. And that exists to today.

For different reasons the advisory committee in Lutteville was inactive at the time of my interviews. Part of the reason (the still-active antagonism between some board members and LPF) was evident in this statement:

> And we haven't had meetings with that group for some time now because the issue is, as I say, at a truce. But they - I sat on the advisory body with the president of Lutteville Parents for French and it was very civilized. A few months later her husband called me at eleven o'clock at night and railed in the most intolerable language.

The one level within CPF's hierarchy where standing advisory committees constituted an active and important part of their strategies was at the BCPF level. Here the organization had representatives on all possible major policy bodies of the B.C. Ministry of Education.

An important factor in the active involvement on these B.C. provincial advisory committees was the attitude of Dr. Geoff Mills, Director of the Modern Languages Division, who stated:

> The Ministry a long time ago recognized that the CPF were a very important, significant stakeholder group....So we decided ...if we were going to develop policies or procedures or guidelines in an advisory committee ... then they ought to have a voice in that because they are the clientele and therefore they should be sitting at the same table.

This attitude was present when such bodies were established, for BCPF members sit on both major Ministry committees concerned with French language issues--the French Immersion Advisory Committee and the French Second Language (FSL) Advisory Committee. Furthermore, they were recognized as a major contributor through an invitation to sit on the Education Policy Advisory Committee (EPAC). A BCPF president said:

> The Royal Commission ...took up a large chunk of our time and the subsequent committees. In other words the education policy advisory committee, EPAC for short. We were quite honestly surprised to be asked to sit on that committee and that was the committee which

operated for approximately a year to formulate, well, to act on the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

The quasi-statistics supporting this "committees" perspective were not numerous. There were, nevertheless, no negative cases which testifies against the likelihood of it not being true. Of 33 positive cases or references to this perspective, 64% came during CPF interviews and 36% from NCPF interviews. More of these statements were made during directed (64%) responses than during volunteered statements. This was because one major interview question concerned CPF involvement in committees.

Documents provided only indirect evidence of CPF involvement with committees. This consisted of samples of briefs at the federal and local levels to ad hoc committees only or the legislative bodies themselves. None were found that indicated involvement with any standing committees.

Networking. The last perspective related to strategies generated concerns interorganizational networking (see Table 5.14). I specify a difference here between "networking"- typically referring to interactions within an organization, or my use of the expression the "vertical axis" (Warren, 1963) for the same, and external (interorganizational) networking. The perspective states:

Networking most often occurs between CPF and other interest groups who share similar goals, strategies, and roles. The most common "currencies" of exchange are information, moral support, and material.

Earlier evidence of this perspective was provided in the quantitative findings from a questionnaire item. The perspective was initially to mention the similarity in membership size and group resources but evidence of such was not found.

At the governmental levels networking is most often carried on between French language minority rights groups (i. e.- the Federation of Francophones

outside Quebec) and professional groups sharing the "interest area" (i.e.- the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers). This accords with the broader mandate CPF's governmental levels have adopted.

These other groups share many of the same goals- the improvement or maintenance of French language services by governments and educational authorities. They also share common roles and strategies- usually an advocacy role, frequently employing "access-oriented" strategies. Although the study did not delve deeply into these other groups' operations some differences were noted. The minority language interest groups have the ability to pressure their "targets" more than CPF as some have rights entrenched within Article 21 of the Canadian Charter of Rights.

Their funding base and use of litigation make them quite different from CPF in certain aspects. Their goals are often parallel, if not equivalent- a point which has not escaped CPF's leadership or federal officials. Similarly, they generally network exchanging the types of commodities common to volunteer groups (Upton & Fonow, 1988). The perspective thus generally appears to represent CPF's situation. One federal CPF leader said, "Well at the national level we have over the years tried to work with the Federation of Francophones outside Quebec. That's still a slightly awkward relationship but it's much, much closer and much better then it was initially...".

That this type of networking has been recognized by federal officials at least is attested to by a statement from a member of the Secretary of State's office:

> The national organization has been called on to play a broader role kind of encouraging and pushing and promoting French second language programs in the broader context of supporting Canada's official languages policy and Canada's linguistic duality working with the minority communities, francophone outside of Quebec and English speaking inside of Quebec.

The kind of sharing of information described above also occurs at the BCPF level. One BCPF participant said, "I would think on the whole, we're known. I think again there's still work to be done there and I'll say the Association of Immersion Teachers, ACCPI... Heather Smith from B.C. went to their conference in New Brunswick".

Locals do not participate in this kind of networking. Only one comment was recorded by a CPF member from Lutteville, concerning a brief presented by the local association of French Immersion teachers during a confrontation with the school board. This was verified by examining a copy of the brief. In both school districts the local teachers (especially French immersion teachers) and French coordinators are in frequent contact with local CPF members. CPF was active in its "in-class" support of teachers through a variety of means.

The quantitative evidence supporting this perspective (see Table 5.14) was strong. Of 41 references to networking all provided supported the perspective. The CPF participants provided 68% of these statements. There were slightly more volunteered statements than directed ones. Again, the relatively high proportion of directed to total statements was a result of the topic being closely related the interview questions.

Local Strategies (an overview)

A pattern in use of strategies was noted in Normton and Lutteville locals. Depending on the nature of the community involved and the school district's history of French Second Language program management, the "local" must initially either persuade or increase the pressure on the school board/district to start a French immersion program (the usual goal). Before (or shortly after) acquiring CPF chapter status a local begins lobbying its school board which consists of the use of combinations of (a) written and oral briefs to the school board (often at school board meetings), (b) other public presentations (at which municipal politicians may be present), (c) some networking activities to other levels of CPF for support as well as other interest groups (i.e.- teachers), and, (d) use of different types of media. Personal contacts may be used to acquire information or other resources or to persuade influential people involved. Membership drives are conducted to generate the most critical resource-active, motivated members(although the core of active parents who initiate these processes often constitute the officers of the chapter executive over the first few years).

The examples of briefs and oral presentations during this phase already presented indicate that repetition is necessary to persuade a school board. Both Lutteville and Normton's parents had to make presentations and lobby for three years before convincing their school board members. Besides having the "right" facts to persuade the board members of the pedagogical soundness and financial feasibility of the venture, therefore, these parents had to have the resources, commitment, and stamina to be rebuffed several times.

A founder of the Lutteville chapter said, " So I'd go into homes and talk to parents over coffee and, ... I would make a sort of semi-formal little presentation

and then there would be discussion and questions...". This kind of active recruitment of new members was not mentioned by participants from Normton.

Evidence of the use of political means to help initiate a French immersion program or to insure its continuance was encountered in both districts. The use of local politics to advance their cause was discussed by a past-chairman of the Normton School Board :

> I remember going to a public meeting ...it was organized by the parents, Concerned Parents for French. Elections were that week, and this was the final seven days and that was an angry meeting because those parents were saying, "Why aren't you doing it [implementing French immersion] And I couldn't stand up and say we're going to do it because I had the report in front of us. And in that group there were candidates from the political left who were running, who were for French and they were standing up saying, "If we're elected we're going to make sure that this happens" And as it was, the election came, the people who sat on the right side of the fence were all defeated and three people from the politically left got elected ...

A senior administrator interviewed from Normton also intimated at CPF involvement in politics. A similar, but much more pronounced, pattern of political involvement was revealed in Lutteville. All four participants from there made direct statements or indirect references to such activity. The use of political means to influence school board decisions is understandable given the intransigence of some school districts in implementing French immersion programs. In the face of sufficient enrollment numbers, adequate start-up and maintenance funds, and research support for the pedagogical benefits of such programs, school boards still refuse. In the face of such resistance, parents may feel justified in fielding and/or supporting "pro-French Immersion" candidates.

In Lutteville this activity was apparently more widespread, contributing to the kind of rancour which long soured school board-LPF relations. The genesis of such activity and its consequences is revealed in a statement from LPF's first president:

> So I think we had twice gone with a whole new group of people and been turned down. So the third time...(CPF wouldn't get involved with political action in terms of we were a lobbying group). So those of us who were involved in CPF didn't feel that ...we could actually run but a group sort of grew out of this group of parents who were interested in French immersion who felt that they wanted to get involved in the actual process of elections. And so this group fielded a number of candidates. Three as a matter of fact and it must have been the election of '79, maybe. November '79...With a platform of French immersion....and all three got elected.

This quote illustrates what might generate such political involvement among members of a lobby group. It also explains why LPF refused to fund or directly support this "parallel" group's efforts directly and why they disavowed any involvement in its annual campaigns. To be associated with political or partisan activities are prohibited as means of achieving CPF goals (CPF Manual, 1986, p.60) and might "smack " of more than attempting to "influence" school policy.

Once a French immersion program is in place (the program for which both study districts lobbied), a period of relative calm begins. CPF locals usually try to acquire some direct input into district language policy through the agency of a French Advisory Committee Both CPF locals experienced a shift from what was initially an entirely purposive role, to a combined purposive-supportive one. They organized cultural activities for schools housing their programs (and often for the other students in FSL programs), in accordance with their goal of improving childrens' opportunities to experience both French language and culture. Many activities were conducted during this period which were supportive of the students, their teachers, principals, and the district in general .

Both groups, nevertheless, remained vigilant of "their program's" progress. A past Deputy-Superintendent in Normton noted:

> They have made themselves felt at certain strategic times when there were some budgetary concerns or when there was something that could happen that could severely curtail, restrict programs. They were instrumental in doing some lobbying. There's no question about the fact that there's been some lobbying that has been done with individual trustees and probably presidents at certain meetings.

Other school districts' chapters had encountered restrictions or attempted curtailments of their French Immersion programs. The locals, therefore, had a monitoring function to perform. Wine and cheese socials or teas were periodically organized to strengthen the bonds and refamiliarize district administrators and school board members with the CPF local members (and their cause). Both locals made periodic presentations reminding the school district's leaders of CPF' goals and to indicate their support for the school districts' maintenance (or in the case of Normton - incremental growth).

Once the desired program was established in school districts, there appeared to be a drop in the "cause" which initially attracted active members. This was certainly the case in Normton where, lacking any pressing issues concerning the French program, the local had difficulties maintaining active membership involvement. This problem will be addressed later. It is mentioned here as a factor affecting a local's use of strategies during this "quiet phase". It potentially impacts on the local's ability to: monitor school board meetings, produce its local newsletter, provide leaders, maintain representation on advisory committees, and other important monitoring functions.

One consequence of being "too secure" in their positions is this reduction in active membership. Direct statements from senior BCPF leaders and their school district counterparts indicated that the same problem exists in the chapters of Coquitlam and Surrey.

Another price of being seen as supporters of an "entrenched" program is that one's support may be assumed or deemed unnecessary. Such was the

case in Normton. Their input on the local French Advisory Committee was no longer deemed necessary. When the school district chose to amalgamate junior and senior secondary schools the CPF local was not contacted for its input concerning the French Immersion programs involved. As a CPF leader from Normton put it:

> They expanded into high school in Normton last year to make all the Normton schools but one an eight to twelve school and we felt that this would have some repercussions for French because French was excluded from being in an eight to twelve school. We were totally unaware of it. So we really haven't had a proper role to play.

These incidents in Normton indicate some of the "costs" of being an established parent interest group. Member complacency and program entrenchment have their price, particularly after the "active phase". More serous consequences occur, however, when the school district environment becomes openly hostile to the French immersion program and its advocates. Such was to happen in Lutteville School District.

Over several years, despite steady growth in enrollment in the early French immersion program in Lutteville, a local backlash developed among members of this essentially rural community. The locals perceived this program as an undesirable intrusion into their previously community-oriented district by outsiders. All four Lutteville participants supported such a view of the situation, with different perspectives for the "fault" involved and on "blame" for its consequences. Greater detail will be provided while discussing the importance of context to locals' success.

Events developed into crisis proportions when, several years after the program was initiated, an "in-camera" meeting of the school board moved that the program be phased-out and possibly replaced with a late immersion program. By this stage local reaction to the program and to the previous

success of "outsiders" in influencing school board decisions had resulted in an anti-French immersion majority on the School Board. The decision was also driven by years of difficulty in administering the program relating to program location and its disruption to the small schools (particularly kindergartens). What follows is an encapsulated version of the subsequent events and the actions taken by the Lutteville Parents for French. The first president's account is used here as it was the most detailed and was corroborated by the renditions by the other three interviewees.

The first president of LPF, again a president after a several-year sojourn away from the executive, received confidential notice of the school board's decision. After two days deliberation the president assembled the LPF Executive two days prior to the next school board meeting - when the final vote on the motion to phase-out (or replace) immersion was to take place. The outcome of this meeting was,"... we worked up strategy for the board meeting for that following Monday night which involved phoning everybody involved in French immersion".

This was done expeditiously, while making the use of "internal" networking to other levels of CPF to help prepare for the upcoming school board meeting. The narrative of these events continued:

> So we packed the board meeting on the Monday night. I contacted CPF provincially and nationally ...So at that board meeting I requested that ...even though I wasn't a member of the board, that I address it and I was given that permission by the members of the board so and then it was absolutely packed... I made a presentation and parents were - by this point had realized what was going on to their program that they'd put their kids in and had been very committed too and so the feeling that night was just incredible. The antagonism. Both sides. It was just extraordinary. Anyway, it passed. The program was to be phased out.

At this point the local had ceased using an "access-oriented" strategy, although it may be argued that time and the local circumstances had precluded

this option. Methods of influence then diversified and changed to incorporate more "media-oriented" strategies.

> So then we had a month, a month and a half...So in that space of time LPF had everyone, all the parents were organized in various committees. There was a legal committee because we looked at the Constitution, Section 23. There was a writing campaign. But after [that] the phase out happened and then after the letter writing campaign and newspaper ['cause] we got TV and radio.
> [Interviewer] Any letter writing to board members, parents?
> To board members, to parents, to newspapers and every opportunity we could thereafter to involve the public, to involve the press. We involved them.
> Very hot at that point because the press were involved and every move of the board. There were cameras, all of the newspapers were involved. So it was pressure on the board. Big, big pressure.

