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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

TEACHER TALK: THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND PARALANGUAGE IN A FRENCH IMMERSION KINDERGARTEN.

BY

BARBARA EILEEN LAVALLEE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION.

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990

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ISBN 0-315-60350-X

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR:	Barbara Eileen Lavallee
TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT:	Teacher Talk: The Role of Language and Paralanguage in a French Immersion Kindergarten.
DEGREE:	Master of Education
YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED:	1990

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Teacher Talk: The Role of Language and Paralanguage in a French Immersion Kindergarten submitted by Barbara Eileen Lavallee in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

Norm,

Lise,

and David.

ABSTRACT

This self-study describes patterns of communication in social interaction in a French immersion kindergarten with particular emphasis on the role of teacher input. The process of "scaffolding" (Bruner, 1975) which specifically considers the role of the adult tutor in an interactive instructional context, was selected as the best method to research the teacher's linguistic and pedagogical strategies.

Data consisted of videotapes and accompanying transcripts which, taped over the course of a nine month period (September-May), portrayed the teacher/researcher interacting with two separate groups of kindergarten students during the first half hour period of the day known as "circle time." Guided by the principles of "constitutive ethnography" (Mehan, 1979), a representative sample of the entire data was analysed and coded into categories. These categories formed the basis of a provisional scheme which was presented to an external observer to assure for reliability of category selection. After some modification, the model was then compared to the remaining data and refined until a small set of recursive rules incorporated all of the data. The data analysis uncovered variables of adult participation that were unique to this second language teaching/learning environment and resulted in the definition of an L2 scaffolding process model.

A discussion of the findings reveals that, inherent in the structure of the L2 scaffolding process are situationally embedded language and paralanguage behaviours used by the teacher which evolved and changed over time to accommodate students' developing needs. Initially, the second language was primarily conveyed by the dominating physical presence of the teacher. Forcefully repeated, extended, and encouraged, language, both pedagogical and organizational

in nature, was heavily supported by the manipulation of pedagogical materials and the use of exaggerated voice and body movements. The children's participation in the early stages was limited to memorization and imitation of "teacher" language and gestures within songs and formulas. As the children's comprehension of L2 developed the supportive paralanguage features decreased in intensity and the previous focus on form was replaced by an accentuation of content as teacher-student dialogue began to evolve. Collaboration now manifested itself, as students increasingly initiated their own learning by being more involved in the physical organization of their activities, manipulating materials and directing dialogue.

The major conclusion of this research study indicates that, over time, as the children in this French immersion kindergarten became more able to actively participate in their language learning, the initially dominant supportive paralanguage strategies used by the teacher "self-destructed" to be replaced by "collaborative" language strategies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to many special people whose guidance and encouragement sustained me through the course of graduate work and this research study.

Warmest thanks are extended to Dr. Helen Ilott, my thesis advisor, who so patiently and kindly guided me through the research process with positive, insightful comments and much helpful advice.

My sincere thanks as well to Dr. Douglas Parker, who apart from being a perceptive, interested committee member, has supported me for many years now.

I am, in particular, deeply grateful to Dr. Sandra Weber, who served as the principal catalyst for this whole new learning experience and whose unfaltering encouragement and belief in me has been a tremendous source of strength.

My thanks also to Dr. Claudette Tardif for the considerable time and effort she expended in her role as inter-rater.

Dr. Bruce Bain receives a special note of thanks for inspiring me to explore new avenues in teaching and research and for unlocking the theory and methodolgy for my study.

A special person, Don Vinge, has been for me, a highly influential role model, and to him I say thank you for instilling in me the desire to always want to keep on learning.

Most of all I wish to express my gratitude to my wonderful family, whose understanding and flexibility made graduate work so enjoyable. To Norm, Lise and David I give my thanks and my love.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

How do young children in the initial stages of second language learning in a French immersion kindergarten classroom come to make sense of the experience? How does the teacher contribute to that sense making process? The input of the teacher is known to be a critical variable in second language learning (Obadia, 1984), and with the advent of interest in L2 classroom centered research (Gaies, 1983; Chaudron, 1983) the phenomenon of "teacher talk" has taken on new dimensions. Rather than continuing to pursue a research approach which isolates and examines techniques and methodologies with prescriptive goals in mind, classroom centered research advocates a more basic level of investigation focussing on what actually happens between the teacher and student.

Direct examination of second language classroom activity reveals that language is taught and learned in social contexts and is the product of the ongoing, interactive work of all the participants involved (Allwright, 1983; Ellis, 1984). Any interaction seems to require that the participants combine individual strategies into a mutually acceptable joint strategy of "negotiation of meaning" (Wells, 1979) that allows them to establish and maintain communication topics. An important dimension of the study of human verbal interaction is the realization that language is culture-specific. The classroom has been identified as a specific sub culture (Wilkinson, 1982) and this culture is reflected in its communication patterns. Language is embedded in this situational and cultural context, and in the early

stages of L2 development various verbal and non verbal cues allow the learner to respond to the new language before actual comprehension is in place.

Jerome Bruner (1976) described a special form of dialogue between teacher and student called the "scaffolding process" that clearly describes the interactive nature of teaching and learning. Through a process of dialogue, says Bruner, both teacher and student determine those aspects of an unfamiliar task which the child is able to complete with the teacher "filling in the rest." It is assumed that this "assisted performance" will lead to the development of future task competence more quickly than if assistance had not been given. Some interesting applications of Bruner's model (Cazden, 1983; Ilott, 1987) have demonstrated that such a scheme can be effectively applied in a variety of educational contexts.

Examination of the scaffolding process in the context of a French immersion kindergarten might uncover the purposes and strategies involved in a second language learning situation, and it might provide insights into the nature of the interactive work, and it might more clearly define the particular culture of French immersion kindergarten.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to describe and interpret the scaffolding process in a French immersion kindergarten in order to identify the purposes and strategies which contribute to the child's construction of meaning in an initial second language learning experience.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were defined to clarify important concepts to be explored in this study.

French Immersion Kindergarten

This refers to the kindergartens in Alberta schools and the curriculum which focuses on an integrated, child-centered approach to learning and emphasizes language development in all its activities. A French immersion kindergarten adheres to the same curriculum objectives as all kindergartens but presents all activities exclusively in the second language (French). The major goal of French immersion kindergarten is to introduce and cultivate the children's second language development. Using a variety of verbal and nonverbal strategies, the teacher becomes the primary source of the new language.

Paralanguage

The word "paralanguage" first coined by George L. Trager (1958) is defined as a verbal feature distinguishable from the specifically non verbal behaviors of kinesics and proxemics. Over the years "paralanguage" has come to encompass a broader definition that includes kinesics, proxemics, and paraverbal aspects (Pennycook, 1985). The present study has respected Pennycook's definition and has concentrated on paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic aspects of paralanguage in the French immersion context.

Paraverbal Elements

These elements include the following: degree of intensity, rate, and pitch of non-lexical speech items (Prosody) and the use of "non words" occurring in the standard language system.

Kinesic Elements

These elements constitute the broad domain of facial expression, posture, and body movement.

Proxemic Elements

These features refer to touching behaviours and other concerns of social distance.

The Scaffolding Process

This is a term employed by J. S. Bruner (1976) to define the special form of dialogue which occurs between the adult tutor and student in a problem solving situation. The nature of this "dialogue" which consists of six vital functions (recruitment, reduction, direction, relevant features, supporting, and modeling) is integral to an understanding of the interaction taking place. Bruner concluded that adult assistance provided by the scaffolding process enhances both immediate task comprehension and hastens future task competence.

Research Questions

1. What is the nature of the scaffolding process in the context of French immersion teaching, i.e. what are some of the important variables in the scaffolding process?

2. Are some variables of the L2 scaffolding process more important than others and does their nature change over time?

Limitations of the Study

1. Since the following was a self-study, an element of subjectivity has been unavoidable.

2. Scaffolding variables may be teacher-specific and therefore not generalizable to French Immersion teaching as a whole.

3. The small sample limits generalizability.

Significance of the Study

This study considered the specific social cultural milieu of a French immersion kindergarten in order to provide insights into those critical variables that distinguish and define a French immersion learning experience in its initial stages. A detailed description of the nature of interaction in the immersion kindergarten and an examination of its specific culture was undertaken to investigate the contributions of all participants and how those contributions assist in the unfolding of language.

To date, French immersion has lacked study from an interactive approach to language development and also from a qualitative process-oriented approach. It is necessary to address questions related to interaction particularly at the kindergarten level where second language learning begins. It was the contention of this researcher that a study that placed an increased emphasis on qualitative methods of inquiry might provide fresh perspectives in L2 research and lead to new strategies for dealing with the puzzling questions that continue to demand more definitive

answers. By employing a qualitative methodology which has yielded solid, legitimate answers to similar questions in the past, others might be encouraged to pursue a more qualitative line of inquiry as well.

Overview of the Study

In chapter 2 pertinent literature is reviewed in order to provide a frame of reference for the study and to define the methodology. Chapter 3 describes the design of the study. The findings are presented and discussed in chapter 4. Following a summary of the study, conclusions, suggestions for further research, implications for pedagogy, and the concluding statement are presented in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the broad field of second language education, "immersion" has emerged as an exciting, innovative way to advance the goal of bilingualism. Since its inception in the 1960's, French immersion has become enormously successful in the field of second language teaching and learning all across Canada due, in large part, to the priority placed on research as a fundamental component of its programs (Lapkin, & Swain, 1984). Numerous studies examined the effects of bilingualism on students' academic, social, and linguistic development with generally favorable results. From the perspective of hindsight however, it is now evident that initial research in French immersion was directed by particular socio-political needs and motivated by a strong desire to prove that such programs were effective (Carey, 1984). The experimental design of such research emphasized outcomes and achievement while it neglected important aspects of second language acquisition within the classroom itself (Genesee, 1987). The success of French immersion programs is largely no longer in dispute and the time has come for a change of direction in research policy. Just as the development of immersion programs in education has focused on an important way of promoting bilingualism, so too can immersion research increase its body of knowledge through a redirection of its research mandate to include consideration of the language learning environment.