One consequence of all this pressure was to dissuade the school board from phasing-out early French immersion, leading to a series of heated liaison meetings between LPF and school board members. The compromise reached was that the Immersion level kindergarten was eliminated, but the remaining French immersion program endured.

The costs of such a radical and unprecedented use of pressure by LPF were considerable. During several subsequent school board elections no pro-immersion candidates were elected. A group of parents who took the school board to Court under Article 21 of the Constitution for phasing-out their kindergarten immersion program lost the case and were directed to pay court costs.

Neither the Court action nor political actions were directly supported by LPF. Nevertheless, they did represent considerable financial and personal strains, and moral defeats for people who either were members of LPF or supporters of French immersion. The LPF became somewhat disenfranchised with BCPF as a result of a perceived lack of BCPF support during the crisis. Finally, such rancour developed on account of this that the LPF executive had to

be replaced, to distance the group from the actions with which their leaders were associated. According to a French coordinator from Lutteville the negative feelings still exist .

It must be emphasized what a radical change in CPF strategy the Lutteville case constituted. Even after these actions, the first LPF president maintained that their strategy was one of "standing back", claiming, " Our impact on the board - that's hard to judge because of our strategy of, it's a conscious strategy of standing back ". This is in contradiction to the verbal evidence from this and other interviews of the events. In addition, the tone of many LPF documents addressed to the Lutteville School Board during the crisis does not match what one would anticipate from a group employing an "access-oriented" strategy.

CPF Recognition and Visibility

Quantitative Evidence

The third research question appraised CPF recognition and visibility, particularly among the "attentive public" (Pross, 1986) which included the type of government and school board officials surveyed during the study. Several lines of evidence determined how CPF is perceived. A questionnaire item focussed on it and a perspective was developed based on an interview item concerning participants' perceptions of how "CPF's visibility matched its influence, at their level of the organization". References within another interview question concerning CPF's degree of success in goal achievement were thought to indicate how much participants knew of CPF's success.

CPF is most recognized for its "effectiveness" and its "cause"(see Table 5.15). Its next most important characteristics in descending order of importance were: "expertise" , "membership" and "leadership" , "cooperative ethic" , "networking" , and "mutual need" . This accords with conclusions already discussed regarding why CPF has fared so well at the government levels. It has been an effective "ally" in lobbying for French programs which governments support. It disseminates information on French programs and the benefits of bilingualism.

Qualitative Evidence

The perspective on CPF recognition and visibility states:

> ***CPF's recognition and visibility depends largely on the roles it plays at each level of its structure. Where the context within which a level operates is supportive of its goals, CPF is well-known; where non-supportive (for whatever reasons) it is relatively unknown. Organizations with similar goals know and respect CPF.***

Table 5.15

CPF-Grounds for Recognition

	CPF			NCPF		
Characteristic	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Membership	3.70	1.73	9	4.00	2.51	8
Leadership	3.70	1.80	9	3.10	1.37	10
Cooperative ethic	4.70	1.50	7	4.30	1.41	9
Effectiveness	2.40	1.65	10	3.00	2.20	8
Expertise	3.30	1.66	9	4.50	1.58	10
Networking	6.60	1.34	5	6.40	1.60	8
Mutual need	7.00	.00	6	7.10	1.46	8
Its "cause"	2.40	1.81	7	2.40	1.71	10

Note. Scale = 1 = highest grounds for recognition), 8 = least grounds.

This perspective is supported by the quasi-statistics shown in Table 5.10. These will be explained after illustrative quotes are offered to detail the features of the perspective. One quote summarizing the perspective at the federal level came from a national CPF leader:

> What we want to do matches most closely with the federal government in this part of it's structure wants to do. And we are known at the federal level, not widely by individual members of parliament but by the bodies which work in the same field. By Secretary of State, by the Prime Minister who has a particular interest in this area, by other Ministers who are

> interested in this area, by the Joint Committee on Bilingualism. Those groups whose mandate is connected in some way with our own.

This recognition based on similar aims has been demonstrated by the national committees CPF has been called upon to brief. During their first year they had enough recognition that," I can remember sitting on in the very early days and being part of in the first year of CPF's existence was something called the National Task Force, the Task Force on Canadian Unity", mentioned one CPF leader.

At the BCPF level recognition has also been achieved through their "cause". A BCPF leader recalled, of the reaction of the B.C. Minister of Education to their invitation:

> Last year we invited Tony Brummet to speak to our AGM and he wrote back declining....This year when I invited him...he has more or less accepted. But then I also put down that I was a sitting member on EPAC this time and, you know, sort of hopefully pulled a few strings

A B.C. Ministry of Education official suggested of their visibility/influence:

> Now they have reached a kind of a stable state... and their influence is quite strong but their visibility is not as high as it used to be... Maybe that's good. Maybe they don't want to stick out as a target all the time for groups like APEC and those kinds of people, eh, Reform Party. So maybe what has happened is there's been a kind of a levelling off of their visibility but I don't think their influence has suffered because of that. I think their influence is now firmly accepted.

At the local level CPF's recognition is most context-dependent. In Normton this equated to tacit acceptance of CPF' existence to the point of helping print its newsletter. Yet the local has ceased being an "active player" within the French policy realm. A past-president said, "I should say too that we have had the help of the school board in actually printing and distributing that newsletter....usually there is a principal...who will check out our newsletter before it goes for publication in case there's anything inflammatory" [and] "...in

view of the fact that changes can go on and that we seem to have been lulled into some kind of a sense of security with the board...".

In Lutteville LPF was certainly recognized by local people, sometimes with negative connotations. LPF also found it difficult to "prove" itself a supporter of French programs other than immersion. During their conflict they were well-enough recognized to represent the French immersion parents to the school board.

> And so one of the trustees in particular decided that there had to be some kind of way of coming up through the middle and so he and I got together over lunch one day and came up with some idea that maybe we should be having negotiations that involved the administration, involved LPF and involved trustees...`and parents who had children in the regular program. So we had a series of three of these meetings.
> I think that our impact then was as powerful and I think the fact that we got in, you know, that we had such a clash it shows that.

Yet the school board continued to make major decisions about the French immersion program after the crisis, without consulting LPF.

In addition, despite years of recognition by various officials, CPF remains relatively unknown by the general public. This in spite of its efforts to the contrary. Several CPF leaders also felt that they do not receive funding from the government or recognition, commensurate with their efforts. Quotes supporting this included:

> I'd like to see us be recognized for the work that we've done. I'd like to see us be awarded the Order of Canada. Just something nice and showy that would say this group has made a real difference.
> ...[and]...
> I'd like to see Secretary of State give us the money that we deserve.

Of BCPF's recognition by the public was said:

> No. Emphatically no. Partly our fault. We have not courted the media the way we should in the last, well, for as long as I can remember. We get good coverage in the French media but English, zilch. Almost nil. Again visibility with the general public I think is much, much less then our influence with individual parents because we do have a very large influence.

The quasi-statistics supporting this perspective comprised 81 statements. These were evenly divided into 54% from CPF and 46% from NCPF participants. Only five negative cases (6%) were recorded, all from CPF members. The near-balance of CPF to NCPF positive cases supporting the perspective indicates that it is held by both participant groups. The five negative cases represent a small proportion of the total sample and as all were from CPF, they were taken to be examples of "optimistic" rather than "realistic" appraisals of CPF's recognition. There were 39 directed and 42 volunteered statements. The high percentage of directed responses was due to "recognition" being one of the interview questions.

CPF Success

This section answered the question of CPF's success. The original question used the scale of goal achievement to determine success. The second interview question on CPF strategies focussed on this approach. This section reiterates this approach using degree of goal achievement as one measure of success. The section on recognition also provided some evidence of success by revealing CPF's recognition and visibility The findings of one questionnaire item entitled "CPF's Influence" (upon specified "targets") are presented in conjunction with the item on "Frequency of CPF Lobbying". Finally, an appropriate perspective was assembled from the interviews.

Quantitative Evidence

Results from Table 5.16 indicate that, using "all participants" means, CPF is perceived to influence targets in direct relation to the frequency with which it lobbies them. The most frequently lobbied government body - " the subgovernment (bureaucrats) or locally-committee chairmen/senior administrators" were thus perceived as being most influenced by CPF. Using this criterion, CPF was seen as most affecting (in descending order): "the "lead agency"/Superintendent; the "attentive public"/school principals; and finally, Cabinet or Head of Agency/ School Board chairman-members. As Pross (1986) indicates, most government policy is generated by bureaucrats so

Table 5.16

CPF: Comparison of Lobbying Frequency and Perceived Influence

	CPF			NCPF		
Variable	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
Lobbying frequency [a]						
Cabinet/Head of agency or /School Board chairman / members	3.20	.83	9	2.60	1.13	9
Lead agency (e.g.- Ministry of Education) or Superintendent	2.20	1.09	9	1.30	.50	9
Subgovernment (bureaucrats) or Committee "chairs."/Snr. admin.	1.90	1.05	9	2.70	.74	8
"Attentive public" or school principals	2.20	1.20	9	3.40	1.06	8
Perceived Influence upon levels[b]						
Cabinet/Head of agency or /School Board chairman/ members	2.90	.78	9	3.00	1.56	10
Lead agency (e.g.- Ministry of Education) or S.B. members	2.00	1.05	10	1.50	.71	10
Sub-government(bureaucrats) or Committee "chairs."/Snr. admin.	1.80	1.09	9	2.30	1.17	8
"Attentive public" or principals	3.00	1.12	9	2.90	.84	8

Note. Snr. = senior, admin. = administrator, S.B. = School Board. "Attentive public" (Pross, 1986)- academics and interest group leaders who share common interests. [a] 1 = most frequent contact, 4 = least frequent contact. [b] 1 = most influence upon, 4 = least influence upon.

CPF's perceived influence on this group could be seen as an indication of their success as an interest group. Similarly, as assistant superintendents and committee chairman generate much major local school policy, this too illustrates CPF success.

Qualitative Evidence

A real perspective on CPF success was not developed from the interviews. A general statement was developed instead, based on a comparison of statements and references on CPF's success/failure. It states:

> ***The influence of CPF on policy, hence their success, is more often covert than overt. Where direct pressure on decision makers (particularly in school districts) is used for too long the local context may change- reducing their long-term success.***

As the quasi-statistics did not directly support any perspective, a tally of references to CPF "successes" and "failures" were compared (see Table 5.10). These were then considered in light of perspectives already developed on CPF roles, visibility, and recognition. There were a total of 158 statements with 100 (63%) from CPF and 58 (37%) from NCPF sources. Of these, 87 (55%) were directed and 71 (45%) were volunteered statements.

Statements indicating lack of CPF success totalled 25 or 16% of the total sample (seven NCPF and eighteen CPF). Most of these concerned the crisis which developed in Lutteville. Others referred to lack of CPF/BCPF access or recognition of the uniqueness of the French immersion program in Normton . Both the local and BCPF levels indicated that their programs of cultural activities was the area of least success. At the federal level lack of success pertained to lack of sufficient funding and recognition for the entire organization.

Some quotes illustrating both CPF's success and lack thereof follow. A BCPF president and both Normton CPF members admitted that the development of local cultural activities for French immersion students ranked

third in terms of success, after helping initiate French immersion programs and developing an information network between parents and "educators". Of the lack of success in cultural activities, a Normton past-president said:

> We didn't find too much success in the cultural aspect. We ran camps the first few years and over the course of four or five years the interest waned to such an extent that there seemed to be no point in continuing it at all.

Another comment concerning the lack of recognition of the local French Advisory Committee suggested," And it isn't recognized. We found this out last year in September when we took a brief to the education and pupil services committee. The school board trustees do not recognize it ".

A similar sentiment was echoed by a BCPF president regarding cultural activities within B.C. locals"...Definitely more work on the French outside the classroom....I think that that...there's still a great deal of scope for us to work in...". The lack of recognition and perceived lack of adequate funding have already been detailed at the federal level of CPF.

It was in the Lutteville local that strategies, roles, recognition and visibility were so markedly different from the Normton experience (and what appears common in other B.C. locals). Differences in local "success" were also noted. Most CPF locals do not appear to have to return to use of the purposive lobbying and "pressure tactics" commonly used during the implementation phase (of French programs in their school districts). Covert or indirect means of influencing policy decisions become the "norm" and in most districts, this approach continues.

In Lutteville, as already chronicled, the "politicization" of local school board decisions regarding the local French immersion program helped aggravate an extant hostility towards the program- resulting in a local "defeat" for LPF- the loss of the immersion kindergartens. I have previously described

how a "parallel" group in Lutteville started fielding and supporting school board trustee candidates, several of whom were elected. Now a brief discussion of how the continued use of direct or overt methods of influence by LPF exacerbated the already "delicate" political context. Once a "mobilization of bias" (Boyd, 1982) developed against their program, the local had difficulty in either directly influencing the school board or getting pro-immersion candidates elected.

The views presented describing the local political milieu (context) were provided by the first president-who was also LPF's founder and local president during much of the crisis period. The statements presented were verified by the statements of another LPF president and the past-French coordinator. Similar accounts of all these incidents were offered by a Lutteville School Board chairman, although a completely different interpretation of causes, LPF goals and methods, and outcomes were offered. It must be stated that this person demonstrated strongly anti-CPF sentiments, claiming she had experienced considerable stress as a consequence of LPF activities.

The underlying problem in Lutteville derived from the increasingly heterogeneous nature of the community. This was a consequence of the shifting demography. Many middle-class families began moving into Lutteville in the years prior to the start of LPF and the French immersion program, supplanting a previously rural atmosphere. This had little effect on school board decision-making and politics for some time. Then, in conjunction with provincial pressures in the form of fiscal "restraint" and pressure from other groups in the community (teachers), the local context changed.

Several statements illustrate the local context prior to the LPF-school board confrontation. The LPF perspective on this context was:

> I think that you had...this sort of traditional English Canadian group of people here ... who felt threatened by the expansion of the French culture and language and you also at the same time had people ...who viewed people coming here with federal government jobs, people coming here with degrees...were highly suspicious to certain people in the community here because they felt that this community, well, I don't know why they'd feel threatened but there was a sense of intrusion. The intrusion of Ottawa. The intrusion of the federal government. The intrusion of liberal ideas, of Trudeau.. There was this anti-French feeling and also this anti-intruder, this anti-Ottawa....What I'm describing as what was existing here long before we had any question of immersion.

The exacerbating influences to this context included: a) the pro-immersion trustees-

> Then suddenly people in this district who were involved in politics generally turned around and found three people in leadership positions... who seemed in their way of thinking to represent something that they didn't want to see. So right from the start then it seemed necessary to these people to form some kind of a group that would alert the rest ... to what was happening, this intrusion from the outside

b) a shifting school demography, "restraint", and other interest groups-

> We had the population coming into the schools going down and then we had restraint hitting the schools. So we had within the schools, many teaching staff who were afraid for their jobs because of the restraint and because of the lowering of numbers and also because of this expanding French immersion program....But the thing was our numbers were remaining the same but the numbers going into the English program was dropping. So then teachers began to get very upset about immersion.

and c) program extension and school board decisions:

> Then it seemed that there was just no place that it could be put. And the trustees, I think, who supported immersion on the board at that time, none of them seemed to agree that a capping formula could be used. So in a number of in-camera sessions the board...finally came to the decision that ... French immersion would be phased out.

That the conflict ended in failure for LPF was as much testified-to by the condition of the "key" LPF players, as to the school board decision.

> So our parents were being really stretched and people were exhausted. We were totally fed up with having to concentrate on battles and I say this personally because my time was so taken up for such a long time over fighting battles, and most of our parents had put so much of their time and effort and money into various aspects of this whole struggle to

> maintain our program and maintain our kindergarten that we were tired, exhausted. And so...without resources to really continue...we felt that there probably had to be a time that we had to accept the fact that we had no kindergarten. We had to accept that that's the way it was...We also felt that we were let sort of loose by the Modern Languages branch in some ways, although I don't mean we were supported by them.

Validation of these views was evident in statements about these events and "influences" from a district administrator who commented:

> ...In an urban district it [immersion] works fine because you can draw kids from all over the place and keep the numbers up. But the problem in a rural district is that if you are going to put 20 kids in a French kindergarten, you're drawing five kids from here, five kids from there--out of a kindergarten that's only got 20. So you're on the edge, only just on the edge and ...we have the impasse. They are the French parents, the immersion French [saying],'We are taxpayers and we want our children in immersion and there's the school over here with only 14 kids in it now',and the people who are already bigoted see this as an influx, an invasion or whatever.
> [Interviewer: Was the French just considered one aspect of their 'strangeness?]
> It was the only concern !

An additional comment indicated local LPF's influence and hence, success:

> To use a phrase properly, they [CPF] were informed--that irritated people enormously, particularly the trustees. To have an informed group come to them and they were very strong. They would say, "We want it. [French immersion] We need it. Here's the school we have looked into, whether the numbers interfere with this and it doesn't. And here's the evidence". They backed the board into a corner over and over again. I would say from my experiences, they were very strong.

Similar validation was further provided by the chairman's comments.

> When a group's choice starts to impact on the choice of their neighbours then you have a problem in the community and in this community which had always been a very together, volunteer-oriented, help your neighbour community, suddenly was not.

While the outcome of the crisis has already been discussed, a different perspective is presented here concerning LPF's influence. This illustrates how LPF may have been seen differently. This also (indirectly) speaks of LPF's

success to that point(if they were seen in this manner). The following was said of the school board's efforts to resolve the issue of of new class location :

> Several years of committee meetings. Several years of attempts to compromise. Several years of trying to get...Canadian Parents for French to see what the problems were. There was no give. Educationally- we spent days, weeks, months at the cost to this district. ...[and]... Well, every year we had to make a decision about where we would house the program, where the students would go, where they would come from, how many would get taken in and every Spring when we should have been doing a lot of work for six thousand kids in this district, we were spending a totally disproportionate amount of time on a small cluster of kids where every proposal we put forward as a solution to the problem got the no answer from the Canadian Parents for French. We want to put them in this school. "No". We want to divide them in this way. "No".

Finally, this chairman provided a personal explanation for the cause of the conflict:

> The issue is there is a segment of leadership there, that you can call whatever you want to call it. You can call it conspiratorial. You can call it social engineering but it's motivated by a "me-first" attitude. And that's the same thing that happened locally in this community. Countries and societies don't survive when people start saying," me-first". People have got to look around at their neighbours and their neighbourhood and they've got to see what good....
> [Interviewer: So you're saying, you see immersion and maybe CPF as being a more private or self-oriented rather than a public-oriented attitude?]
> Absolutely. I have no doubt in my mind.

Despite the emphasis to this point on CPF's lack of success, references to CPF success were numerous. Many of these have already been provided relating to CPF's goals, roles, influence, visibility and recognition. A few examples from the federal and BCPF level are offered to summarize this section of the chapter.

A particularly good series of statements to summarize this section from the CPF perspective came from CPF's first president. She said, of CPF's

influence and success with the federal government, educational authorities,and the public:

> Over the years their attitude toward dealing with us ... has improved, as they have given us this much and we've shown that we can operate effectively and efficiently... Then we say but you've got to give us more for this and they've given us more for that and we've done a good job so ...financially we haven't had the kind of dollar support that the federal government has given, for instance, to French first language groups but we have, I think, managed to operate more efficiently, more effectively with...with far smaller resources....That part I think we've done extremely well....I think we've done slightly less well, but still very well, with the educational authorities and that's one where I think that our effectiveness has depended very very much on the province involved and in some cases on the local area. I think that the one area where we - the area which is hardest and the area which we're still working more or less successfully, is the general public.
> [and]
> We have had a very real influence in relation to the federal government. ..The federal government has changed it's policies, it's funding mechanisms, it's strategies, it's approaches because of what we have said.
> [Interviewer: Could you give me an example?]
> Well, certainly their funding policies... Initially there was absolutely no category within the Department of Secretary of State which allowed them to fund us. And we went to Secretary of State and said, you have to fund us. You must. We're doing something that you want done that you can't do. Even if you could do it, we're doing it better. And they accepted that. We've had a genuine influence I think on the terms, we've had a real input into the federal/provincial agreements for the funding of bilingualism and education. I believe that we were responsible for a large extent - that the support we gave to something that the federal government wanted to do....allowed them to require from the provinces accountability for the spending of monies from the federal government to the provinces. And I think that the kind of support that we gave them to what they wanted to do gave them another club or another bit of ammunition. I think that at the provincial levels, we've also been effective in that same kind of way.

If a government official's recognition of CPF as an ally can be taken as an indication of their success, then a comment from the Director of the Modern Languages Department (B.C. Ministry of Education) serves as such.

> I would probably see them in the field as probably my, with the B.C. French Coordinators Association... my best allies for spreading the word on French programs, being supportive of French programs in the districts

> and so on and there would certainly be a big gap there if they weren't involved, you know.

The final quote came from a representative from the Office of the Secretary of State. Concerning CPF's degree of goal achievement(hence, success), he said:

> Well I think they've been very effective in achieving them. I guess it's difficult to attribute or to decide how much of the success of French immersion or other French second language programs one can attribute to CPF. They've been a major and important player in that. They've been very effective I think in terms of putting together a parent's organization at the national, provincial, local and regional levels, that has been able to inform parents of different issues and matters concerning French language programs and provide a focus for input into the policy and program development process at all levels of government really from local school boards to the provincial government and the federal government. I think they've been particularly useful and done valid work in establishing that kind of parent support network as it were and the national organization in kind of tying that network together and providing basic material and information and so on. I think they've been particularly effective in communications initiatives.

What better way to end the consideration of CPF's success, than this final comment on their success in "communication initiatives"- the key to their success, constituting the core of their efforts as a parent interest group.

Summary

Chapter Five contained the study's findings and analyses for four research questions which sought (a) to classify Canadian Parents for French with respect to its origin and goals, structure, functions, and strategies, (b) to analyze CPF's strategies, (c) to survey school and government officials' perceptions of CPF, and (d) to determine CPF's degree of success. The analyses, based on a mixed-methods design, provided information and perspectives on CPF's structure and activities. A summary of the findings follows, although not in the order of research questions in the chapter.

Classification

Origins and Goals. Members join CPF for reasons related more to French language programs, than for other reasons. CPF's three official goals were classified as "multiple [and] broadly-defined ". Their relative importance is level-dependent, with greater local stress on French programs while governmental levels focus on economic and/or political issues

CPF member's mean education rating was "some post secondary". The most common occupations identified were professional, managerial, or skilled "white collar". A proxy estimation of CPF members' typical socio-economic status (SES) suggests a "Middle Class organization" descriptor.

Participants agreed on the primary importance of local factors in CPF chapter formation. CPF members recognized external factors' influence (other CPF locals) in this, which NCPF respondents rated lower. Yet CPF members saw no governmental influence in their formation at any level, while NCPF participants saw some. A pattern of local interest catalyzed by external CPF influence was reiterated throughout the interviews. CPF's formation reflected many of these same components and influences.

Structure. The findings and analyses on CPF's external organization precedes those on its internal structure. CPF usually networks with groups sharing similar-strategies, goals, and, similar or smaller memberships. The most common "currencies of exchange" are information, moral support, materials, personnel, and funds. CPF participants thought most of this contact occurred between leaders, while NCPF believed it occurred between members. Yet on the importance of this role for CPF leaders there was general agreement.

The "vertical axis" effect did not appear to operate in the cases studied. Despite chapters existing under the legal/formal organizational "umbrella" of CPF, they acted on their own accord in local matters. On the topic of support, one CPF leader with multi-level experience suggested, "...there's probably very little that the provincial board can do apart from providing statistical information and studies".

CPF ranked between "extensive knowledge of the sectors of the government/school system and ease of communication with those sectors" and being "knowledgeable concerning those sectors of government/ school system that affects [their] concerns". The closest organizational description was "well-organized, but generally not bureaucratic".

CPF saw itself possessing, "limited human and financial resources"; the NCPF description was closer to,"adequate and stable access to human and financial resources". Its funding sources ranked as grants and subsidies (federal money), members dues, voluntary contributions, fundraising (local level). CPF leaders perceived a shortage of funds for staff positions. BCPF, for example, sought a permanent provincial president. This, in spite of the considerable growth in the BCPF and CPF offices and substantial government support money since its inception.

The typical meeting frequency was between between monthly and quarterly. The "selection of targets" and "objectives development " items indicated that leaders/staff meetings were greater contributors to these endeavours than other sources of input, including members meetings.

A key to CPF's success have been its strong, committed leaders whose influence is most felt in a) chapter formation, b) crises, and c) CPF's recognition. CPF's leadership type is "rotating". Participants judged leaders' personal traits as more important than content knowledge or SES.

CPF's voluntary membership was described as " large [and] fluid ". Other relevant findings included members (a) ranked as representing CPF equally with staffs to other groups/government, (b)"fluidity" was at the top of CFP's concerns (equal to funding), and (c) regarding CPF's recognition , membership ranked after leadership. Members' activity and motivation is high while establishing or defending French programs but eventually drops, resulting in declining member involvement and numbers.

Functions. Although CPF's primary role is advocacy, study evidence suggested that BCPF also plays an advisory role. Different levels of CPF, furthermore, play different roles depending on their primary goal focus, degree of previous recognition and success, and their operating context.

Pross's Typology. CPF fits between Pross's (1986) description of a "mature" and a "fledgling" interest group. CPF is almost "mature" in its goals, interactions (with other organizations), and formal organization. It rates between a mature and an institutionalized group in knowledge of the "System". On the remaining typology categories it is closer to "fledgling"- including staff, membership , and resources. CPF's communication strategy is "access-oriented" rather than "media"-oriented. This questionnaire finding accorded with the interview perspective developed.

Strategies

General. CPF's five strategies are lobbying, networking, media, advertising, and committees. Its preferred strategies under both routine and critical conditions are lobbying and networking. These switch positions relatively from routine to critical conditions. Considerable discrepancy occurred on the ranking of "influences on CPF's strategies". CPF rated funds as the greatest, time restrictions as the second greatest, and history as the least, influence. NCPF participants reversed this order.

CPF lobbied senior officials under more formal conditions than junior officials. Members contacted personal acquaintances to discuss CPF matters about quarterly. Communication within CPF and to its primary lobbying targets are the most frequent directions of communication.

CPF's preferred lobbying targets were (a) Ministry of Education/ school board members, (b) bureaucrats/senior administrators, (c) the "Attentive Public"/ Principals; and, d) Heads of Agencies/ school board chairmen or Superintendents. CPF has "sufficient standing in the policy community to enjoy a degree of access to decision makers". The three most common forums for policy input were conventions, advisory committees, and policy meetings.

An interview perspective identified the same communication strategy for CPF as the questionnaire except ". Should these methods fail and the stakes are high enough, CPF chapters employ a "media-oriented" strategy. CPF thus tends to use lobbying, networking, and liaison before media and confrontational strategies. Preferred media included newsletters, pamphlets, posters, and placards. Less frequently-used media included magazines, newspapers, books/journals, TV/ radio, and advertisements.

CPF selects targets for the greatest contribution towards its goals. They are thus "level-dependent". Standing committees's impact is similarly context-

dependent. They played a relatively small role in the two CPF locals studied and have no importance at the federal level.

Local. Both CPF locals shifted from a purposive, to a combined purposive-supportive role. This shift was delayed in Lutteville by the threat to the immersion program. Still both groups were involved in many cultural activities and supported schools housing their programs. Subsequent declining member interest may affect these roles.