A survey of relevant literature will first situate French immersion programs in their unique socio-historical milieu and review the goals and findings of French immersion research. Next, an application of other research perspectives, in both

language and research methodology will orient this study towards an approach in immersion research that shifts its emphasis from a product orientation to one which examines second language processes within an interactive framework.

The Socio-Historical Perspective

In the English majority setting of Alberta schools, immersion programs provide instruction in both the first language and the target language (French), with at least 50% of total instruction being done through the medium of the second language. Immersion programs have evolved and expanded into many alternative forms which differ mainly with respect to when children enter the program (early, late, delayed), how much of the second language is used (total, partial) and how many years students stay in the program (Genesee, 1987). The immersion program in this study, was "early total" which means children entered at the kindergarten level, and were spoken to exclusively in French until grade two when English was introduced through language arts.

First implemented in 1965, French immersion programs were introduced in response to a particular socio-political situation within the province of Quebec. This was the period of the "Quiet Revolution," a time when the French speaking people of Quebec publicly and vociferously objected to the linguistic and cultural inequities that threatened the existence of their language and culture in an officially bilingual country. Certain English speaking Quebecers became sensitized to the alienation between the two cultures and began to realize as well, that French was increasingly going to assert its importance as the primary language of communication in Quebec for both social and business purposes. Genesee (1987)

reports that English Canadians felt alienated from their French neighbors because of their inability to communicate in French, a fact they blamed squarely on the education system. They believed improved French programs would lead to true bilingualism and subsequent understanding and cooperation between the two "solitudes." Motivated by social change and a desire to assure their children every economic opportunity, a small group of parents in the Montreal suburban community of St. Lambert began to meet informally to discuss ideas for improved second language instruction. They sought the advice of experts like Dr. Wallace Lambert and Dr. Wilder Penfield who provided them with valuable insights into the social, cognitive, and psychological aspects of bilingualism as well as enthusiastic support for their plans. After two years of meetings, the St. Lambert group finally approached their local school board, who very reluctantly agreed to set up one experimental immersion kindergarten to be monitored closely and operated on a year to year basis only (Genesee, 1987). The program proved to be highly successful and the St. Lambert experiment has come to be hailed as an important milestone in Canadian bilingual education. " . . . The St. Lambert experiment has become a landmark in French language education not only in Canada but around the world" (Carey, 1984).

French Immersion Research

As French immersion programs gained momentum across Canada in the late 1960's and 1970's, research was considered essential in order to validate this new and experimental approach to second language learning. Both from an educational and political vantage point it was deemed necessary to employ a research

methodology which could reassure parents, teachers, and administrators alike that children were well on their way to becoming fluently bilingual with no impairment to other academic and social skill areas. Guided by the major assumption underlying immersion that the education these children received would be the same as that of other students in regular English programs except for the language differentiai, several major questions determined the direction of initial research studies. Would children's first language skills be negatively affected in immersion programs? Would academic achievement suffer? How much French would students actually learn? And what were the social psychological implications of immersion? (Lapkin & Swain, 1981).

From the beginning, the standard design of immersion research was to compare the performance of students in immersion programs with that of students in a regular English program and at times with that of students in Francophone programs. As Lapkin and Swain described in their research update (1984), these comparative studies were often carried on longitudinally with subsequent follow-up groups compared to the first group of students entering a program. In his comprehensive review of immersion studies, Genesee (1987) states that language and academic achievement were measured by the use of standardized tests when possible and that students were generally tested in groups by the classroom teacher or by a trained individual examiner. Typically the test results were statistically compared using an analysis of variance or covariance.

Viewed retrospectively, all the major research studies (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1981; Cummins, 1983) reported similar positive findings. Results differed somewhat according to the choice of program option but generally

each of the three basic types (early, delayed, late) was found to be an effective route to bilingualism. The most convincing statistics arose from investigation of early total immersion. A report by Cummins (1983) summarized the principal findings reflected in most of the research. First of all, he pointed out that although there were temporary lags in some aspects of English language skills until formal English instruction is introduced, immersion students soon catch up and even surpass children in regular programs, suggesting, he said, that considerable transfer takes place from French to English. He showed that early total immersion students "approach native-like proficiency in French listening comprehension and reading skills, although they are still clearly distinguishable from native Francophones in speaking and writing skills" (p. 3). Lapkin and Swain (1984) added however, that the French language skills of immersion students were assessed "favorably" by Francophone adults and children alike. In looking at subject areas other than English or French, Cummins related that students in early immersion programs compared favorably with students in regular curriculums in their ability to master subjects such as math and science. Early research indicated as well, that children experienced no important emotional or social problems adjusting to this new educational experience. And while they remained firmly rooted in their Anglophone identity, their attitudes towards Francophones were found to be much more positive than those of children in regular programs (Lapkin and Swain, 1984).

In conclusion, the bulk of research conducted in the decade following the implementation of immersion in the school systems, was in fact, able to reassure all concerned that students in immersion (especially early immersion) could indeed

become functionally bilingual with no long term negative effects on first language development or academic achievement.

In the ensuing years, several concerns have surfaced concerning both the methodology and findings of French immersion research. As more studies became available from a variety of sources across the country, problems, inconsistencies, and conflicting results became apparent. One critique by Bibeau (1984) pointed out that immersion had no solid theoretical base and therefore research should have been conducted before such programs were implemented in the first place. He was likewise critical of the basic research design which he said really only compared academic skills of students in both programs and not overall language development. Objecting to the time, expense and outside imposition of such studies, he felt that immersion was not the answer because, as he stated: "We have no significant data on teaching methods or materials, teachers and their relations with children . . . what happens in the classroom and so on"(p.46).

Harley (1984), in her study of the development of French language skills, concluded that immersion students' "superb" receptive skills (listening and reading comprehension) simply reflected the emphasis of schooling where listening to the teacher and reading texts are the principal activities in learning a subject matter. She stressed the importance of developing "productive" skills through interaction with more native speakers.

In his reflections on a decade of French Immersion, Carey (1984) also questioned the design of immersion research which he felt was one of "necessity" not "choice" given the clientele and the nature of the research questions. Recognizing that certain key variables like student selection and parent-teacher

attitude characterized immersion programs, he cautioned against comparing results of such programs with those of programs where such factors did not exist. He also maintained that there are very few studies that document what actually happens in an immersion classroom and how the teacher's role contributed within that context.

Referring once again to Genesee's review of immersion education, he described two interesting studies (Genesee, 1981; Adiv, 1981, cited in Genesee, 1987) which examined the variables of time and amount of exposure in the development of proficiency in French language skills. Comparison of early immersion and "two-year" late immersion students over four consecutive years failed to find any measurably significant differences in levels of language proficiency. While similar studies (Morrison, 1981, cited in Genesee, 1987) yielded different results, the evidence of these studies suggested that less time and exposure are needed by older learners who, because of cognitive advantages, learn more quickly than younger children. But, at the same time, said Genesee, the nature of the learning environment in early immersion itself is also probably an important factor. There may be a finite set of language skills required to function in an immersion program, he reported, and if linguistic and communicative needs are not progressively expanded, students may, in fact, reach a plateau in second language learning around grade 3 (Adiv, 1980, cited in Genesee, 1987). Conflicting results notwithstanding, the evidence of these studies points to the realization that there is surprisingly little systematic, objective data on the nature of communication in early immersion classes (Genesee, 1987). Nothing is known about the communicative behaviors used or needed in immersion classes at different grade levels. His recommendation stated:

> . . . what is needed are detailed investigations of the language learning environment of immersion classes, including a focus on the language teacher and his/her language behaviors and on the linguistic characteristics of pedagogical materials. Such studies are needed in order to determine what kinds of functional communication demands are being made on the language learner. To date, most immersion research has focused on the language learner. Clearly however,language learning is an interactive process. (p. 60)

This overview of research in French immersion reveals that specific socio-cultural factors shaped the dominant methodology and influenced its findings. Focusing on program and student evaluation, the experimental research design attempted to correlate different learner characteristics or some aspect of classroom performance with student achievement. Serious drawbacks became evident, over time, as the studies bypassed important factors like classroom observation and the effects of instruction. There is a pressing need now for the field of French immersion research to redefine its goals and expand its definition with a view to broadening its understanding of the complexities of second language teaching and learning. In a "call for new perspectives"Tardif and Weber (1987) suggest that an adoption of related and pertinent research orientations might offer fresh ideas and new directions in the area of French immersion research.

Language Research Perspectives

Second Language Research

Most of the L2 research that paralleled immersion studies in the 1960's and early 1970's was conducted in natural settings and reflected the dominant first language theories popular at that time. Taking their cue from Chomsky (1965), investigations concentrated on syntax, linguistic stages, innate mechanisms, etc. and their role in L2 development. Dulay and Burt (1974) expanded on Chomsky's notion of a language acquisition device by defining a process they termed "the creative construction process." Boyd (1975) confirmed that there seemed to be universal sequences of development in L2 learning, that L2 learners exhibited linguistic stages similar to those of native speakers, and that the strategies of L2 learning "may be fundamentally the same as those of first language acquisition since the systematic errors made by all language learners are similar" (Boyd, 1975, p. 126). As these first language theories evolved to encompass the role of semantics and context, second language researchers like McLaughlin (1982) followed suit by examining ideas such as how children applied formulaic expressions to different contexts enabling them to "speak" before really knowing the target language. The naturalistic second language research of this period borrowed heavily from the prevalent first language theories of the time and often tried to show the direct influence of first language development on second language acquisition.