Recognition and Visibility

CPF was most recognized for its effectiveness and its cause. Less important characteristics were its expertise, membership and leadership, cooperative ethic, networking, and mutual need. An interview perspective purported CPF's recognition and visibility depended on the roles it played at each level. Where the context was supportive of its goals CPF was well-known; where non-supportive it was relatively unknown. Thus organizations with similar goals knew and respected CPF. At the local level CPF's recognition was most context-dependent. Despite years of recognition by various officials CPF remains relatively unknown by the general public.

Success and Influence

Goal achievement was the primary means of determining CPF success. Both the questionnaire and interview used this approach. The section on recognition also provided some evidence of success by revealing CPF's recognition and visibility.

CPF was perceived to have influenced targets in direct relation to the frequency with which it lobbied them. Most participants held this view. The influence of CPF on policy (and its success) was seen to be more often covert than overt. Where direct pressure on decision makers was too-long used in one

school district studied, the local context changed reducing its long-term success.

Most CPF locals do not return to the lobbying and "pressure tactics" commonly used during the implementation phase. Covert or indirect means of influencing policy decisions become the norm and in most districts, this approach endures. The problem in Lutteville derived from its increasingly heterogeneous nature which prevented this "normal" turn of events.

Chapter 6 : Summary and Conclusions

Andre Gide wrote " Influence is neither good nor bad in an absolute manner, but only in relation to the one who experiences it" (Pretexts, 1903). Gide's quote appropriately starts the summary and conclusions chapter for two reasons. Influence is what interest groups want most and as the study demonstrated, Canadian Parents for French qualifies as such.

Secondly, anecdotes describing CPF's influence in school districts triggered the study. Before determining how this influence was exerted I decided that I needed to classify CPF. Pross (1985) proposes that case studies permit classification, which permits analysis. Once classified, questions of CPF's strategies and their outcomes (recognition and success) could be addressed. While answering these questions the issue of context proved the key factor, substantiating what Gide implied is influence's "relative" quality.

Before considering the study's implications, however, a summary of the study's questions, methodology, and findings are reiterated. Some suggestions for further study are offered. This study concentrated on four research questions which sought (a) to classify CPF with respect to its origin and goals, structure, functions, and strategies, (b) to analyze CPF's strategies, (c) to survey school and government officials' perceptions of CPF, and (d) to determine CPF's degree of success.

A mixed-methods research design was employed to serve the desired purposes of triangulation, complementarity, and initiation (Greene et al., 1989). The range and complexity of the study's questions had necessitated some means of increasing the interpretability, validity, and meaningfulness of constructs, and of enhancing inquiry results. Data collection therefore comprised both quantitative and qualitative methods including- a survey of

twenty "expert" participants by semi-structured interview and a questionnaire, and document analysis. Information garnered provided information and perspectives on CPF's structure and activities.

Results and Conclusions

Classification

Origins and Goals. How and why interest groups form have a great bearing on their subsequent strategies, structure, and functions. Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980) advocate that the strategies an interest group uses depend largely on its financial resources and its goals. Strategies then dictate a group's structure and function. Pross (1986) proposes instead that goals and resources determine a group's "degree of institutionalization" and thus, its strategies. Whether structure determines strategies or vice versa, goals and resources are accepted as delimiting these other group characteristics.

Olson (1965) claims selective incentives help ensure member enrollment and retention, not just the group's espoused goals. As members join CPF for reasons related more to French language programs than for other reasons, this accords with Olson's "economic" justification.

Davies and Zerchykov (1981) add that parents have so few selective benefits as to preclude their joining "parent" interest groups trying to impact on educational policy (p.185). Lowi (1967) suggests that in the case where opportunities to access decision makers do exist, membership becomes worthwhile to parents. Joining CPF may be seen as a means of influencing school boards to initiate the desired French programs.

CPF's three official goals were classified as "multiple [and] broadly-defined ". Their relative importance is level-dependent with greater local stress

on French programs while governmental levels focus on economic and/or political issues.

Duane et al. (1985) suggest non-economic motives for enrollment, given educational processes are often inherently ideational and value-oriented nature. For CPF these purposive and solidary reasons included members playing a representative role and the impetus for "rights" (both of these relate to contributing to a bilingual Canada) and a sense of personal efficacy.

Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980) suggest that the economic, educational, and social conditions of the members or communities involved in group's formation, greatly affect the type, longevity, and influence of the resulting interest groups. A proxy estimation of members' typical socio-economic status (SES) suggests CPF is a "Middle Class" organization. Salisbury (1980) concludes that parents' education relates closely to amount of parent involvement. The higher their education, the more they participate. CPF members' education correlates positively with their degree of participation.

Salisbury (1980) observed that the majority of parents actively involved in schools are young mothers involved in supportive activities (p. 129). After the initial " program implementation " phase, this applies to CPF in the two districts studied. Salisbury also observed that men comprise more of the activist groups, and are more often leaders of parent groups or advisory/ decision making bodies. This was adamantly not the case for CPF where women comprise the large majority of active members and leaders.

Participants agreed on the primary importance of local factors in CPF chapter formation. CPF members acknowledged other CPF locals' influence in this. A pattern of local interest catalyzed by external CPF influence was reiterated throughout the interviews.

Paltiel (1982) and Presthus (1973) suggest a governmental genesis of many interest groups. Paltiel (1982) warns that in cases where "start-up and maintenance" funds for such groups exist a patron-client relationship development shifts power to bureaucrats and departments (who created them). These "government-created" groups may become pawns of the agency involved through funding-dependency or cooptation.

Structure. The findings and analyses of CPF's external organization precedes those on its internal structure.

Gittell (1980) and Upton and Fonow (1984) found purposive (advocacy) community groups network more frequently and effectively than supportive groups. Both studies identify finances and authority as the commodities most sought by groups in networking yet information, materials, and personnel were more common "currencies of exchange".

CPF usually networks with groups sharing similar strategies and goals, and, similar or smaller memberships. This includes many French language minority groups. Networking occurs most often at the CPF and BCPF levels, although local chapters do interact with teacher associations. The most common "currencies of exchange" are information, moral support, materials, personnel, and funds. CPF participants thought most of this contact occurred between leaders, while NCPF believed it occurred between members.

The "vertical axis" (Warren, 1963) effect did not appear to operate in the locals studied. Despite chapters existing under the legal/formal organizational "umbrella" of CPF, they act on their own accord in local matters. Regarding support from higher levels, one CPF leader with multi-level experience suggested, "...there's probably very little that the provincial board can do apart from providing statistical information and studies".

Interest groups need to know who to attempt to influence, when it is appropriate to do so, and where to do this. This calls for a thorough knowledge of the "System" in which they seek changes and their general environment. CPF was ranked as having between "extensive knowledge of the sectors of the government/school system and ease of communication with those sectors" and being " knowledgeable concerning those sectors of government/ school system that affects [their] concerns".

Kernagnan (1985), Presthus (1973), Faulkner, (1981), and Pross (1986) posit a group's goals and resources determine their structure, with the financially and purposively stronger (hence, more highly organized) groups becoming more institutionalized. These groups evolve either a unitary or federated organizational structure which mirrors the political structures they seek to influence. CPF is a three-tier federation described as "well-organized, but generally not bureaucratic". Yet CPF mirrors the structure of education policy making in Canada.

This discrepancy may be explained by what also differentiates CPF from a government agency. Pross (1986) suggests interest groups differ from government-formed bodies through their membership, self-determined goals, and use of funds. CPF leaders and members develop their own objectives and determine how funds are dispensed(even if the acquisition of government funds "colours" the strategies employed at the government levels).

Funding is very important to a group's structure as the level of funds largely dictates the variety and duration of group strategies. CPF saw itself possessing "limited human and financial resources"; the NCPF description was closer to " adequate and stable access to human and financial resources". Gittell (1980) and Presthus (1973) suggest funding patterns often depend on a group's type of membership. For voluntary groups dues comprise the largest

source of group income. For mandated or service groups possessing voluntary, representative, or client memberships the funds include government grants, or subsidies from other groups or organizations (Gittell, 1980). Voluntary groups also resort to various fundraising devices. CPF's funding sources ranked as grants and subsidies (federal money), members dues, voluntary contributions, and fundraising (local level).

Gittell (1980) and Salisbury (1980) find that advocacy groups need be self-funded (internal) whereas service and advisory groups are inevitably supported by governments or foundations (external). Gittell (1980) classifies interest groups by leadership "type" which can be rotating, externally-appointed, constant, or staff, which is often related to the funding basis of the group. Advocacy groups, for example, are often internally funded and possess either rotating- or staff- type leadership. All mandated, externally-funded groups have other types of leadership (Gittell, 1980). This was not verified in the study. While CPF possesses a rotating leadership with an advocacy role it was largely externally-funded. Since 1983 CPF has received an average of 69% of its funding from government agencies (CPF Annual Reports, 1983-1989).

Sroufe (1981) suggests that scarcity of funds is the most serious interest group concern. CPF and BCPF leaders perceived a shortage of funds for staff positions. This, in spite of the considerable growth in the BCPF and CPF offices and continued government support money since its inception. Local CPF leaders bemoaned the lack of funds more indirectly. Shortage of funds was also rated as a major concern on one questionnaire item.

Gittell (1980) and Van Loon and Whittington (1981) note the more effective or larger groups are basically oligarchic. Many decisions are made by the director or staff with little membership involvement. The "selection of targets" and "objectives development " items indicated that CPF leaders/ staff

meetings contributed more to these endeavours than members meetings. The typical CPF meeting frequency was between monthly and quarterly. Yet CPF has a strong democratic tradition, an observation supported in the study by personal observation at two major CPF conferences and in the interviews (although not by the questionnaire).

Pross, (1986), Faulkner (1981), and Gittell (1980) all note the critical roles played by leaders who act to maintain the internal cohesion of their group and represent their group's interests to other groups, the public, and "targets". They need possess a number of personal characteristics and skills, a knowledge of the field of their interest group and the political realm within which they function, and often, either experience or contacts in that realm. As Sroufe (1981) identifies leadership-membership tensions as one of interest groups' chief problems, other important characteristics include strong interpersonal skills, a certain amount of charisma, intelligence, commitment to the group, and the support of group members.

A key to CPF's success has indeed been its strong, committed leaders whose influence is most felt in a) chapter formation, b) crises, and c) CPF's recognition. Survey participants judged leaders' personal traits as more important than their content knowledge or SES.

Presthus (1973) summarizes key membership resources as size and social status, income, experience, commitment, cooperative ethic, and political efficacy. CPF's voluntary membership was described as " large [and] fluid ". Its members ranked as representing CPF equally with staffs to other groups/ government. Member "fluidity" was at the top of CFP concerns (equal to funding). Membership ranked after leadership regarding CPF's recognition. Members' degree of commitment is a "resource" of considerable value to groups and their leaders. CPF members' activity and motivation is high while

establishing or defending French programs but eventually drops, resulting in declining member involvement and numbers.

Functions. Although CPF's primary role was purposive (advocacy), this has shifted to a purposive/supportive role as it gains acceptance among policy makers. Study evidence also suggests that BCPF plays a supportive role (advisory) through the standing government committees on which it sits. Different levels of CPF play different roles depending on their primary goal focus, degree of previous recognition and success, and their operating context.

Parent participation in such purposive roles as curriculum policy making and governance (see Chapter 3) reveals its generally poor nature. Such parent activity is often unsupported by educational decision makers, ineffective, and generally performed by middle and upper class citizens. This justifies CPF's advocacy function in communities, as well as explaining why it meets with more than token resistance from some school boards.

Pross (1986) lists the four systemic functions interest groups serve for governments as communication, legitimation, regulation, and administration. The most valued of these is two-way communication (Faulkner, 1982; Presthus, 1973; Pross, 1986) which consists of providing governments with substantive and ideological information. CPF provides the federal and B.C. governments and school boards with such information. The next most important function is to provide legitimation. CPF performs this function more at the government levels through its contributions to standing committees, commissions, and widespread membership.

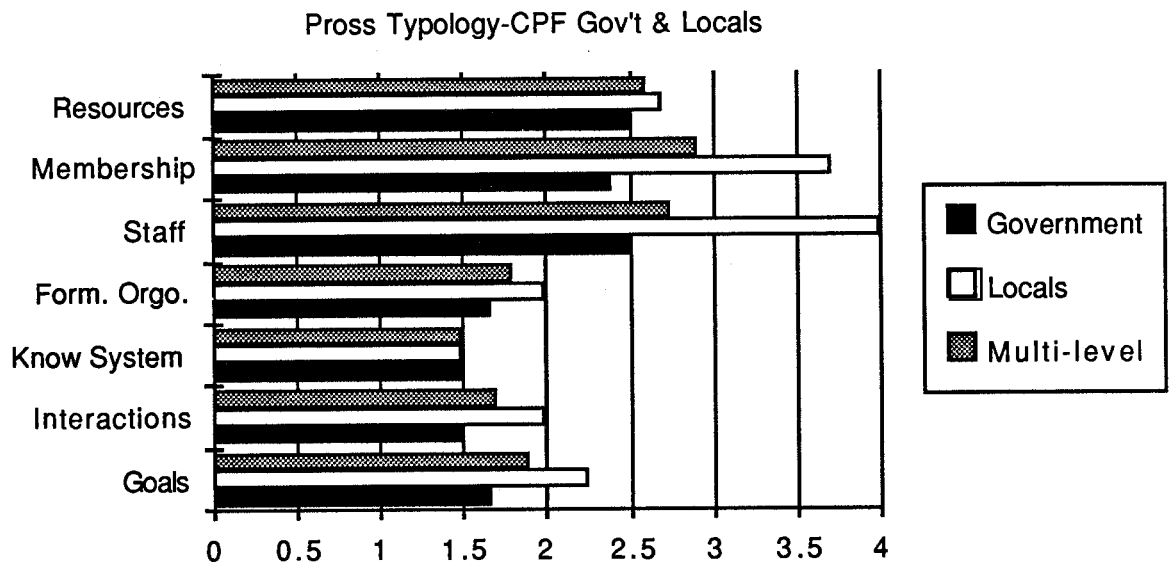
The research many interest groups perform to gain recognition or to persuade policy-makers frequently finds its way to the public. Davies and Zerchykov (1981) claim "non-associational" groups provide information about educational policy and, as such, act as brokers and providers of information to

parents (p.18). CPF was widely recognized in this role, specifically, for the establishment of an ubiquitous, officially-recognized information network .