Classroom Centered Research:

In the last several years the classroom has become a primary centre for second language research. Programs as diverse as ESL, (English as a second language) FSL, (French as a second language), bilingual education, and immersion are now studied within the context of the classroom. According to Allwright (1983) classroom centered research is a method of inquiry that directly observes the classroom processes which underlie methods and techniques, generates rather than tests hypotheses, and describes rather than prescribes. Gaies (1983) related that early classroom centered research concentrated primarily on linguistic characteristics of teacher input and its effects on language comprehension. He cited studies (Gaies, 1977; Chaudron,1979) that supported this notion and further studies (Hamayan & Tucker, 1980) that extended this research to outline the effects of input on learners' production. Later it became apparent that input variables formed only part of a larger process of interaction. Through the use of modified versions of interaction analysis instruments (Flanders, 1970, cited in Gaies, 1983) researchers began to correlate a variety of patterns of participation to second language achievement (Sato, 1981; Schinke-Llano, 1983, cited in Gaies, 1983). Classroom centered research was committed to the idea that investigation of classroom processes was central to an understanding of how language was acquired. Interaction was eventually regarded as a key component. As Long (1983) pointed out ,however, such research continued to be of the input-output variety and correlational in nature. Interaction analysis systems were found wanting as an effective tool to examine patterns of interaction. The instruments delineated easily observable and coded behaviours but focused heavily on what the

teacher said and did, assuming that teachers controlled and changed interaction patterns if they became aware of them. Such interactional analytical systems also completely ignored aspects of non verbal communication, according to Long. In contrast, subsequent research (Mehan, 1974) has shown that teachers and students together actually negotiate the shape and direction of patterns of communication within an interaction.

Second Language Research: An Interactional Approach

Building upon research done in first and second language development in naturalistic settings, Ellis (1984) focussed on the nature of interaction and described how an interactional approach could foster second language development in the classroom. He defined language acquisition as a two part process of input/interaction. Across first and second language development in naturalistic settings as well as in the classroom, "input" is that special kind of language that adjusts itself to meet the special needs of learners. Input in the form of "caretaker speech," "foreigner talk," and "teacher talk" share common characteristics of modification of elements like length of utterance, choice of topic, prosody, use of modeling, repetition, clarification, expansion strategies, etc., all of which facilitate communication when the learners' linguistic competence is limited. Ellis proceeded to show however, that modification of input is but one side of the coin. Backed by a body of supporting literature in first language development (Wells, 1979; Wells & Robinson, 1982) and second language development in naturalistic and classroom settings (Hatch, 1978) he demonstrated that learners also employ a set of what he calls conscious or potentially conscious problem oriented "communication

strategies" in their initial attempts to understand and sustain discourse. It is an examination of these joint strategies in operation rather than just modification of input strategies which is important, said Ellis.

> When there is a communicative problem the solution is not sought separately by the native-speaker modifying the formal and discourse characteristics of his speech or by the learner resorting to communicative strategies. It is sought jointly by the native-speaker and learner working together to establish and maintain a mutually acceptable topic. What is important, therefore, is the "negotiation of meaning."
>
> (p. 91)

Through this process of negotiation of meaning the participants collectively and collaboratively "combine their forces" and define for themselves an effective strategy which modifies and eventually expands interaction. According to Ellis (1984) it is interactional adjustments rather than formal language and discourse adjustments that result in optimal development.

In his discussion of classroom second language learning, Ellis examined the role of "teacher talk" and showed how such input should both reflect and expand the learners' L2 development. In reference to Krashen (1983), he indicated that input should be roughly suited to the level of comprehension the learners have reached but that it should also contain some elements of the next stage of learning so as to challenge learners to move ahead in their development. To facilitate comprehension, such input should be geared to the"here and now" and make use of the extra-linguistic context. One type of input that Ellis identified as particularly conducive to language growth in a classroom context is organizational language.

The classroom provides its own rationale for negotiating about materials, routine business, task fulfillment, etc. This negotiation is supported by the teacher's use of "directives" or those imperatives that focus and direct classroom activity. This type of organizational language as input fosters language growth because it refers to the here and now, it appears in frequently occurring contexts, it is repetitive in nature, and it does not require a verbal response as a part of communication. Ellis contended that input must evolve from a wide variety of interactions (of which language for organization is but one) that stress communication for social, educational, and transactional purposes.

In summary, Ellis outlined the evidence of research in first and second language development that promotes an interactive approach to second language learning in a naturalistic setting with a view to promoting such an approach in L2 classrooms. He emphasized that both the speaker and learner collaboratively shape the linguistic environment and he identified negotiation of meaning as a joint interactional strategy that can facilitate and accelerate second language development. Believing that L2 classroom "teacher talk" or input is context-dependent, he also stated that it must evolve from a variety of types of classroom interaction in order to optimize L2 comprehension and subsequent production.

Other L2 researchers as well, have continued to recognize the vital role of interaction processes in the second language classroom. In her comments on language learning in social context, Wong-Fillmore (1989) highlighted the fact that both the speaker and the learner create and shape the social setting in which it becomes possible and attractive to communicate in the target language. The

linguistic data supplied by the speaker is anchored in the social setting supplied by both to form "input." As language is observed by learners they play an active role.

> The learners play a role in getting speakers to adjust their speech when they try to understand what the speakers are saying, and when they try to respond. In so doing, they let the speakers know whether or not the adjustments they are making are necessary or adequate. If they seem not to understand, the speakers are likely to make further adjustments. When they appear to understand, the speakers tend to carry on, or to adjust their speech upward. (p. 281)

Wong-Fillmore reiterated what has been said by both Ellis and Krashen, pointing out that learners collaborate with speakers in a joint effort to let speakers know when interactional adjustments are satisfactory and when it is time in fact, to expand to a higher level. More recently, research conducted by Weber and Tardif (1987) has led them to believe that negotiation of meaning is fundamental to the interaction process; that it is, in fact a "meta-strategy" and that a number of similarly related strategies can really be viewed as variations or subcategories of ways to negotiate meaning.

> Negotiation of meaning involves interaction, actively giving feedback on what has been understood and seeking additional information, clues, or feedback to confirm this understanding. In addition, the negotiation of meaning in a sense involves a power struggle for control of meaning and for direction of the agenda. . . . In the classroom context, the individual's negotiation of meaning is often interconnected with a group strategy such as guessing. (Weber & Tardif, 1987, pp. 9,10)

A final look at Genesee's summary of immersion education reveals that the only investigations of an interactional basis of second language learning in French immersion research were conducted by Cleghorn (1985, cited in Genesee, 1987) and Weber & Tardif (1987). The realization, however, that it is precisely the quality of teacher-student interaction that determines the effectiveness of immersion programs prompted Genesee to submit that an interactive evaluation approach merits due consideration. From the limited research, Genesee speculated that the general instructional style of immersion could be characterized in terms of negotiation of meaning which he defined this way:

> Negotiation of meaning involves a set of interaction strategies that promotes . . . the learner's comprehension of what the teacher is intending to mean, what the situation means, and therefore what the language means and how it works. (p. 180)

While he hastened to agree with the interactive goals of second language research as just outlined in terms of comprehension and production, his perception of negotiation of meaning was narrower in scope. He spoke only of negotiation as serving academic achievement through the provision of academic content, which becomes the substance and reason for negotiation. Ellis' profile of varied types of interaction and the meta-strategy concept outlined by Weber and Tardif suggest an inherently broader and more useful definition of negotiation of meaning.

Genesee lamented the fact that there is a great lack of information concerning the pedagogical and linguistic strategies used by immersion teachers. To remedy the situation he called for a program of research that emphasizes "characteristics of social interaction that are thought to facilitate acquisition of

decontextualized skills and specifically literacy-related skills" (p.185). In particular, he mentioned (among others) "scaffolding" by Bruner as one way of focusing research centering on interaction patterns. Such an orientation could provide valuable insights into how teachers integrate academic and language instruction in immersion programs he believed.

The Scaffolding Process

For those researchers like Jerome Bruner who espoused a social, cognitive model of language development, the "scaffolding" process became an important way to better understand key concepts related to language in social interaction. Inspired by the seminal theories of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1972,1978), Bruner grounded his studies of language in Vygotsky's concept of the "zone of proximal development."

"It is the distance between the [child's] actual developmental level and the level of potential development as determined by independent problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86).

From his observations of language and problem solving tasks in interactions between adult tutors and children (1976), Bruner expanded Vygotsky's definition by identifying salient characteristics of this adult guidance or "scaffolding" as he termed it. He defined scaffolding as the special role the adult plays in an interactive "instructional" situation. In structuring an unfamiliar task the adult tutor "controls" difficult aspects of the task thus permitting the child to successfully complete those elements within his/her range of competence. This joint combining of efforts

allows the task to proceed to a successful conclusion. Referring to another of Vygotsky's famous maxims,"what the child can do in co-operation today he can do alone tomorrow" (Vygotsky, 1972) the underlying assumption is that this adult assistance allows the child to comprehend the task more quickly than if assistance had not been provided. Even more importantly, this assistance is said to promote future task competence. The variable of comprehension is critical according to Bruner. Only when a child understands the solution to a problem is he/she able to produce steps leading to its solution. In other words comprehension precedes production. In the scaffolding interaction ,the child indicates comprehension through performance and the child's performance, in turn, assures the tutor that comprehension is evident and thus the task can move forward to successful completion. In addition, subsequent research by people like Wells (1979) advanced the idea of problem solving as the subtle interplay between comprehension and production with production playing an active role in the fostering and furthering of comprehension. This view proposed that learner and tutor are active partners in the scaffolding process. Bruner has identified six functions which form the nucleus of the scaffolding process:

1. Recruitment: enlisting the child's interest in the purpose and material of the activity.
2. Reduction: simplifying the task to components the child can complete successfully.
3. Direction: maintaining motivation and the direction of the task.

4. Relevant: accentuating relevant features and focusing attention features on the important discrepancies between the child's actions and the necessary process.

5. Supporting: providing help whenever necessary to reduce stress.

6. Modeling: demonstrating tasks. Assuming the child will imitate tutor in some appropriate way. (Bruner, 1975)

As applied to child language learning, Bruner's concept of scaffolding is called "Language Acquisition Support System" (LASS) (Bruner,1983). In this instance, linguistic and motivational support is provided by a more experienced speaker to help the young child formulate language. This support gradually adjusts itself in terms of form and degree as the inexperienced child becomes more independently fluent.

Courtney Cazden (1981) made interesting use of the principles of Vygotsky and Bruner in her studies of language use in the context of classroom social interaction. Applying Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development" she looked at teacher-student dialogue and concluded that "the assisted performance is not just performance without competence but performance before competence - that the assisted performance does indeed contribute to subsequent development" (Cazden, 1981, p.7). Her description of "peek-a-boo" activities (1983) provided her with a basis for applying Bruner's theory of "scaffolding." She found that within these games, the scaffolding activities of the home actually provided a child with a solid base for learning the scaffolding patterns of the classroom. A further study of nursery rituals reported that "raising the ante" or using increasingly complex and challenging language in "tutorial dyads" enabled the child to later recognize the

prominent features of teacher discourse. One interesting comment Cazden made about scaffolding was that it should ideally "self-destruct" as needs lessen and redefine its structure to meet the demands of increasingly elaborate requirements.

Although Cazden made an enormous contribution to a greater understanding of classroom discourse she described an urgent need"...for more analyses of assistance to children's learning of discourse - of the kinds of scaffolds, models, and direct instruction that children are provided" (Cazden, 1983, p. 49).

In a study of communicative competence in kindergarten, Helen Ilott (1987) applied the evidence of a tutoring experience against Bruner's six functions of scaffolding and discovered significant variations. Several functions co-occurred suggesting that the list be broadened to include both purposes and strategies. Categories were added or rounded out with sub-groupings as the data seemed to demand it. One additional characteristic "adult effort" provided further insight into the role of the tutor in the scaffolding process. Specifically, the amount of effort produced by the tutor to achieve a desired response from the child is proportional to the child's resistance to respond. The tutor has a sense of commitment to helping the child comprehend the task at hand and expends whatever effort is necessary to see that this is accomplished. As Ilott pointed out however, the tutoring design of her study introduced incrementally more difficult tasks as opposed to Bruner's single task and this probably accounted for the diversification of her findings.

What the evidence of these foregoing studies demonstrates is the validity of applying Bruner's model of scaffolding in different educational contexts. Just as Cazden and Ilott adapted the process to answer important questions about communicative competence in classroom settings, evidence from a second language

study set against Bruner's model might reveal important characteristics of scaffolding which are relevant to the French immersion experience of classroom interaction.

Paralanguage

As noted by Bruner (1987), there is more to communicating meaning than a consideration of content alone. Language is embedded in its unique situational, cultural context. Making sense of this context requires a wide range of cues. By way of elucidation, Bruner explained that the interpretation of the communicative context relies heavily on "*illocutionary*" features and/or gestures and movements of the speaker that not only direct attention to the particular context but give information about the degree of importance of what is being said. This reliance on non verbal cues is largely taken for granted, he said, but its importance should not be underestimated as it is this type of information that permits children to engage in communicative activities that would otherwise be beyond their range of understanding.

A growing realization that non verbal or "paralanguage" features of language were inextricably linked to verbal expression, led linguists to consider these nonverbal aspects more carefully (Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967, cited in Pennycook, 1985). The definition of paralanguage has continued to evolve since it was first coined by George Trager (1958). Trager's early interpretation described paralanguage as a verbal feature distinguishable from the specifically non verbal behaviors of kinesics and proxemics, which were being studied separately at the time (Hall, 1966). Over the years "paralanguage" has come to encompass a broader

definition that includes "paraverbal", kinesic, and proxemic aspects (Pennycook, 1985). Specifically defined, paraverbal elements include the following: degree of intensity, rate and pitch of non-lexical items, the use of "non words" occurring in the standard language system, and the role of silence. Kinesic elements incorporate the broad domain of facial expression, posture, and bodily movement and are similarly measured in terms of pitch, stress, and intensity as well as duration of movement. The particularities of touching behavior and social distance constitute the field of proxemics.

Several paralinguistic, kinesic, and proxemic characteristics of first language non verbal behavior have been extensively studied and their relationship to meaning and culture, well documented (Birdwhistell, 1952; Key, 1975). Harris(1972) advocated the study of paralanguage in the classroom.

> By observing the interactive patterning of the paralanguage of teachers and students, we may be able to shed important new light on the learning process.... as well as help objectify the elusive notion of the "effective teacher." (Harris, 1972, p. 9)

On the other hand, very little of this type of research has been undertaken in the field of second language research. A retrospective glance at the literature reviewed so far indicates a reference by Ellis to the context dependent nature of language learning with no specific mention made of paralanguage features of language and only a cursory comment by Genesee (1987) that teachers need to be sensitive to non verbal feedback from students. Wong-Fillmore (1989) said that learners have special "resources" that help them "discover what people are saying," chief among which is a language already in place that allows them to make

assumptions and guesses about how a second language might work. Nowhere did she even hint at the fact that paralanguage cues might facilitate the language learning process.

Some L2 research has studied paralanguage aspects and one study (von Raffler- Engel, 1976) found that kinesics is more closely associated with culture than with language. She also argued that language and paralanguage must be observed in concert within the context of socialization in order to truly understand the nature of the language acquisition process. Pennycook (1985) considered paralanguage features in an L2 classroom situation and concluded that it was incumbent upon teachers to not only exploit the use of the paralinguistic signals they are always unconsciously sending but to actively teach some aspects of paralanguage to students. Like Ellis, he favored an interactive classroom structure which he claimed would intrinsically encourage and encompass paralanguage features within its system.

One recent study (Weber & Tardif, 1987) proposed that paralanguage features (employed by the teacher) contributed to the unfolding of meaning within the context of a French immersion situation. "There is a 'scaffolding of meaning' that is constructed around the language situation by using such clues as gestures, body movement, intonation . . ." (Weber & Tardif, 1987 , p. 16). They also concluded that "attending to the paralanguage elements of human communication is one of the most striking features of immersion classroom sense-making" (Weber & Tardif, 1987, p.13).

It is evident from the preceding discussion that "paralanguage" should figure prominently in any discussion of the construction of meaning and the context

of culture in human communication. The process of scaffolding facilitates this construction of meaning for the child in an instructional interaction by embedding language in paralanguage forms that allow meaning to be understood before actual words are. It follows from this that any investigation of scaffolding should consider not only verbal aspects but those essential paraverbal elements as well.

Summary

In a review of the first and second language research perspectives presented so far, several elements converge to describe an interactive perspective of second language development. After L2 research began to center on the classroom, a first major consideration was the effect of "input." It gradually became obvious that input was only part of a broader system of interaction. As defined by Ellis and others language acquisition involves an interaction between the learner who employs certain "communication strategies" and the speaker who modifies input. This partnership goes beyond a simple response to input, however; the adult and child jointly develop a collaborative strategy that allows them to "negotiate meaning" within the interaction thereby facilitating and accelerating language development. Negotiation takes place as the adult "scaffolds" verbal meaning (initially in non verbal forms) to permit the child's greater comprehension. The learner is an active partner in this scaffolding process and it is his/her responses that guide the process which changes its form and function as the needs of the learner dictate.

Both language and educational researchers have long maintained that non verbal behaviors are integrally tied to human communication. Investigation in this area has found that non verbal behaviors are closely associated with cultural and

situational concerns of language. Other research has devised ways to investigate non verbal behavior by breaking it down into discrete categories. There is a paucity of this kind of inquiry in the field of second language development, especially in immersion research. It was the contention of this study that an investigation of language and especially paralanguage within the scaffolding process of a French Immersion Kindergarten would illuminate important features of second language development in social interaction.

Research Methodology Perspectives

Another goal of this literature review is to present alternative methodological perspectives that might better address issues related to an interaction model of L2 immersion research.

As previously stated, the governing research methodology chosen to evaluate immersion programs has been limited by socio-political motives to ensure everyone involved that such programs did not impede first language development or scholastic achievement. The programs' continued success suggests that such a research goal has become less useful; more pressing concerns now deserve attention.

In their paper calling for new perspectives in French Immersion research, Tardif and Weber(1987) indicated that a quantitative, experimental research design overlooked the important dimension of meaning in human behavior and failed to answer demanding questions about the complexities of classroom life. Believing these matters to be crucial in French immersion research, they argued that more

qualitative approaches, and in particular, ethnographic approaches would satisfy this need.

Ethnographic Research

In the past two decades the rise of interest in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974), has greatly influenced the field of educational research and has led to the definition of the classroom as a "subculture" with rule governed patterns of communication that distinguish it from other cultures (Mehan, 1979; Wilkinson,1982). Such research has also revealed the importance of the cultural context in determining how meaning is constructed through an active collaboration of teacher and student in classroom interaction (Delamont, 1983).

Although few in number, some second language research studies have slowly begun to apply an ethnographic perspective in their research. In his interesting article, Long (1983) described various anthropological approaches to L2 inquiry that came about partly as a reaction against the limitations of interaction analysis and partly in response to the successful use of unstructured observation in many other disciplines. He outlined participant and non participant observation as being ethnographic forms suitable for L2 classroom research. He cited the best known example of L2 participant observation as the "diary studies" (e.g.Schumann & Schumann,1977, cited in Long, 1983) noting that such self studies shed light on many personal variables in second language learning. Recently other studies of the non participant variety have included one that looked at language use patterns in a Spanish bilingual setting (Bruck & Schultz, 1977) and another that reported findings related to the culture of French Immersion kindergarten and how young

children come to make sense of their first experience of second language learning in this setting (Weber& Tardif, 1987).