Classification of CPF. CPF is best described by Pross's (1986) typology as a "mature" interest group. It rates between a mature and an institutionalized group in knowledge of the "System". CPF is most accurately termed "mature" in its goals, interactions (with other organizations), and formal organization. On the remaining typology categories it is closer to "fledgling"- including its staff, membership , and resources. It is worth noting that the responses of local-level participants lowered the mean scores on the questionnaire items used to classify CPF in several categories (see Figure 6.1). CPF locals' lack of permanent staffs, more limited resources, and generally lower level of political sophisication affected these categories' means.

CPF's communication strategy is "access-oriented" rather than "media-oriented". This questionnaire finding accorded with an interview perspective developed except for the proviso " Should these methods fail and the stakes are high enough, CPF chapters employ a "media-oriented" strategy". CPF thus tends to use lobbying, networking, and liaison before media and confrontational strategies.

Figure 6.1



Group Type: 1 = Institutionalized; 2 = Mature; 3 = Fledgling; 4 = Issue-oriented

While the Pross typology met all of the study's classification criteria regarding group characteristics, it did not classify CPF at all levels. Similarly most other models of classification which might have applied at the community level failed to provide either the range of characteristics necessary or the predictive capacity offered by Pross. One general typology and one community-level typology, nevertheless, are suitably applied to the study's findings. The former applies at all levels of CPF, the latter at the local level.

Davies and Zerchykov (1981) produced a model which classifies groups by structure and function. Using this model CPF is classified as an education-only, delegate-associational interest group. While clearly a continuing group, CPF does not neatly fit the remaining descriptors in the model. It can be argued that CPF possesses both moral and material ends, the latter for both grievances

and benefits. The Davies and Zerchykov (1981) model, therefore, does not precisely classify CPF although it does permit some analysis.

Steele et al.(1981) offer a three-descriptor model of educational interest groups appropriate for classification of community-level groups. The descriptors used are interest group- relative permanence, origin, and organizational structure. CPF is thus classified as an emerged, standing, formally-organized group.

Strategies

General. CPF's five strategies are lobbying, networking, media, advertising, and committees. Its preferred strategies under both routine and critical conditions are lobbying and networking. (These switch positions relatively from routine to critical conditions). Pross (1986) labels this an access-oriented communication strategy.

Considerable discrepancy occurred on the ranking of "influences on CPF's strategies". In addition to the primary importance of funds, Sackney (1981) suggests other "determiners" of group strategy include time restraints, the immediate issue, and the success of methods previously used. CPF rated funds as the greatest, time restrictions as the second greatest, and history as the least influence, while NCPF participants reversed this order. The issues of interest to CPF are discussed later.

Kernaghan (1985) and Pross (1986) suggest that second to a group's resources its ability to access the appropriate policy-makers is the most critical factor in the success of its strategy and goal attainment. CPF members contact personal acquaintances to discuss CPF matters about quarterly. Communication within CPF and to its lobbying targets are the most frequent directions of communication. CPF lobbies senior officials under more formal

conditions than junior officials. These findings reiterate the primacy of lobbying and networking to CPF.

Interest groups attempt to structure themselves to apply lobbying pressure on as many decisional levels as possible. CPF as a federation lobbies at all three levels in the educational hierarchy. The survey determined that CPF's preferred lobbying targets (in descending order of importance) are (a) Ministries of Education/ school board members, (b) bureaucrats/senior administrators, (c) the "attentive public"/principals; and, d) heads of agencies/ school board chairmen or superintendents.

Pross (1986) uses the term policy community to describe a model of the environment within which most relevant "political actors" interact within government. Due to "enrollment criteria" he suggests only institutionalized groups are permitted entry. Gillies & Pigott (1982) claim the policy community is a popular avenue for interest group lobbying as access to M.P.s and bureaucrats is easier than to Cabinet ministers and central office agencies. The BCPF's presence on three B.C. Ministry of Education committees suggests that it has acquired such status. In general, CPF has "sufficient standing in the policy community to enjoy a degree of access to decision makers". CPF is invited to make presentations to all applicable task forces and commissions. Its three most common forums for policy input are conventions, advisory committees, and policy meetings.

Interest groups have a variety of "tactical" options available to them. These include media, consultation (advisory committees) and networking. Interest groups frequently use the media concurrently with attempts at lobbying to inform the public, garner its support, or attempt to change public opinion. Pross (1986) suggests more institutionalized interest groups prefer to avoid use of media to confront decision makers, due to the normative constraints of the

policy community. This was substantiated by CPF's slight use of media which tends not to serve overtly purposive ends. CPF's preferred media included pamphlets, newsletters, posters, and placards.

Benson (1982) assumes all interorganizational interaction is based on resource dependencies. He defines resources as anything needed by an organization to survive or attain its objectives, such as funds or authority (p. 148). CPF selects targets for the greatest contribution towards its goals, which are "level-dependent". The national office of CPF, therefore, most often liaises with the offices of the Secretary of State and the Commissioner of Official Languages. Local chapters interact with school boards.

Standing committees's impact is similarly context-dependent. BCPF sits on three provincial policy making education committees. Committees played a relatively small role in the two CPF locals studied and had no importance at the federal level.

Local. Both CPF locals shifted from a purposive to a combined purposive-supportive role. This shift was delayed in Lutteville by the threat to the immersion program. Still both groups were involved in many cultural activities and supported schools housing their programs. Most CPF locals do not return to the lobbying and "pressure tactics" commonly used during the implementation phase. Covert or indirect means of influencing policy decisions become the norm.

School boards' responsiveness varies according to district location and community homogeneity. The problem in Lutteville derived from its increasingly heterogeneous nature which prevented the "normal" turn of events. Boyd's concepts of "zone of tolerance" and "mobilization of bias" may have applied given Ralph's (1982) observations on the factors influencing language policy

making. Finally, Boyd (1976) argues each policy decision may be considered a "routine"' or "strategic" issue-depending on community type.

Recognition and Visibility

Thornburn (1985) argues that group recognition is a product of its membership size, the prestige of its leaders, and its willingness to cooperate with policy-makers (p.6). Pross (1986) suggests rather that a group's "degree of institutionalization " determines its recognition, based largely on the group's expertize. All of these were recognized factors in CPF's recognition, but not the primary ones.

CPF was most recognized for its effectiveness and its cause. Less important characteristics were its expertise, membership and leadership, cooperative ethic, networking, and mutual need. Faulkner (1981), Presthus (1973), Pross (1986), and Van Loon and Whittington (1981) attribute a group's ability to access decision makers to their recognition by the policy-makers involved. It is this latter reference to context ("...by the policy makers involved "), that explains the differing grounds for CPF's recognition. An interview perspective also suggested CPF's recognition and visibility depended on the roles it played at each level.

CPF's goals and activities receive strong moral and financial support from the federal government. Duhamel and Cyze (1985) note Ministries of Education increasingly practice a participative approach in involving representatives of interest groups in the decision making process. This was true in B.C., although not always the case locally as the Lutteville example illustrated.

The growing influence of national interest groups compounds the problem of weakened local autonomy as school boards are caught between government mandates and interest group pressure. This possibly affects school

board member reaction to and recognition of CPF. Davies (1987) suggests supportive forms of parent involvement "...are the least threatening to teachers and administrators and the least controversial". He attributes this to the lack of acceptance of parent involvement in purposive activities by educators; the nature of organizations in general, and schools specifically. Regardless of its basis, local policy making processes and structures delimit an interest group's functions, recognition and access.

In summary, where the context is supportive of its goals CPF is well-known; where non-supportive it was relatively unknown. Thus organizations with similar goals know and respect CPF. At the local level CPF's recognition is most context-dependent. Despite years of recognition by various officials CPF remains relatively unknown by the general public.

Success and Influence

Goal achievement was the primary means of determining CPF success in the study although some evidence of success was revealed by CPF's recognition and visibility. Another means was by applying the interest group "success " criteria Duane et al (1985) and Ginsberg Riggs (1984) discussed. Finally, I specified how successful CPF had been in using the new means of influencing curriculum policy making detailed by Townsend (in press).

General. Kernaghan (1985) chronicles that in Canada provincial and federal politicians admit lobbying by interest groups impacts on their day-to-day operations and decision-making. Presthus (1973) says these activities provide the substantive and ideological information that governments need to operate effectively (p. 177). Finally, Sroufe (1981) proposes these groups have considerable indirect.influence on public policy through their unequal representation of public interests, their ability to keep some important issues latent, and their influence on regulatory agencies and bureaucrats.

CPF was perceived to have influenced targets in direct relation to the frequency with which it lobbied them. Most participants held this view. As one of CPF's goals concerned "...the promotion of the best possible French language learning opportunities", its lobbying efforts in this regards have definitely been acknowledged.

Local. Isherwood and Osgoode (1986) and Isherwood et al. (1984) detail the considerable influence of the Ministries of Education on school district curriculum policy making. Here BCPF has indirect influence through the committees on which it sits. The recognition given groups by politicians depends partly on the basis of a group's membership. Factors such as the membership's size, social status, and political "clout" are important features of

access and hence, influence (Presthus, 1973, p.131). Evidence of CPF's "political clout" was found in both locals in the form of school board elections.

Theoretical perspectives by Burlingame (1988), Boyd (1978, 1982a), and Benson (1982) explain the importance of the contextual variables of "community type" and "issues involved" in the study of CPF's influence at the local level. These in turn influence the type of politics employed and the outcomes. The contextual variables involved in Lutteville were different enough from those in Normton to precipitate a crisis, which catalyzed LPF's "media-oriented"strategy.

In Normton, where school board/district and NPF (Normton Parents for French) relations remained cordial, the community type was suburban with a heterogeneous population. This did not present problems to NPF while lobbying to have the French immersion initiated or during the subsequent years. The issue involved continued to be treated as a routine one despite the content area overlapping areas traditionally deemed to be outside of parent influence.

In contrast Lutteville's community type was rural with a population which shifted from homongeneous to heterogeneous. Several participants' accounts indicated this was the cause of the subsequent problems. What could have been a routine issue, started and remained a strategic one. Conflict between the school board and LPF remained at an elevated level from its inception to the time of the study.

As the level of conflict in a school district increases a school board's receptiveness to change or likelihood of producing new policy increases. Wirt and Kirst (1982) identify a sequence of three types of school board responses to inputs from the community- null, negotiated, and prompt (pp. 136-7). These response types paralleled the increasing pressure or conflict generated by the issue of the closure of Lutteville's French immersion kindergartens. Kirt (1989) notes a decrease in school board influence in policy making coinciding with an

increase in interest group influence. This seemed to be the case in Lutteville, but only for a short period after the crisis. Hence the perspective which indicated that where direct pressure on decision makers was too-long used, the local context changed-reducing its long-term success.

Boyd (1976) submits that the type of politics employed locally concerns the frequency of community control (or major influence upon) school policy making, and, the extent of community influence on professional educators (p. 552). Levin (1982) adds "Public attitudes still have a considerable influence on school curriculum, especially on such areas as languages and family life education" (p. 8). LPF representatives and the language programs they advocated, were apparently seen in Lutteville as intrusions into the previously-homogeneous community (and its schools). Ralph (1982) suggests in modern language policy making there are additional factors affecting school board decisions. School trustee's norms, the political situation in Quebec, the actions of other school boards, and the federal commitment to French language policies must all be considered in the policy making process.

LPF evidently acquired its French immersion program as much through direct influence involving school board elections as through lobbying. Catalyzed by internal anti-French elements and administrative problems involved in running the programs, and external restraint, the community reacted. It regained a majority of seats on the school board and attempted to eliminate and then limit, the immersion program. Boyd (1982a) argues that this type of influence is largely "covert"- as represented by a community's "zone of tolerance" or society's " mobilization of bias " factors. As the influence of CPF on policy (and its success) was more often successful if covert than overt, the ever-more overt actions of LPF may have cost them their kindergarten program.

Success Criteria. Duane et al (1985) laud special interest groups' (a) specialization, (b) cost-to-benefit ratio, (c) successful coalitions, and (d) "power thrust" due to their causes. CPF possesses most of these features. It has specialized in French as a Second Language programs in school. It appears to be efficiently operated given its funds. CPF networks with interest groups of similar type and is widely respected for its cause.

Ginsberg Riggs (1984) proposes that the organizational features of successful education parent interest groups include (a) written goals, (b) competent, dedicated leaders, (c) written policies, committee and staff responsibilities, (4) periodic group self-evaluation, (d) a group "scrapbook" (or chronicle of accomplishments), (e) systematic use of all of members' "strengths", (f) an informed-advocacy function, and (g) effective use of finances (p. 113). CPF possessed all of these characteristics in one form or another.

New Avenues of Influence. Townsend (in press) identifies four new means for "non- educators" to influence curriculum policy making. These include the courts, school budgets, government commissions, and political parties. CPF (1979) has long used its knowledge of federal government French language funding to successfully stifle school board budget concerns. The last two decades have seen a spate of government commissions on a range of educational and language issues. CPF has made many presentations to these.

Anderson chronicles (1986, 1988) how CPF (as individuals and a CPF provincial body) has lost court cases. These were lost because in the first case, CPF was judged as lacking the legal status to represent a local group of parents and in the second case because the French Immersion program they were supporting was not protected under Section 23 of the "Charter".

Finally, in both Normton and Lutteville several interview references indicated CPF involvement in school board politics. Despite its unofficial nature

and lack of support by the organization, this indicates it to be another avenue that may be used to achieve CPF's ends.

Issues. Reports by the Canadian Education Association (1982), the B.C. Royal Commission (1988), and the North Vancouver School Board Report (1986) identify common problems or issues associated with French immersion program initiation, implementation, and evaluation. These include (a) program location, (b) availability of resources, (c) budgeting, (d) enrollment, (e) community input/reaction, (f) program selection, (g) methods of maintaining parent input/involvement, (h) program in-service and monitoring, and (i) teacher-opposition. In both districts studied these factors were important to CPF. The issues of program location, teacher opposition, and community input/involvement, for example, were central to the crisis which developed in Lutteville.

Summary. Most of the officials interviewed felt that CPF was successful in light of the widespread existence of French Immersion programs in Canadian schools for which they credited CPF. The changes in federal funding for CPF and federal-provincial language program protocols may also have been CPF-influenced. For their considerable efforts- pedagogical, cultural, and linguistic, in support of all French Second Language school programs they need be recognized. The establishment of an ubiquitous, officially-recognized information network must also be added to their accolades. In these ways CPF has managed to modify the way many Canadians perceive French language instruction in schools.

Implications of the Study

In this section I consider how some of the study's results have informed the theory and practice of education. The discussions follow no particular pattern.

The study partially supported what Paltiel (1982) and Presthus (1973) suggest concerning some interest group's governmental genesis. While a Commissioner of Official Languages sponsored the meeting which catalyzed CPF's formation, CPF members did not deem this intervention to have been the critical formation influence. NCPF participants saw otherwise.

The study indicated that CPF's efforts are a major influence in the formation of new locals. Further evidence of its continued influence came from a BCPF liaison officer's statement, " BCPF is registered....and then each of us provincially then have the umbrella over all of our chapters.....So what they [locals] have to do, they have to meet our requirements, not the society's requirements". Saxe (1983) suggests this influences locals' objectives.

One federal bureaucrat indicated that CPF could solve many of its resource problems by accepting more government money, employing more full-time professional staff, and becoming more bureaucratized. In so doing, however, he claimed they might lose much of their basis for recognition- their parent-volunteer reputation.

Leaders are very important to CPF, providing the continuity and modeling CPF's effectiveness which has gained the organization wide-spread respect. CPF leaders' responses indicated that their reasons for joining or remaining active within CPF were more often of the purposive and solidary, than purely economic variety. Leader-member tension, identified by Sroufe (1981) as a major interest group concern, was not apparent in CPF.

Although CPF's primary role was purposive, it has shifted to a purposive/ supportive role as CPF gained acceptance by policy makers. A similar perspective was voiced in an article in the BCPF Newsletter (August, 1989) by a Coordinator of Modern Languages for a large, B.C. school district. Lionel

Daneault describes CPF'S metamorphosis from its initial role as a lobby and pressure group to that of a support group (p.1).

Davies (1987) offers a typology with four categories of parent involvement including: coproduction, where educational professionals guide parents in the shared responsibility of teaching children and decision making, where parents are involved in a range of purposive, often governance issues. It is while performing the latter activity that CPF locals experience the most resistance from local educators/school board members.

One advantage of Pross's (1986) typology (and a reason for its selection) is its predictive capacity. As CPF was rated as a mature interest group, certain of its activities may be predicted. Even given the limited range and depth of the study at the federal and BCPF levels, it is safe to say that CPF "fits" its description as a mature group. Several lines of evidence suggested it uses solely an "access-oriented" communication strategy. It is recognized as much as any like group by the subgovernments with which it interacts. BCPF has even attained the status of active member of its "policy community" (Pross, 1986).

The Steele et al.(1981) model also provides something of a predictive capacity. Its perspectives suggest that, given that CPF is an "emerged", "standing", "formally-organized" group, certain predictions can be made regarding its functioning and level of effectiveness. Steele et al. (1981) propose that a group like CPF (a) is less likely to have its recommendations or suggestions accepted by the local administration (b) is likely to have a well-developed knowledge of facts, issues, and procedures related to their issue; and, (c) is likely to have created a division of labour, assigned responsibilities, and set a schedule for task performance (p.264). All of these predictions seem

to apply to CPF. Its effective formal organization has been described as has initial school board reluctance to accept its proposals.

Some suggestions for dealing with CPF might be in order for administrators, given these predictions. Sackney (1984) and Steele et al. (1981) have developed similar lists of recommendations to administrators for effectively dealing with community groups such as CPF. Chief among these are (a) get to know the interest groups who are actively bringing pressure against the system, (b) establish open channels of communication, (c) have well-developed policies in place to allow interest groups input, (d) develop school board member's skill in conducting public meetings, (e) build networks with specific groups to act as buffers to other groups, and (f) plan before crises develop. Steele et al. (1981) add that it may further prove necessary to help these groups to become more useful by providing them with (a) valid and timely information, (b) essential technical and resource support [if required], (c) realistic expectations for them, as well as time to accomplish their tasks, and (d) the feeling that they serve a real purpose (p.270).

Concepts developed by Pross (1986) and Kernaghan (1985) were shown to apply to CPF's strategies. CPF generally employs an access-oriented communication strategy, preferring to use indirect methods of influencing decision makers such as lobbying, liaising, and networking. Only at the local level during French program initiation or during crises, does CPF resort to a more media-oriented strategy. This preference reflects, furthermore, CPF's philosophy of using a rationale approach during its presentations- both to officials and the public.

CPF selection of lobbying "targets" also accords with the literature, although the "order of preference" indicated by the questionnaire did not agree with statements in interviews. Possibly this reflected the phrasing of the

questionnaire item more than CPF's actual preference. Of all levels of CPF studied BCPF had the most direct influence on what Pross (1986) terms the policy community, through standing committees. At the national office level there are no standing committees and in the two B.C. locals studied the parent advisory committees of which they are members lack real authority.

One important consequence of its recognition has been CPF's regular access to decision makers. Still, CPF does not hesitate to "speak its mind" on issues of merit. This seems true even at the government levels where so much of their funding originates.

CPF's recognition, access and success are context-dependent. Local policy making processes and structures, and community types most delimit these at the chapter level. The sample of CPF locals studied was too small and non-random to provide sufficient evidence to generalize too widely, but some of the study's results warrant mention.

At the federal and provincial levels, CPF's goals and activities accord more closely with the agencies they seek to influence. CPF does not threaten their authority in any manner. CPF's activities rather, legitimate the policies of the Offices of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the Secretary of State, and the B.C. Ministry of Education. In contrast, CPF's purposive activities threaten some school boards' authority by intervening in governance issues.

CPF exerts its influence on various decision makers in direct proportion to the frequency with which it lobbies them. This supports what Kernaghan (1985) argues, that in Canada government politicians admit that interest group lobbying impacts on their operations and decisions. Of their success at this, a past commissioner of Official Languages paid them considerable praise by stating:

> So, in terms of building up a relationship with government... I think they've done very well. They're extremely successful lobbying. And I know a lot of lobbies that aren't successful. I would say that if you had to put them on a scale of one to ten in so far as accomplishment of their objectives over those years are concerned that I would give them a seven or eight.

BCPF influences its provincial government directly, and B.C.school districts indirectly, through its input on several policy committees. This verifies concepts of Isherwood and Osgoode (1986) and Isherwood et al. (1984). Finally, CPF locals may more directly influence local policy through their efforts to nominate "pro-immersion" school board trustees.

Both Duane et al. (1985) and Ginsberg Riggs (1984) provide useful frameworks for determining an interest group's success, in terms of their organizational and operational features. Similarly, Townsend's (in press) description of four new "access points" for influencing curriculum policy making found practical application in this study. Although not extensively applied, Townsend's perspectives on the use of the courts, school budgets, government commissions, and political parties found some application to CPF. CPF effectively used its knowledge of federal FSL funding in its lobbying of school boards. CPF has (rarely and ineffectively) used the judicial system for its purposes. Government commissions were found to be a major means of inputting for the federal office of CPF. Political parties were not considered, although CPF's involvement in school board politicking is possibly a strategy warranting further study.

The issues and problems identified by the various reports nationwide (see Chapter 5) concerning French immersion programs in Canada were shown to apply to all three levels of CPF. They were most often of importance at the community level.

Suggestions for Further Study

1) As the study lacked in-depth analysis of government levels of CPF, a closer look at its impact on government language policy would be in order.

2) Detailed case studies of individual CPF locals or similar comparisons of two or more such chapters could seek to determine their influences on local curriculum policy making.

3) Either more in-depth qualitative studies involving "expert" participants and NCPF officials or large-scale, randomly-sampled quantitative surveys of CPF members could provide the ability to generalize lacking in this study.

4) A study of CPF's interorganizational networking might reveal much about how Canadian parent interest groups function and influence society.

5) A study of federal funding of like groups might reveal perspectives on how government support molds their activities.

6) A taxonomy of parent interest groups in education possessing federated structures is much needed as none were found at the time of this study.

7) CPF's activities concerning school board politicking warrants further study.

Summary

This study's findings suggest an appropriate metaphor for CPF as "French Immersion's Vanguard" in Canada. In the past an army was preceded by a group of its best soldiers. Much like this term derived from the old French "l'avante-garde", CPF's members and leaders represent a group who combine features of a delegate-associational group with all commitment and energy of a purely advocacy group.

This combination of qualities earmarks CPF, along with its frequent lobbying to start French immersion in school districts, for such a title. This interest group may not have been solely responsible for these program's success, but in accordance with several reports indicating the genesis for French immersion program initiation in parents' demands, CPF has at least been a determined leader in this cause.

Carrying this military metaphor to its nadir, however, foreshadows a role which CPF may not relish. Just as an army employs a vanguard only during its offenses, it needs a rearguard comprising soldiers of equal calibre when in retreat. Should the Canadian socio-political milieu "sour" sufficiently in the event that the province of Quebec leaves the confederation, CPF may find itself the rearguard to Canadian schools' FSL programs.

APPENDIX A

PRE-RESEARCH CORRESPONDENCE

Appendix-A1: Introductory Letter- CPF

Ms. Wendy Green
Canadian Parents for French
210- 309 Cooper St.
Ottawa, Ont.
K2P 0G5.

Mr. Alan Osborne
1651 Westminister Ave.
Port Coquitlam, B. C.
V3B 1E5.

August 2, 1989.

Dear Ms. Green:

I am a graduate student at Simon Fraser University conducting a study of BCPF for a Master's thesis in Educational Administration. At a meeting with Huguette Tricker on July 12th, I was referred to you for information/ permission regarding my attending the upcoming national conference at Banff. Once I explained the goals and methods of my research project, Huguette could see no reason why I should not attend. She provided me, furthermore, with the Banff Conference package while promising me full cooperation from the BCPF.

Nevertheless, she suggested that as the specific focus of my study would be a comparison of two chapters of the BCPF, I only attend the provincial conference "InfoXchange". My study, however, also considers CPF activities in general, at the national level. This brings me to my purpose in writing.

First, could I be allowed to attend the national conference? I would very much like to attend in order to: 1) interview several key "actors" from the top level of your organization, past and present, and 2) get a personal "feel" for the esprit of the CPF, at this, its most important yearly gathering. Although most of my data collecting and analysis will occur within the BCPF, this national perspective will help me "frame" the provincial level within the national context.

Second, is it more appropriate for me to contact my intended interviewees personally, or through you as the conference organizer? As regards the interviews, I would ideally like to interview: Kathryn Manzer, Pat Brehaut, Marilyn Millar, Pat Webster,

Appendix-A1 (continued)

Stewart Goodings, Jos Craven Scott, and one or two leaders of other parent groups in attendance. At least, I hope to interview a CPF president (past or present), Jos Craven Scott, one other national office staff member and one "other group" leader. Could you let me know how I should contact these people?

I would very much appreciate your answers to these questions as soon as possible, as I have already taken the liberty of reserving a ticket for a flight to the conference and if I must cancel, would prefer not to suffer any penalty. Also, if allowed to attend and you suggest that I make interview arrangements, I will need some "lead-time" to arrange an interview schedule.

I look forward to hearing from you on this matter, as much I do the Banff Conference. Thank you for your time in considering my requests. If you have any questions at all, please feel free to contact me through Huguette, or at home -

(604)-942-5114.

Yours truly,

Alan Osborne

Appendix-A2: Introductory Letter-BCPF

Mr. Alan Osborne
1651 Westminister Ave.
Port Coquitlam, B. C.
V3B 1E5.

Ms. Huguette Tricker
c/o CPF British Columbia
203-1002 Auckland St.
New Westminister, B. C.
V3M 1K8.

Oct. 10, 1989.

Dear BCPF Executive:

I believe it's time to introduce myself--given that your organization is the subject of my Master's thesis (see attached overview) and that I will be attending both the CPF National Conference and your "InfoXchange". I trust the overview provided and Huguette's comments will reassure you of the objective and positive approach I will apply in my study of BCPF.

The topic is of interest to me for several reasons. First, I have lived in two Francophone cultures which has left me something of a Francophile. Second, I am an experienced F.S.L. teacher. When combined with my fascination with educational interest groups (fostered in a graduate course), this lead naturally to your organization.

This brings me to my reason for writing to you. In order to develop a balanced perspective of the CPF at the federal, provincial, and local levels, I need your help. My document analysis will require that I study copies of your (BCPF) constitution, written policies, rules and regulations, and as many briefs or presentations as you are willing to provide. In addition, I must interview three (3) members of your Executive (possibly Huguette and two others).

The interviews will consist of a two-part survey--the first part resembles a questionnaire, the second part, an "open-ended" interview. I would prefer to conduct both parts "face-to-face" (to clarify any ambiguities). Failing this, I could arrange to mail the "questionnaire" section to the interviewee and arrange a half-hour (tape-recorded) telephone interview, at which time I would clarify any problems with the written section.