Ethnographic research includes a wide variety of qualitative and descriptive types of research which are particularly appropriate for studying classroom processes because inherent in their nature is a concern for interaction in social context. The methodology involves an in-depth study of a limited setting with a view to revealing both explicit and implicit natural behaviors that contribute to an interpretation of the setting. From prolonged and repetitive observation and analysis of live data ethnography provides detailed, accurate descriptions and makes inferences about the phenomena in question. Its emphasis is on a small sample, however, and questions arise as to the generalizability of ethnographic studies. In response to such concerns, ethnographers feel that amassing detailed information about one setting is in some ways superior to methods that collect superficial and perhaps misleading information about relationships in many different settings. Also as Spindler (1982) states, "an in-depth study that gives accurate knowledge of one setting not markedly dissimilar from other relevant settings is likely to be generalizable in substantial degree to these other settings"(p. 8). The findings of ethnographic inquiry will often be generalizable logically if not statistically.

Constitutive Ethnography

This researcher employs an ethnographic approach developed and labelled by Hugh Mehan (1979) as "constitutive ethnography" which he felt gave more satisfactory answers to the often legitimate concerns of generalizability. In collaboration with Courtney Cazden (in her classroom), Mehan employed his

particular methods to examine the social organization of interaction in an elementary school classroom with a special emphasis on language. Extensive analysis of videotapes extracted a corpus of data that looked at one "speech event" - teacher-led lessons. The structure of the lessons and the interactional activities of the teacher and students who assembled these lessons are described in detail in Mehan's book, Learning Lessons. This ground-breaking ethnographic study furnished valuable new insights into the communication patterns of the classroom. What is of specific interest here though, are the techniques Mehan utilized to derive principles from the extensive data collected over the period of a school year. Guided by the ethnographic policy that all data must be incorporated in the analysis, Mehan defined his process:

> The method begins with a small bunch of data. A provisional scheme is generated. The scheme is then compared to other data and modifications are made in the scheme as necessary. The provisional analytic scheme is constantly confronted by "negative" or "discrepant" cases until the researcher has derived a small set of recursive rules that incorporate all the data in the corpus. The result is an integrated, precise model that comprehensively describes a specific phenomena instead of a simple correlational statement about antecedent and consequent conditions. (Mehan, 1979, p. 21)

After completion of their project, Cazden noted in the foreword to Mehan's book, that it would now be advantageous to classroom research to seek commonalities across different classrooms. Taking this into the second language classroom context it was thought an application of Mehan's methodology might

prove a useful exercise in beginning an exploratory search for answers to urgent L2 social/language concerns.

Teacher as Researcher

> "It is the teachers, who in the end will change the world of school by understanding it." (Lawrence Stenhouse)

There has been of late, a rise of interest in a form of classroom research that employs the teacher as principal investigator (Nixon, 1980; Connelly & Ben-Peretz, 1980; Hustler & Cuff, 1986). Labels such as "teacher as learner" 'teacher/researcher" "action research" are various ways of identifying attempts to personalize research. Just as students are now viewed as active contributors to the learning process, so too teachers are being encouraged to contribute to the wider field of educational research. No longer perceived as "consumers" of research, teachers are now seeking to become their own "experts" (Dillon, 1985) employing research in the unique context of their classroom as a means of effecting meaningful, beneficial change. With a sincere desire to learn, teachers "make explicit "acts of teaching and by questioning and reflection come to understand the underlying assumptions and procedures that guide the operation of their particular classroom. Ideally, says James Britton (1972), research, teaching, and professional development are an interactive process that encourages the "coming to know" of research to develop into active "doing." This concept of action is echoed by Stenhouse (1975) who believed, as long as twenty years ago, that personal research involvement by teachers should be at the heart of the educational process. He felt that the classroom was the ideal place to generate educational theory and

cultivate in teachers that critical condition of "understanding" that would allow them to more readily pursue necessary changes in teaching practices.

This type of research reflects the spirit of ethnography because it is designed to get at hidden meanings, and assumptions about roles, rules, etc. This socio-cultural knowledge that guides the behavior of classroom participants is key to the process of understanding and effecting change. Given the proper research tools teachers, who after all know better than anyone what goes on within the walls of the classroom, make ideal ethnographers!

The French Immersion Kindergarten

The entry point for children in immersion programs is generally the kindergarten year. Although a few studies have discussed second language concerns in a kindergarten setting (Kleifgen, 1985; Saville-Troike, 1985; Wong-Fillmore,1985) only one major study (Weber & Tardif, in press) has examined in depth the nature of a French Immersion Kindergarten experience. That kindergarten has never been a major focus of French immersion research may be due to the fact that there is no traditional academic content as such to use for comparison and evaluation purposes. The kindergarten setting is a good example of a natural classroom second language setting as described by Ellis however, and qualitative research approaches are particularly appropriate when examining children's experiences over a long period of time (Bruck & Schultz, 1977).

Songs in the French Immersion Kindergarten

A number of kindergarten activities are conducted and directed through the medium of a special form of language - songs. Music, "that universal language," has long been recognized as a valuable pedagogical tool for the achievement of second language goals (Parker, 1969; Techmeier, 1969). In her description of songs as "speech acts" Gatti-Taylor (1980) relates that the rhythmic and tonal qualities of music enhance compact, formalized, and simplified L2 structures allowing for easier assimilation. Songs permit frequent repetition of language structures unfettered by the usual boredom that drill implies and, aided by visual materials, contextualizes language and promotes further understanding of the L2 culture (Jolly, 1975). That songs generally constitute children's first attempts to use the target language is tribute to their great ability to motivate children to want to understand and use language in concrete ways. In this study, the teacher's use of songs was a dominant, multi-purpose strategy used to promoteboth language development and classroom cultural goals. Consequently it was considered worthy of special consideration in the discussion.

Summary

To summarize, the dominant French immersion research methodology has been used to answer specific questions out of necessity, not choice. Different questions revolving around the complexities of meaning in cultural context are now emerging and demand a new methodological approach. It is suggested that an interdisciplinary, ethnographic perspective is particularly appropriate to address these concerns. An outgrowth of educational ethnography has been the

participation of teachers as researchers in their own classrooms. They seem especially well suited to the task of uncovering the hidden sociocultural meaning of their unique classroom contexts and are being encouraged to use this "understanding" to effect change. Studying young children is well served by a qualitative research approach, which examines children's experiences in a natural setting.

Rationale for the Study

The total research "picture" that emerges from this literature review reveals that French Immersion research has yet to reach its full potential as a force in the general field of second language research. Hemmed in by political pressures, it did not seek to answer questions beyond the dictates of its narrow mandate. Other more urgent questions of language and culture now demand to be answered and a look at other research perspectives provides a point of departure.

Beginning in a purely Chomskian mode, second language research concerns have expanded from a simple consideration of teacher input to an examination of how meaning is structured and negotiated by the participants within the cultural context of the classroom. Research methodologies have evolved to effectively deal with these issues as the strictly quantitative experimental designs have given way to a process approach that employs methods like interaction analysis and procedures borrowed from anthropology.

It is time for the field of Canadian French immersion inquiry to "catch up" to other areas of L2 research. Specifically, it is important to look at interaction processes in immersion classrooms. This study employs an ethnographic

methodology to examine patterns of social interaction within the "scaffolding" process in a French immersion kindergarten in the hope that such an investigation will shed light on salient features of interaction in the specific context of immersion. It is hoped that thisstudy will contribute towards a new perspective of French immersion research.

The design of the study is outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Life in a kindergarten classroom revolves around talk, and teachers of young children have traditionally oriented activities towards furthering their students' language development. In a French immersion kindergarten this goal is at once the same and yet different, with a second language (L2) superimposing itself onto the first. As the children are exposed to a wide variety of L2 oral language activities, it is evident that both teacher and students engage in a collective process of striving to make sense of this new language experience.

The purpose of the present enquiry was to describe and interpret this collective "scaffolding" process in a French immersion context in order to examine the construction of meaning by the participants in an initial second language learning situation. To achieve this goal, the researcher was involved in a self-study and chose as a method of analysis constitutive ethnography as defined and employed by Hugh Mehan. This method seemed especially appropriate because Mehan developed the methodology in order to examine classroom communication patterns in-depth. The data of this study are in the form of videotapes making it suitable for intensive analysis and satisfying Mehan's principle dictate that data should always be retrievable. The research question attempted to go beyond correlational concerns in order to probe more deeply into the teacher's patterns of communication.

Three major assumptions guided the analysis of the basic core of data. The first assumption was that paralanguage is an important function of the early stage of

second language learning (Weber & Tardif, 1987). Secondly, it seemed likely that both language and paralanguage strategies would change over time as children developed comprehension in the second language. A final assumption of the relationship between language and culture (von Raffler-Engel) identified the need to consider second language goals in relation to the specific roles of teacher and student in the classroom. These assumptions, along with information regarding existent scaffolding models, undergirded the analysis of the activities which made up the speech event of "circle time." This chapter will look at the particulars of the study design including a description of the sample and data collection and analysis procedures. It will consider the major research questions which attempt to identify (a) variables of a L2 scaffolding process, (b) whether some L2 variables are more important than others, and (c) if the nature of the variables changes over time.

The Sample

The sample consisted of the teacher and her class of four and five year old students who had English as their first language. Coming from middle and upper middle class backgrounds, the students could generally be characterized as socially and culturally privileged. They attended a half day French immersion kindergarten in a school situated in an older middle class district of Edmonton. The researcher for this study was the classroom teacher.

Data Collection

After permission was obtained from the parents, the teacher and the children were videotaped for the first hour of the school day once a week from the beginning

of September until the middle of May. The data were recorded on videotape and then transcribed into written form. Good colour reproduction and clear sound on the videotapes provided the minutiae of sound and motion for paralanguage analysis. For the purposes of this study, it was decided to consider the videotapes and transcripts of the first half hour of each kindergarten session because during that time the whole group and teacher were gathered together and the major emphasis was on student-teacher verbal interactions. During these "circle time" sessions children sat in a semi-circle on the carpet facing a large display board and also facing the teacher who alternately sat in a small chair or stood up and walked about in front of them. Some of the activities which took place during this time included calendar and weather routines, L2 oral language games, songs and rhymes, and planning of the day.