Appendix A2 (continued)

Besides studying the BCPF's provincial structure, I will be contacting the district "reps." of two local chapters. If school district personnel in those communities agree to cooperate in like fashion, I will have the "balance" of my study participants. (In addition to equal numbers of national CPF and their federal government counterparts). Regardless of which two districts studied, their identities will be kept in strictest confidence, in keeping with appropriate academic ethics standards.

Well, that briefly summarizes my study and its requirements. If you have any further questions or concerns about it, please feel free to contact me at any (942-5114) or at this weekend's "InfoXchange".

I look forward to meeting you all at "InfoXchange", and thank you in advance for your consideration and anticipated assistance.

Yours truly,

A. Osborne

Appendix-A3
M.A. Thesis Overview

A Study of Canadian Parents for French

1) Intent of Study:

This study explores the nature, functions, and activities of the CPF. The investigation will place particular emphasis on the activities of the CPF associated with the provincial government and two school districts in British Columbia.

2) Research Questions:

a) How can the CPF be classified?
b) How does the CPF operate?
c) What are the perceptions of educators, of the CPF?
d) How successful has the CPF been?

3) Methods:

a) document analysis
b) structured interviews
c) questionnaire

4) Timeline:

Completion of data collection- Dec. 1989
Completion of data analysis- Feb. 1990
Oral Defence of Thesis- March 1990.

5) Researcher's Background:

- F. S. L. teacher (gr. 8-11)- in B.C. (3 yrs).
- "extended French "teacher (gr. 4-6)- in Ont. (4 months).
- elementary teacher (gr. 5-7)- in Ont., P.Q. , and B.C. (6 yrs.)
- presently enrolled in M.A. program (SFU) in "Educational Admin."

Appendix-A4

(Interview Confirmation/Study Background Letter)

(Researcher's Address)

(Participant's Address)

(date)

Dear ( ):

This letter is a reminder of our (interview/ telephone interview) slated for (date) at (time). The agreed-upon interview site (if applicable) is _____.

As you no doubt recall, the subject of my study is the **Canadian Parents for French (CPF)** organization. The focus is broad, seeking to gain an understanding of the CPF's : origins and goals, structure, functions, and methods of influence. Through a carefully-structured interview form and the analysis of pertinent documents, the study seeks to classify the CPF, and consider its impact and degree of recognition and success within education systems at the local, provincial, and federal levels.

It is in this regard that your participation is so important. My sample of interviewees must represent "key" figures from the CPF or the organizations with which they interact. The information and insights, therefore, gleaned from interviews such as yours, are vital.

A few important aspects of your participation bear repeating at this point. Attached you will find two **Informed Consent** forms. Please complete both copies (or photocopy the first copy) and either return one copy to me with the interview form (if a telephone interview) or give it to me personally at our "face-to-face" interview.

As mentioned during our earlier conversation, you are free to discontinue your participation, partially or fully, at any time. Your interview responses would then be withdrawn from the study and destroyed. Your responses will be kept in strict confidence, any reference to your position during the final report will be by title only. All data will be disposed of, after the requisite retention period demanded by academic research standards. Complaints of any sort may be registered with Dr. Stan Shapson at SFU (see consent form).

I will be pleased to send you a summary of the study's results if you desire and look forward to our interview.

Sincerely yours,

A. Osborne

Appendix-A5

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
for participants in
Canadian Parents for French Interview

Note: The University and those conducting this study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests of subjects. This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures involved. Your signature on this form will signify that you have received the document described below regarding this project, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the project.

Alan Osborne, a graduate student with the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University, has asked me to participate in a research project interview. I have read the procedures specified in the document entitled (either):

Interview Guide-CPF (all levels) or **Interview Guide-Other Organizations**

I understand the procedures to be used in this interview.
I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this project at any time.
I also understand that I may register any complaint I might have about the interview with the chief researcher named above or with:

Dr. Stan Shapson (604) 291-4517

(Associate Dean, Faculty of Education- Simon Fraser University).

Copies of the results of this study will be mailed to all interviewees with additional copies available from the principal researcher.

I agree to participate by: completing one interview which consists of-a written section of "fixed-response" questions and a section of oral, "open-ended" questions (to be tape-recorded); as described in the document referred to above, during the period:
_____at_____.

NAME (Please print): _____
ADDRESS: _____
_____

SIGNATURE: _____ WITNESS: _____

DATE: _____

Appendix-A6: Contact Letter-Lutteville Officials

Researcher's address.

November 15, 1989.

Lutteville School Board-
Chairman's/Superintendent's address.

Dear (Name of Chairman/Superintendent):

I am writing to you in your capacity both as Superintendent of the Lutteville School District, and as a representative for a sample of senior B. C. school administrators required for my research. The subject of my Master's thesis is **Canadian Parents for French (CPF)**. The study's focus is broad, seeking to gain an understanding of the CPF's -- origins and goals, structure, functions, and methods of influence. Through a carefully-structured interview form and the analysis of pertinent documents, the study seeks to classify CPF, consider its impact, degree of recognition, and success within education systems at the local, provincial, and federal levels. (You will find (attached) a copy of my University Ethics Review Committee approval and my research proposal).

With a " local level" sample of but two B. C. school districts, I need to select these carefully (to reveal the greatest possible variance in CPF's "methods of influence", for example). Interviewees must, therefore, be "key" figures from CPF or the organizations with which it interacts. I am particularly desirous of obtaining your responses as a senior administrator from Lutteville, with experience with CPF.

Should you agree to an interview (of an average duration of one hour), a few important features of your participation warrant mention. An "Informed Consent" form must be completed prior to the interview. You are free to discontinue your participation, partially or fully, at any time. Your interview responses would then be withdrawn from the study and destroyed. Your responses will be kept in strict confidence, with the anonymity of your position and your school district guaranteed. All data will be disposed of, after the requisite retention period demanded by academic research standards. Complaints of any sort may be registered with Dr. Stan Shapson at SFU

Appendix-A6 (continued)

Could you please telephone me at (H) 942-5114 or (W) 291-4787, prior to Monday, Nov. 20th, to inform me of your decision regarding participation? I will be in (name of local city) then, conducting interviews with (government) officials, and would be available during the afternoon to conduct interviews or provide further details on my research.

I will be pleased to send you a summary of the study's results if you participate, and look forward to hearing from you on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

A. Osborne

Appendix-A7: Document Request Letter-CPF

Mr. Alan Osborne
1651 Westminister Ave.
Port Coquitlam, B. C.
V3B 1E5.

Dec. 5, 1989.

Mrs. Jos Craven Scott
Executive Director,
Canadian Parents for French
210 - 309 Cooper St.
Ottawa, Ont.
K2P 0G5.

Dear Mrs. Scott:

This letter serves as a formal request of Parents for French for copies of certain documents. As previously discussed at your personal interview (in Banff), this material is required to corroborate certain findings concerning CPF, discovered during my research. The chief documents of interest to me include:

> (a) CPF's Constitution (or equivalent, unless this is what BCPF terms its "Board Manual"), (b) copies of or the summaries of, several major briefs CPF has presented to government bodies or task forces, except the 1987 "Brief to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Constitutional Accord", and (c) a summary form of some general facts concerning CPF's membership, yearly objectives, etc. (possibly copies of several years' Annual Report could serve this purpose).

There is no deadline for my receiving these materials, although I would very much like to start analyzing them in early January. Thanks again for your assistance in this and other matters.

Sincerely yours,

A. Osborne

Appendix-A8: Document Request Letter-BCPF

Mr. Alan Osborne
1651 Westminister Ave.
Port Coquitlam, B. C.
V3B 1E5.

Dec. 5, 1989.

Mrs. Huguette Tricker
203 - 1002 Auckland St.
New Westminster, B. C.
V3M 1K8.

Dear Mrs. Tricker:

This letter serves as a formal request of British Columbia Parents for French that I be allowed to visit your office, prior to Dec. 21, 1989, for the purpose of studying (and if necessary, copying) certain documents. As previously discussed at your personal interview, this material is required to corroborate certain findings concerning BCPF, discovered during my research. You will remember the principle documents of interest to me include: (a) the "Board Manual", (b) the "Provincial Profile", and (c) several major briefs BCPF has presented.

Could you contact me by telephone, if more convenient (at 942-5114)? Let me know the date(s) most convenient for your staff, to have me "hanging- around" for several hours. Thanks again for your assistance in this and other matters.

Sincerely yours,

A. Osborne

Appendix-A9: Document Request Letter-Local Level

Mr. Alan Osborne
1651 Westminister Ave.
Port Coquitlam, B. C.
V3B 1E5.

Dec. 6, 1989.

President-NPF Branch (CPF)
President's address

Dear _____:

This letter serves as a formal request of Canadian Parents for French - Normton chapter, for certain documents. As explained to _____(who referred me to write you), this material is required to corroborate certain findings concerning CPF, discovered during my research. The principle documents of interest to me are summaries, or entire copies of, several major briefs NPF has presented to the Normton School Board and various government task forces (e.g.- the Royal Commission).

There is no deadline for my receiving these materials, although I would very much like to start analyzing them in early January. If you have any questions, please contact me at 942-5114. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

A. Osborne

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE MATERIALS

Appendix-B1

Part C : Personal Information on Participants

1. Name: _____

2. Sex: M ____ F ____

3. Age Category: __ 18- 21 __ 40- 65
__ 22- 39 __ over 65

4. Do you have any children? Y __ N __

5. If yes, how many of them live with you?
__ none __5-6
__1-2 __7-8
__3-4 __9 or more

6. Current occupation:
_____Clerical _____Skilled labour
_____Professional _____Service/sales
_____Skilled white collar _____Housewife
_____Farmer _____Unskilled labour
_____Managerial _____Other _____

7. Education:
a)less than H. School Dip. ____
b) H. School Dip. ____
c)Some "Post-Sec."
(incomplete B.A.) ____
d)Bachelor degree
(or equivalent) ____
e)Graduate?post-grad.
degree(or equivalent) ____

8. Experience with CPF

Total	Executive
__< 1 yr.	__< 1 yr.
__ 1-2 yrs.	__ 1-2 yrs.
__ 3-5 yrs.	__ 3-5 yrs.
__ 6-9 yrs.	__ 6-9 yrs.
__ 10 yrs. +	__ 10 yrs. +
(specify)____	__(specify)____

Appendix B-2

Questionnaire (Other organizations)

Part B : Fixed- Response Questions

1. Below is a list of reasons why parents might join CPF. Circle one of the numbers for each part of the question. The scale for all the items is at the top.

1 = Very important
2 = Somewhat important
3 = Somewhat unimportant
4 = Unimportant

a) Social benefits (to parents)	1	2	3	4
b) French's inherent value (to children)	1	2	3	4
c) Sense of personal efficacy (that they "make a difference")	1	2	3	4
d)"Other"academic benefits to children	1	2	3	4
e) Social/judicial impetus for "rights"	1	2	3	4
f) Future benefits for children (travel,jobs)	1	2	3	4
g) Belief that they play a representative role	1	2	3	4
h) Seek "first-hand" information	1	2	3	4
i) Other (specify) _____	1	2	3	4

Appendix B-2 (continued)

2. Rank the following "costs" of membership for active members of CPF, from most to least significant (if applicable). Assign "1" to the most significant--the highest score (used) to the least significant.

Financial	____
Time	____
Effort	____
Stress	____
Other (specify)	
_____	____

3. In what year was CPF founded (at your level)? _____

4. Was the formation of CPF (at your level) due, primarily, to local___external___governmental___influences? *
Check one. [*= see note on attached sheet, p. 21]

5. If governmental/external influence(s) are involved in the CPF, how important are these, to its organization or activities?

1 = Very Important
2 = Somewhat important
3 = Somewhat unimportant
4 = Unimportant

Government/ external funding	1	2	3	4
Creation of consultative bodies (committees)	1	2	3	4
Government/external recognition	1	2	3	4
Government/external disapproval	1	2	3	4
Other (specify)_____	1	2	3	4

Appendix B-2 (continued)

6. Rank CPF members' occupations (or their family's principal wage-earner). Assign "1" to the most typical occupation--the highest score to the least typical.

____Clerical
____Professional
____Service/sales
____Skilled white collar
____Housewife
____Farmer
____Managerial
____Skilled/unskilled labour
____Other (specify) _____

7. Identify the gender of the majority of each of the following(at your level of CPF):

Descriptor	Male	Female
Leaders	____	____
Staff (if applicable)	____	____
Members	____	____

8. What are the typical educational characteristics of the following(at your level). Select only one level of education for each category.

Member type	Less than H. School	H. School Graduate	Post-Secondary	Graduate or Equiv.
Leaders	____	____	____	____
Staff(if appl.)	____	____	____	____
Members	____	____	____	____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

9. Which of the following statements best represents CPF's goals/objectives? Check one.

__-very broadly defined, long-term organizational mission is more important than any short-term objectives.

__-multiple, broadly-defined goals/objectives.

__-several, closely-related objectives.

__-short-term objectives dominated by concern with specific issues or problems.

10. How frequently are the following strategies used by CPF to attain its goals/objectives under routine conditions?

1 = Very often
2. = Often
3 = Equal frequency of use/disuse
4. = Seldom
5. = Very seldom
6 = Never

Lobbying	1	2	3	4	5	6
Media (various types)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Networking (other grps.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Advertising	1	2	3	4	5	6
Consultation (advisory comms.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other (specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix B-2 (continued)

11. How frequently are these same strategies used, under critical /crisis conditions. (Use the same rating scale as in #10).

Lobbying	1	2	3	4	5	6
Media	1	2	3	4	5	6
Networking	1	2	3	4	5	6
Advertising	1	2	3	4	5	6
Consultation	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5	6

12. What influence do the following factors have on CPF's choice of these strategies?

1 = Great influence
2 = Some influence
3 = Little influence
4.= Very little influence

Time restraints	1	2	3	4
Funding restraints	1	2	3	4
Previous effectiveness (of strategy)	1	2	3	4

13. Who represents CPF (at your level) to other organizations? Check those which apply.

Leaders____ Members____ Staff____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

14. Who represents CPF (at your level) to the public? Check those which apply.

Leaders____ Members____ Staff____

15. At your level of CPF, which of the following statements best represents its interactions with either government or school officials? Check one.

__-interact continuously, frequently providing appointees for advisory boards.

__-sufficient standing in the "policy community" to enjoy a degree of access to decision makers.

__-limited or no standing in the "policy community" with limited or no access to decision makers.

__ -no standing in the "policy community", extremely limited or no access to decision makers.

16. How often does CPF approach/contact policy makers (at your level)? Check one in each of the following columns.

Department Head/ Senior Administrator	Department Members/ Junior Administrators
____ Daily	____Daily
____ Weekly	____Weekly
____ Bimonthly	____Bimonthly
____ Monthly	____Monthly
____ Quarterly	____Quarterly
____ Biannually	____Biannually
____ Annually.	____Annually

Appendix B-2 (continued)

17. Does CPF lobby decision makers more often on an informal or a formal basis? Check one for each category.

	Dept. Head/Snr.Admin.	Dept.Membs./Jnr.Admin.
Formal	_____	_____
Informal	_____	_____

18. How often do you discuss French issues with CPF members whom you know personally? Check one.

___ Daily
___ Weekly
___ Monthly
___ Quarterly
___ Biannually
___ Annually
___ Not applicable

19. Rank these "directions of communication" for frequency of use by CPF (at your level). Assign "1" to the most common--"6" to the least common. * (if known)

Communication:	
to government (or school district	____
from government or school district	____
within government or school district	____
to other interest groups	____
to other CPF chapters	____
to other "levels" of CPF	____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

20. Rank the frequency with which CPF lobbies the following (rank either government or school district level). Assign "1" to the greatest frequency of contact --"4" to the lowest frequency.

Government level	School district level
___Cabinet/head of agency	___ Superintendent/S.B. "Chair."
___lead agency(ie.-M.of Ed.)	___ School board members
___sub-government(Burs.)	___ comm. "chairs"/Snr. Admin.
___"attentive public"	___ Principals

21. On what grounds do you think CPF is recognized by officials (at your level)? Prioritize the following. Assign "1" to the most important--the highest score (used) to the least important.

____ Membership--size, status, "clout", etc.

____ Leadership--ability, prestige, etc.

____ Willingness to cooperate

____ Group effectiveness

____ Expertise in content area

____ Network with "winning coalitions"

____ Mutual dependence

____ Its "cause"

____ Other (specify) _____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

22. Prioritize the following in terms of "CPF's influence on". Assign "1" to the "most influenced"--"4" for the least. (Rank either government or school district level.)

Government level	School district level
___ Cabinet/head of agency	____ Superintendent/S.B. "Chair."
___ Lead agency (M. of Ed.)	____ School Board members
___ Sub-government (Burs.)	____ Comm."chairs"/ Snr./Admin.
___ "Attentive public"	____ Principals

23. How would you describe CPF's role(s) as an educational interest group (at your level)? Check those which apply. *

advocacy ___ service ____ advisory ___

24. How often has CPF used the Courts to achieve its ends (at your level)? Check one.

___ never ____ once ____ 2-5 times ___more than 5 times

25. If CPF has used the Courts, how would you describe the outcomes (for CPF)?

___ Very satisfactory
___ Satisfactory
___ Unsatisfactory
___ Very unsatisfactory.

Appendix B-2 (continued)

26. Which of these two statements best characterizes CPF's communication strategy? Check one.

___ "media-oriented"- focuses on developing a favourable climate of public opinion and winning special decisions from government/school district officials.

___ "access-oriented"- focuses on developing a receptive attitude at political and administrative levels with a more narrow goal being the sympathetic interpretation of the group's requirements.

27. Rate the frequency of use of the following media types by CPF (at your level).

1 = Daily
2 = Weekly
3 = Monthly
4 = Quarterly
5 = Annually
6 = Less than annually

TV/radio	1	2	3	4	5	6
Magazines/newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Journals/books	1	2	3	4	5	6
Newsletters/flyers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Advertisements	1	2	3	4	5	6
Posters/placards	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other (specify)_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix B-2 (continued)

28. How does CPF select whom to lobby? (if known) Rank the following in terms of contribution. Assign "1" for the greatest contributor--the highest score for the least contributor (only if they apply).

___ Leaders/staff (if applicable)
___ Staff/directors' meetings
___ Members
___ Members meetings
___ Standing committees
___ Special committees/ task forces
___ Other (specify)_____
___ Not known

29. Which statement best describes CPF's knowledge of the "system"(at your level)? Check one.

___ - extensive knowledge of the sectors of the government/ school system and ease of communication with those sectors.

___ - knowledgeable concerning those sectors of government/ school system that affects your concerns.

___ - limited knowledge of the policy process.

___ - knowledge of government/school system is minimal/naive.

Appendix B-2 (continued)

30. Rate the frequency with which CPF (at your level) provides policy makers with the following types of information.

1 = Daily
2 = Weekly
3 = Monthly
4 = Quarterly
5 = Annually
6 = Less than annually

Technical (data, research)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ideological(parent reaction)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Requests for action	1	2	3	4	5	6
Supportive(communications)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Other (specify)_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

31. Which description best describes CPF's formal organization? Check one.

___ - highly organized, having own bureaucracy and a high level of organizational continuity and cohesion.

___ - well organized, but generally not bureaucratic.

___ - minimal level of organizational continuity and cohesion.

___ - limited organizational continuity and cohesion; poorly organized.

Appendix B-2 (continued)

32. Choose one of each dichotomy of characteristics of other organizations with which CPF networks (at your level). (Choose "A" or "B")

1. ___ a. Groups have similar goals/strategies.
   ___ b. Groups have different goals/strategies.

2. ___ a. Groups have service/advisory roles.
   ___ b. Groups have advocacy role.

3. ___ a. Groups have larger memberships than CPF.
   ___ b. Groups have similar or smaller memberships than CPF.

4. ___ a. Contact is usually between groups leaders.
   ___ b. Contact is usually between entire groups or members.

33. Prioritize what CPF most often exchanges with such organizations. Assign "1" to the most common items/services exchanged-- the highest score to the least common.

___ Information
___ Funds
___ Material
___ Personnel (labour)
___ Moral support
___ Other (specify)_____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

34. What skills and characteristics do CPF leaders require for their positions? Circle one of the numbers for each part of the question. "1" means -very important- "4" means -unimportant

Access to decision makers	1	2	3	4
Socio-economic status	1	2	3	4
Experience in policy area	1	2	3	4
Expertize in policy area	1	2	3	4
High level of energy	1	2	3	4
Political efficacy	1	2	3	4
Persuasiveness	1	2	3	4
Cooperative ethic	1	2	3	4
Legitimacy of "cause"	1	2	3	4
Interpersonal skills	1	2	3	4
Commitment	1	2	3	4
Time	1	2	3	4
Other(specify)_____	1	2	3	4

35. What type of leadership does CPF possess (at your level)? Check one *

___ Rotating

___ Externally appointed

___ Staff

___ Constant

Appendix B-2 (continued)

36. Rank the following in terms of the frequency with CPF leaders perform/organize the following functions.(if known).

1 = Daily
2 = Weekly
3 = Monthly
4 = Quarterly
5 = Annually
6 = Never

Social/recreational events	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sit on government/school district committees	1	2	3	4	5	6
Consult/negotiate	1	2	3	4	5	6
Prepare/present briefs	1	2	3	4	5	6
Carry-out/sponsor research	1	2	3	4	5	6
Provide members with "info."	1	2	3	4	5	6
Organize "other" services	1	2	3	4	5	6
Publish newsletter/journal	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rebut attacks	1	2	3	4	5	6
Intercede re: grants/ subsidies	1	2	3	4	5	6
Administer training/ education programs	1	2	3	4	5	6
Administer "awards"	1	2	3	4	5	6
Organize meetings/ conferences	1	2	3	4	5	6
Coalition/network build	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix B-2 (continued)

37. Which of the following statements best describes CPF's staff? Check one (if applicable).

___ - fully-qualified, professional administrators, lobbyists, and support staff at appropriate levels of pay, frequently recruited from government/school administration.

___- professional staff at appropriate levels of pay, they provide clerical and research support which frees the professionals to work full-time in the policy community.

___ - small staff, often part-time--they may or may not have professional qualifications and are generally paid less than professional salaries.

___ - amateur lobbyists with little experience in the political process with no paid employees.

38. Check one of the following "frequencies" of CPF meetings. (at your level)

___ weekly
___ biweekly
___ bimonthly
___ monthly
___ quarterly
___ biannually
___ annually
___ other (specify)_____

39. What type of membership does CPF possess? Check one. *

___ Voluntary
___ Representative
___ Client

Appendix B-2 (continued)

40. Which description best suits CPF' membership (at your level)? Check one.

___ very large, stable membership.

___ large, stable membership

___ large but fluid membership

___ small but stable membership.

___ membership is very small and extremely fluid.

41. Which of the following best characterizes CPF's resources (at your level)? Choose one.

___ extensive human and financial resources

___ adequate and stable access to human and financial resources

___ limited human and financial resources.

___ very limited human and financial resources.

42. Prioritize CPF's sources of funding. Assign "1" to the most important source of funding-- the highest score to the least important.

___ voluntary contributions
___ grants/subsidies
___ investment income
___ fundraising
___ research/publication
___ members' dues
___ other (specify)_____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

43. If CPF receives external funding, rank their impact on its activities. Assign "1" for the area of greatest impact-- highest score for the least.

___conference/workshop funding
___publications
___research funding
___staffing
___maintenance of routine operations
___other (specify)_____

44. Prioritize the importance of the forms of fundraising listed. Rank them with the most important (for your level of CPF) assigned "1" and the least important the highest score.

___conventions
___advertising
___publication sales
___other (specify)_____
___other (specify)_____

45. Rank the list below, of how CPF develops its objectives/ goals. Assign "1" for the most common way-- the highest score for the least common.

___ Staff/executive meetings
___ Members meetings
___ Media/ current events
___ government input
___ public input
___ research findings
___ Other (specify)_____

Appendix B-2 (continued)

46. How frequently does CPF review its goals/objectives? Check one.(at your level)

___ never
___ weekly
___ quarterly
___ biannually
___ annually
___ less than annually.

47. Which of the following forums exist (at your level) for the initiation/development/alteration of policy regarding French programs and language policy? Rank them in order of occurrence, with "1" going to the most common--the highest score to the least .

___ commissions/task forces
___ policy makers' meetings (government or school board)
___ social events
___ elections
___ advisory committees/councils
___ conventions
___ other (specify)_____

48. Prioritize this list of interest group's concerns (if they apply). Assign "1" to the greatest concern-- the highest score to the least.

___finances
___membership - unstable or not increasing(complacency)
___membership - leadership tensions
___lack of access/recognition
___lack of influence/effectiveness
___staff problems
___organizational
___networking problems
___other (specify)_____

Appendix B-3

Part D : Notes on Parts A & B

(Note: "*" besides interview guide question indicates note in this section. Only required by interviewees completing Part B without interviewer present.)

Part B:

4. "external influences"-could refer to the CPF (outside the local) or other organizations.

17. "informal basis"- any activity (social, recreational, or cultural) not officially organized by the government or school district.

19. "from government or school district"- communications in response to CPF communications (i.e.-"2-way")
"within government or school district "-communications between departments, offices, or officials.

23. Advocacy role - focuses on challenging existing institutions or their policies.

Service role - focuses primarily on the provision of client services, both individual and group.

Advisory role - created (or mandated) by the action of a government unit to serve in an advisory capacity to the agency.

35. Leadership types:
rotating - elected by members
externally appointed - imposed by external agency (I.e.-government)
staff- paid staff makes all decisions.
constant - a charismatic leader is never replaced/challenged (rare)

40. Membership types:
representative - for government-mandated groups, where members are delegates representing a specific community or jurisdiction.
client - members are clients the group serves.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS AND ANALYSIS SHEET

Appendix-C1

Interview Guide (CPF - all levels)

1. To what extent has CPF achieved its original goals/objectives (at your level) ?

2. Have there been any restrictions to CPF's activities/strategies due to being part of a recognized policy body?

3. Does the visibility of CPF match its real influence?

4. How would you describe your relationship with CPF members (at your level)?

5. What are some other functions, other than lobbying for French programs, that CPF performs? (Research? Communication of information? Legitimation? Arena for leadership dev.?)

6. What trends in the community, the province, Canada, or in education do you see influencing CPF's goals/operation in the future?

Appendix-C2

Interview Guide (Other organizations)

1. To what extent has CPF achieved its original goals/objectives (at your level) ?

2. Have there been any restrictions to CPF's activities/strategies due to being part of a recognized policy body?

3. Does the visibility of CPF match its real influence?

4. Has the role of CPF changed, since its inception (at your level)?

5. What are some other functions, other than lobbying for French programs, that CPF performs? (Research? Communication of information? Legitimation? Arena for leadership dev.?)

6. What trends in the community, the province, Canada, or in education do you see influencing CPF's goals/operation in the future?

Appendix-C3

DATA ANALYSIS SUMMARY FORM

Source Item Type	V or D	Frequency +ve	-ve	Collective Character	Range
Interview:					
Questionnaire:					
Documents:					
Conferences:					

Appendix C-4

Document Summary Form

Source:_____
Document # _____
Date received:_____

Name or description of document.

Event, or contact, if any, with which document is associated:

Date:_____

Significance or importance of document:

Brief summary of contents:

Relates to: 1) Interview question(s)#_____
2) Questionnaire item(s)#_____

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