Preliminary Analysis

The recursive rules technique as interpreted by Mehan dictated the need to collect a representative sample of the entire data for analysis and coding. This preliminary analysis would generate a provisional scheme that would then be compared to other data and modified as necessary until a small set of rules incorporated all the data. The data for the initial analysis was chosen from the beginning, middle and end of the time period as follows

Beginning. Sept. 10, a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions Sept. 17, a.m and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions

Middle. Feb. 4, a.m and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions Feb.11, a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions

Year end. April 21 a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions May 15, a.m. and p.m.; two tapes and transcriptions

Total: twelve tapes and transcriptions.

At this stage of the analysis, a considerable number of hours were spent viewing and reviewing the videotapes and examining the data from both the morning and afternoon classes in order to identify general categories and any differences in approach to the separate groups. Since no differences between groups were apparent, data for the two groups was pooled for analysis. The next step was to closely examine individual teacher utterances in the transcripts and repeatedly check them against the videotapes to describe the role of paralanguage. From this comprehensive search, frequently occurring verbal and non verbal behaviors were identified and placed into categories as an initial coding. The coding categories were then clearly defined and organized into a conditional scheme.

The conditional scheme was presented to an independent observer (a fluently bilingual, university professor, well versed in immersion techniques and language theory), who examined three tapes and transcriptions or 25% of the the sample. The observer tested the data against the coding categories to assure reliability of categories. Discussion with the external rater revealed major agreement along the coding categories. A subsequent joint examination of a sample of data revealed however, that specific variance between teacher/researcher and external observer could in fact, be attributed to the teacher/researcher's self-

knowledge and ability to recall pedagogical intent. As well, a certain ambiguity became evident as verbal, paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic behaviours often blended so completely as to render coding of distinct categories difficult. In the end, both rater and researcher agreed to allow evidence from self-knowledge and recall of purpose, acknowledging that analysis decisions were made through this "filter" of pedagogical intent. In order to clarify vague behaviour categories such as prosody, facial expression, and posture, it was decided that these would be coded when they appeared to be pedagogically significant. Most importantly, the observer agreed with the researcher that the proposed model accounted for all the data under study. With these modifications in mind, a secondary analysis took place following the discussion with the independent observer. The refined model was applied to yet another selection of kindergarten circle time activities. Three tapes and transcriptions were chosen from October, November, and May which at thirty minutes each provided for an additional six hours of viewing of both morning and afternoon groups. This served both to consolidate the evidence of the significant time periods and to confront any further discrepancies in the scheme. In this final analysis, categories were collapsed, redefined, and/or blended as necessary until all data was comfortably accounted for and a precise, integrated L2 scaffolding model was obtained.

In addition, three videotapes from October, February, and May (a.m. group only) were selected for special consideration of language and paralanguage behaviors. Each specific behaviour was isolated, viewed on the three tapes representing the time frame of early, middle, and year end and counted to determine frequency of occurrence. Any changes over time were noted. Paraverbal aspects

were coded 100% of the time, while kinesic and proxemic behaviours were coded when visible and when not visible were supported by the teacher's recall of what was taking place at the time.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed definition of the L2 scaffolding model and a discussion of findings.

Table 1

Process	Strategies			
	A.	B.	C.	D.
Control of complexity of L2	Language 1. modelling 2. expansion 3. direction of rituals and routines 4. encouragement	Paraverbal 1. non words 2. prosody 3. silence	Kinesic 1. gestures 2. facial exp.	Proxemic 1. touching 2. posture

Note: Definitions of Model Elements

A. LANGUAGE:

1. Modelling
   (a) Repetition of words, statements, questions, songs and rhymes often supported by visual materials
   (b) Repetition of formulaic statements, questions to reinforce
   (c) Echoing:correction of content errors made by children, correction of form of language and echoing of children's L1 statements back to them in L2.
2. Expansion
   (a) Words, statements, questions, songs to explain, clarify or reinforce one idea, often supported by visual materials.

(b) Statements, songs, questions to link ideas, often supported by visual materials.

(c) Questions or statements which invite the continuation of a verbal interaction.

3. Direction of rituals and routines

(a) Rituals:

(i) words, songs, and rhymes as beginning and finishing markers.

(ii) repetition of formulaic statements, questions, songs, and rhymes

(b) Routines(classroom management)

(i) words, songs, ôr rhymes as management markers.

(ii) command statements, request, invitation statements.

(iii) repetition of formulaic statements or questions to direct behavior.

(iv) correction of behavior errors.

(v) dialogue to organize surroundings.

(vi) organizational dialogue with other adults.

4. Encouragement

(a) Words and statements of agreement and/or acceptance in response to children's statements.

(b) Command statements, request, invitation statements

B. PARAVERBAL:

1. Non words

2. Prosody (aspects that are pedagogically significant)

(a) motherese

(b) exaggeration

(c) whispering

(d) making voice sound like a word (for lexical meaning)

(e) words drawn out for emphasis

3. Silence

(a) verbal cloze-expected response, choice of response.

C. KINESIC:

1. Gestures

(a) rolling, clapping, rubbing hands, hands clasped, hands to ear.

(b) placing index finger and thumb together (indicates preciseness).

(c) pointing index finger in the air, pointing to place,clicking fingers,

(d) sweeping motions using hands and arms (special emphasis markers)

(e) mimicking words & ideas using fingers, hands, arms and whole body

(f) pointing to child.

(g) shaking head in the affirmative or negative.

(h) picking up objects, holding up objects, showing objects, pointing to objects, moving objects, giving objects to child.

2. Facial Expression

(a) smiles

D. PROXEMIC:

1. Touching

(a) touching child(head, arm, shoulder) activity interrupted.

(b) touching or placing child without interrupting flow of activity.

(c) taking child by the hand or arm and guiding to another spot.

2. Posture

   (a) bending over(half bend whole bend).

   (b) sitting at child's level, crouching, turning body toward child.

   (c) standing up, sitting down, walking around.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of this self study was to examine the patterns of communication in social interaction within the context of the second language learning situation in one French immersion kindergarten. In particular, emphasis was placed on the role of the teacher's input in "negotiation of meaning" and the effects of such input on the children's overall L2 development. An application of Bruner's concept of "scaffolding" by means of an ethnographic analysis uncovered variables of adult participation that were unique to this second language teaching/learning environment and resulted in the definition of an L2 scaffolding model. What follows is a detailed description of the model and a discussion of the major findings.

Numerous hours of analysis incorporating all of the data suggested a precise L2 scaffolding model with the dominant process being Control of Complexity of L2. Several teacher behaviors formed the basis of the coding categories; these were eventually defined as four major strategies which formed the nucleus of the process model. These strategies were labelled (a) language, (b) paraverbal, (c) kinesic, and (d) proxemic. The various elements which make up the model are now defined (see Table 1 and table notes). The pertinent teacher behaviours and strategies which led to formulation of the model will be discussed separately under the general headings of Language and Paralanguage. The second half of the discussion will provide an interpretation of the findings related to the important L2 scaffolding variables and

will attempt to show how the scaffolding process changed over time to meet the developing linguistic and cultural needs of the students.

Classroom Behavior and Strategies

Language

In this classroom, second language instruction tended to follow a natural progression of steadily increasing and advancing the level of conceptual development. Four important classifications of teacher behaviours seemed to exemplify typical language usage in this process: (a) modelling, (b) expansion, (c) direction, and (d) encouragement.

Modelling

During circle time the teacher/researcher modelled L2 principally through the strategies of repetition and echoing. Particularly important at the beginning of the year, repetition manifested itself in three major ways: word-object, language formulas, and songs. Word-object repetition was very evident, often supported by visual materials, e.g. "c'est rouge, je vois la couleur rouge içi, oui, comme mon crayon; ah un petit cœur rouge, c'est rouge, très bien (emphasis on color word rouge supported by pointing to objects of that color). The direct instruction and repetition of key formulaic statements and questions was also a noticeable strategy. These formulas were consistently modelled with the expectation that children would memorize and repeat them at appropriate moments ("où veux-tu jouer? je veux jouer _____"). The use of songs as a repetition technique figured prominently in

the instructional repertoire of this particular teacher. In the early part of the year, key words, phrases, expressions, and language formulas were frequently repeated in the guise of songs. The addition of rhythm and melody was purposefully used to facilitate acquisition of language structures. Another noteable modelling strategy was that of "echoing" which differed from repetition in that it occurred in response to utterances from a child or the group. The three types of echoing observed were that of echoing a French statement in response to its English counterpart (e.g., C: "He's tired." P. " Il est très fatigué.") correction of form (e.g., C: "Pompier." P: " Pompier, non, papier, pas pompier.") and correction of content (e.g., C: " Sunny." P. " Non il ne fait pas soleil.")

Expansion

In this particular classroom as children developed their ability to comprehend the L2 of circle time, the teacher's facilitating strategies of repetition and echoing reinforced simple word-object concepts, statements, questions, and selected formulas. These slowly evolved to enlarge and link ideas and to stimulate longer verbal interactions.

As early as the first lesson, simple ideas were expanded for easier assimilation (e.g., animating an object, "Bonjour la colle"). In the ensuing months ideas were linked to enlarge a particular concept, as for example, in this discussion of the feast of St. Valentine's, " C'est le mois de février, on célèbre la fête de la St. Valentin, c'est le 14 février, la fête de la St. Valentin." The following excerpt of a shared story demonstrates actual dialogue resulting from response to children's input:

Child 1 : Why is Gedeon scared?

Prof: Oh de la noirceur, hé?

Child 2 : He was scared of the dark but the moon lights up the sky.

Prof: Oui, c'est ça, la lune a allumé le ciel. "Je n'ai plus peur," dit Gedeon.

Throughout the year as lesson periods became progressively longer, language concepts and forms were adjusted upwards to accommodate student needs. From short, staccato-like repetitions of simplified vocabulary, words and phrases matured into longer, more complex utterances. Certain previously discussed techniques acquired additional functions such as more variety being introduced into the formulaic structures (e.g., "Comment ça va aujourd'hui?, " "Est-ce que tu es content, triste, ou fâché aujourd'hui?"). A more complex vocabulary was presented in the songs with less repetition of structures and there was a definite attempt to enhance the cultural component of the target language through its songs. Questions were now directed at students with the expectation that they would be answered chorally or by a single child. Children's responses were actively solicited and assimilated into discussions and dialogues. A new technique of "cloze" was employed more frequently (i.e., the last part of sentences left off for children to fill in orally (e.g., c'est le dix _____ fill in the month). Rather than simply reinforcing a simple word, materials were now incorporated into scenarios in order to promote concept development (e.g., a language dialogue involving Bozo the puppet who has just returned from Hawaii; the children were invited by Bozo to ask him specific questions about his sojourn in Hawaii).

Direction of Rituals and Routines

The form, strategies, and purposes of the language of this classroom's rituals and routines will now be considered separately since their objectives were somewhat different.

Rituals. The major focus of oral language activity, in this kindergarten, occurred during "circle time." Within the parameters of circle time there were a number of speech acts, repeated daily in a sequential format and set off from the mainstream of language activity by the use of specific language patterns. These patterns incorporated beginning and finishing markers and repetition of formulaic structures often presented in the form of songs and strongly supported by visual materials and concrete objects. The main strategies are integrated in the following "weather ritual."

1. Beginning marker: "Les amis quel temps fait-il?", a song incorporating the major language structure. Children try out various responses (e.g. rainy, windy, to which the response was negative until the teacher finally directed the question "est-ce que c'est nuageux?")

2. Finishing marker: " Oui, c'est nuageux aujourd'hui. O.K."This is followed by a song introducing the next language segment.

Routines. The children's physical space was defined by the carpet where they were seated in horseshoe fashion facing the teacher and the display board. During the course of circle time activities children stood and moved about in various ways according to the directions of this teacher who controlled their movements by the use of request/command statements (e.g., asseyez-vous, poussez-vous), songs and rhymes (e.g., "on se li, on se lo, on se lève). The expected circle time

behaviour was to remain silent when the teacher was talking but to participate in songs and movement activities when indicated. Strategies employed to direct behaviour included the use of commands, manipulation of materials, and the use of songs and rhymes which contained management language (e.g., J'écoute Madame). Often this type of song, rhyme or command supported by visuals served to attract the children thereby redirecting their attention to the activity at hand. The circle time exercise always ended by directing some of the children to a task while sending others off to various free choice centre activities. After an explanation and actual modelling of the task was completed, children were required to respond to a certain formula (où veux-tu jouer? je veux jouer ------) before departing the circle. The data also uncovered a few instances of the teacher's use of organizational dialogue with other adults which involved a brief exchange to explain and/or organize pending activities.

Encouragement.

The language of encouragement was basically affective in nature. Words such as "très bien," "c'est ça", and "encore une fois" accompanied by an exuberant tone of voice and appropriate facial expression reassured children that their efforts were accepted. Children were often singled out for special attention by name and even a command of "chantez avec moi" encouraged children to participate.

Paralanguage

Within the context of this study, the role of non verbal communication served to situate L2 and provided added support for comprehension. Three teacher

behaviours seemed to reflect this supportive strategy: (a) paraverbal, (b) kinesic, and (c) proxemic behaviours.

Paraverbal

The three principal teacher behaviours in this grouping were: non word utterances, prosody, and silence. Since non word utterances comprised an important category, the analysis uncovered numerous examples of "filled pauses" (Key, 1975) consisting of a variety of non word sounds like "ah," "um," "eh," "oh oh," etc. The use of such non language features usually co-occurred with exaggerated facial expression and/or tone of voice and were often accompanied by related noises such as clapping hands or hitting objects to highlight what was being reinforced.

Another dominant paraverbal strategy revolved around five important teacher behaviours related to prosody. These features were: (a)"motherese" - the use of a high pitched voice commonly associated with mothers to soothe and encourage young children, (b) voice exaggeration - the use of variety in tone and pitch to overstate for emphasis, (c) whispering - the use of lowered pitch and tone of voice to understate for emphasis, (d) "words drawn out" - used for emphasis and as an aid to pronunciation (e.g., sep/tem/bre, au/jour/d'hui), and (e) making the voice sound like a word and often co-occurring with mimicry (e.g., "grand" said very loudly and accompanied by a large sweeping gesture).

Silence as a paraverbal behaviour was a much less frequent strategy and consisted of a form of verbal "cloze" whereby statements were deliberately left unfinished for children to complete (e.g., "c'est le mois de ---).

Kinesic

The data was rich in examples of kinesic behaviours encompassed primarily in a wide range of gestures as well as in a more limited display of facial expressions. Expressed through the use of head, fingers, hands, arms, and whole body movements, gestures were identified and integrated into two major behaviour patterns (a) teacher as model, and (b) teacher's relationship to pedagogical materials:

Teacher as model: Rolling, clapping, rubbing hands, hands clasped, hand to ear, placing index finger and thumb together (indicates preciseness), pointing index finger in the air, pointing to place, clicking fingers, sweeping motions using hands and arms (emphasis markers), mimicking words & ideas using fingers, hands, arms and whole body, pointing to child, shaking head in affirmative or negative

Teacher's relationship to pedagogical materials: Picking up objects, holding up objects, showing objects, pointing to objects, moving objects, giving objects to child

Language segments like rituals, songs, etc. were always accompanied by the same specialized body motions (e.g., gestures like hands sweeping downward to indicate leaves falling in a song about same).

All rituals, songs, and vocabulary development activities were manifested physically by the use of both concrete and visual materials (e.g., concrete objects like leaves, food items, and pictures of same, puppets, books, charts, etc.).

Another minor kinesic behaviour category was "facial expression" and in this study only "smiling" was significant enough to comment upon.

Proxemic

During circle time activities, the children were seated in a semi-circle, thus exposing a large open area between them and this teacher who stood in front of the display board. The two relevant proxemic behaviours (a) touching children, and (b) teacher posture occurred almost always simultaneously as for example, when the teacher bent over to take a child by the hand to guide him/her to another spot or when she walked around the circle touching children on the head, arm, shoulder, etc. often without interrupting the flow of the activity at hand.

Interpretation of the Data

An analysis of the structure of the scaffolding process in this French immersion kindergarten uncovered a complex interweaving of situationally embedded verbal and non verbal behaviors which determined and directed meaning within the scaffolding interaction. Further investigation revealed that the scaffolding process was not static and that, in fact, its nature evolved over time to accommodate students' developing needs. The following discussion will separately examine the two major elements of language and paralanguage, outlining the major findings related to each as well as showing how the nature of each changed in form and degree over time as meaning developed.

Language

In the French immersion kindergarten context, children receive their first exposure to both a new language and a new way of life. Direct teacher intervention is, therefore, crucial to ensuring maximum linguistic and cultural support. At the

heart of this intervention is the use of highly contextualized language with particular purposes and strategies in mind as in the reinforcing of rituals and routines for example. In this study, teacher input fulfilled the major objective of L2 development by introducing and reinforcing specific L2 content and by using organizational language to direct classroom activities. Various verbal strategies such as modelling, expansion, encouragement and direction were employed and enhanced by the use of visual materials. These strategies served to reinforce both L2 concepts and organizational imperatives. The findings related to scaffolding language will now be described in more detail with a consideration of language content and strategies of implementation as well as the nature of change over time.

Language Content:

The choice of topics presented over the course of the year disclosed three predominant areas of interest (a) themes which revolved around established kindergarten curriculum objectives such as discussions of family, seasons, holidays etc.; (b) discussions of specific interests related to children, (i.e. toys,t.v. shows); and (c) matters referring to school culture including its routines, tools, rituals, and expected behaviors. The purpose of this choice of content seemed to reflect the teacher's desire to simplify language by relating it to the child's personal experiences as well as to promote the traditional culture of kindergarten. Beyond this cultural contextualization, the language content enabled the teacher to organize the children within the framework of the physical surroundings and activities of the classroom. Throughout the year, the language agenda was primarily teacher

controlled with children increasingly allowed to contribute input as they became able to do so.

Language Scaffolding Strategies

An important consideration in the analysis of this data was the factor of change over time. As the examination progressed it became obvious that certain strategies became less important, some co-occurred or simply disappeared with others taking their place. As each strategy is described, change over time will be considered in terms of changes in adult effort, frequency, form, and participation of the children.

Modelling

Immersion instruction is predicated on the assumption that, provided with an adequate model, children will eventually come to develop comprehension and production skills in the second language (Lambert, 1972; Krashen, 1983). In the early stages of learning, the target language was modelled by this teacher as she introduced a small core of language and gradually built upon it. Frequent repetition of key words and phrases, and echoing of correct language reinforced ideas and helped children to become familiar with the vocabulary and structures of the new language. An important function of modelling was frequent repetition of songs, and of specific prefabricated language utterances or "formulas" whose meaning was derived from the structure as a "whole" rather than from any reference to its constituent parts. Early in the year, these songs, and formulaic structures meant

little to the children but they did constitute their first efforts to participate in the new language and came to have more meaning as time went by (internalization).

Within the general framework of modelling, the two techniques of repetition and echoing were the most important features of language scaffolding in this classroom. Particularly in the beginning, frequent repetition and echoing by the teacher strongly supported by concrete visual references drew attention to important aspects of L2 and reinforced language concepts. The actual physical effort of the teacher to convey language concepts was considerable while children's participation in the initial stages was passive and restricted to memorizing and mimicking words, phrases, and formulas as well as learning lots of songs. After Christmas, as the children's comprehension progressed, frequent repetition was no longer necessary and echoing changed to allow for more meaningful dialogue to occur between teacher and individual child/group.

Expansion

As children develop in their ability to understand, they are challenged to attain higher levels of development. Phrases, sentences, questions, and songs, often supported by visual materials, are repeated by teachers in a variety of ways which serve to explain or clarify one idea or to link several complementary ideas thereby enlarging the definition of specific concepts. By the use of pertinent questions and encouraging statements, teachers invite children to become more actively involved in verbal interactions and to extend their abilities. Analysis of the data of this study uncovered three major purposes of expansion: clarification of an idea, linking of similar ideas, and invitation to share dialogue. Even in the initial

stages of L2 learning, a deliberate effort was made to extend language concepts. Expansion strategies evolved over the year and became increasingly dependent on children's input as the primary source of meaning. Although expansion was initially teacher directed with little participation by the children, over the course of time, the tone of this teachers' language became much more natural. Less time was spent stressing the form of language and more time was devoted to responding to children's comments, statements and questions. There developed an expectation of participation to which individual children responded as they became able. The relationship shifted from one of teacher direction to one of teacher-student collaboration in the search for meaning.

Direction of Ritual and Routines

The kindergarten year provides children with their first experience of the unique culture of classroom life. In order to promote an understanding of this culture the teacher encourages consistency in program goals and behaviour expectations. The data in this study supported the view of Weber and Tardif (in press) that the "rituals and routines" of kindergarten simultaneously advanced cultural and second language goals through the use of a specific (directed) language.

Rituals. There are a number of rituals we have come to associate with kindergarten. Daily, groups of young students engage in a variety of "circle time" rituals like charting the day of the month or plotting weather on a graph. Such rituals stand apart from the stream of activities by the use of particular words, phrases, songs, and rhymes which begin and end them. The maintenance of rituals

which mainly surrounded the language of the greeting, weather, calendar, and seasons seemed to serve a dual purpose. The structures of the second language were specifically taught to reinforce traditional kindergarten rituals while the very existence of such rituals provided the need for such language to be taught in the first place. This points out the important fact that second language goals seemed to reflect cultural needs within this classroom. Throughout the year, rituals continued to be a very important feature of oral language activity in this program, retaining their outward form while changing within. Language structures adjusted upwards, as this teacher endeavored to provide a variety of ways of presenting a greeting formula or describing the weather or enlarging the concept of calendar time. As the concepts within rituals expanded so too did the children's participation. Over the course of the year they became much more physically involved, taking responsibility for the enactment of particular rituals, manipulating objects surrounding the ritual, and gradually internalizing the ritual through these activities.

Routines (Classroom Management). An important goal of teachers is to establish routines which will familiarize children with classroom activities and behavior expectations. Organizational language revolving around key phrases, songs, and rhymes as well as requests and commands are repeatedly used to reinforce specific practices. Children are taught short formulaic question-answer dialogues (où veux-tu jouer? je veux jouer.....) with the primary goal in mind of developing meaning through the use of routine structures. When misunderstandings occur, language is used to redirect the activities or the behavior of children. As well as organizing children's behavior, the teacher's use of language serves the function of organizing the physical surroundings and activities

both through discussion with children and with other adults who happen to be helping out at any given time.

While rituals seemed principally to reinforce traditional kindergarten oral language traditions, classroom management routines provided a vehicle for language growth in this French immersion kindergarten program through the management of physical space, child behaviours, and activity/task introduction. Organizational language changed its emphasis over the year as children became comfortable with physical space and expected behaviours. Language surrounding classroom management as such was simply taken for granted or reinforced when necessary. Similarly tasks gradually required shorter explanations. Formulas changed their form to extend concept development (e.g., où veux-tu jouer?= où est-ce que tu veux jouer?= où aimerais-tu jouer?) and replaced songs as the principal means of redirecting behavior (e.g., est-ce que vous êtes prêts? required the response, oui nous sommes prêts). The issue of control was now replaced by a focus on using language to organize more complex activities within circle time. For example, in a greeting game, children were given letter cards and asked to place themselves in order to spell out bonjour:

"H. tu es la lettre B, A. la letter O, J. la letter N, etc. OK est-ce que vous êtes prêts?"

More of a transactional approach was now evident as children and teacher worked together to complete various activities.

To summarize, the type of language used within the rituals and routines of this classroom simultaneously advanced both cultural and language goals, albeit, somewhat differently in each case. With the strong support of visual materials, the

language of rituals reinforced accepted kindergarten traditions. These rituals continued to be a vital component of circle time all year long differing only in attempts to extend language concepts and increase the participation of the children. The language of routines, both consciously and unconsciously, directed the children to a greater understanding of the expectations of general classroom life. Once children became comfortable with their role within the circle time activity, the issue of control was superseded by a focus on organization of more complex circle time activities and on transactions which attempted to ensure the smooth flow of one activity to another. The subtle interplay of language and culture promoted the internalization of both these dimensions. To hearken back to Ellis (1984), the important cultural dimensions within the classroom provided their own reasons for negotiating meaning. As comprehension grew, new definitions of the negotiation of meaning evolved to accommodate this growth and further developing needs.

Encouragement

Learning a new language is, at first, a puzzling experience for young children. Words of encouragement (e.g., bravo) permitted children to take risks and become actively involved in language learning. Principally supportive in nature, an interesting feature of this affective use of language was how it changed over time from a specific emphasis on bolstering self-esteem to one of encouraging and reinforcing second language development in particular. Initially, any sign of comprehension of L2 initiated by the children as well as any attempt at participation in 'circle time' activities was heartily encouraged by the teacher both verbally and paraverbally. Eventually, (within circle time activities), such paralanguage features

as a nod of the head or a simple smile met the basic needs of self-esteem while attempts to engage in dialogue,indicating a more thorough understanding of an idea, were enthusiastically reinforced and expanded (in this exchange, the teacher stimulates and encourages the children to extend language concepts by creating a language scenario involving a puppet geared specifically to their interests.)

Prof: " Et, on va voir qui est içi aujourd'hui!"

Child 1: " Bozo, Bozo is coming back today!"

Prof: " Oui, c'est le quatre février, Bozo va revenir, à la porte, toc, toc, toc."

Child 2: " Oh, goody, goody!"

(further on in the lesson, dialogue continues between ' Bozo' and the children)

Child 3: "Did you meet any.... baby dolphins?"

Bozo:"Non,____ je n'ai pas vu de petits dauphins."

Child 4: "Did you eat coconut?"

Bozo: " Oh oui! j'ai mangé beaucoup de noix de coco."

Child 5: "Did you play in the sand?"

Bozo: "Oui, j'ai joué..... et sais-tu quoi? C'est blanc, le sable a Hawaii."

This teacher encouraged children's language development by attempting to provide the satisfactory comfort level necessary for taking risks in the new language and by choosing language activities which were sure to appeal to young children. A more general enhancement of children's self-esteem in the beginning was later broadened to specifically reinforce language comprehension through expansion of their attempts to engage in extended dialogues.

Summary

The interpretation of data in this self-study of the communication patterns of a French immersion kindergarten disclosed the four significant language variables of modelling, expansion, direction, and encouragement. Modelling supplied the much needed exposure to the new language through repetition and echoing, while expansion strategies of clarification and linking of ideas encouraged children to reach for the next level of comprehension. The culture of kindergarten and classroom life as experienced in rituals and routines provided reasons for using language and the encouragement strategies created an atmosphere conducive to risk taking. Although each variable incorporated its own specific purposes and methods of implementation, it became obvious that they interdependently shared techniques such as use of songs, formulas, and pedagogical materials. It became apparent, as well, that as these strategies changed over time they all converged to achieve the common goal of extending language concepts through ever increasing participation of the children.

Paralanguage

Certain paralanguage aspects of communication played a vital role in second language learning in its early stages in this French immersion program. Often, a facial expression, body movement or tone of voice communicated an idea even when actual language was not yet fully understood. The supporting evidence of this study showed that paralanguage was a significant variable of the scaffolding process because it supported language by drawing attention to it, by helping to contextualize it and by providing a framework which allowed the children to

understand and participate before they actually understood L2. By its very nature, paralanguage is composed of multiple paraverbal, kinesic and proxemic behaviours that constantly co-occur, blend with and influence each other. For the purposes of this investigation only those "pedagogically" important paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic strategies will now be considered in detail. Each category will be considered separately with respect to its unique behaviors, their functions and their evolution over time. The variable of change over time will be considered in terms of frequency of occurrence, form and adult effort and child participation.

Paraverbal

This particular strategy appeared to play a supportive role by drawing attention to language and thereby reducing the complexity of L2. The predominant behaviors were (a) use of non words and (b) prosody.

Non words. Teachers often engage in a form of "vocal dawdling" or pausing filled with non words (e.g., ah, oh, ah ha) which allow time for new ideas to be absorbed or past ones reinforced. A powerful expression of ahh!! can confirm in childrens' minds that their guess was correct and an oh! oh! can challenge them to keep on trying as well as signal when behavior expectations are not quite being met.

It appeared that such non word utterances were used for four basic reasons: (a) collecting thoughts (e.g., "Eh bien, on va dire bonjour à quelques choses" as materials were being set up for use); (b) dealing with interruptions (e.g. "Oh! M. n'est pas prêt."); (c) holding the floor (e.g., "Oh! Oh! on chante, les amis."); and (d) drawing specific attention to features of L2 (e.g., "Et! oh! wow! regardez

qu'est-ce que j'ai içi! Hm!") This particular paraverbal strategy was employed frequently right into the middle of the sixth month of school (February). Initially it co-related most strongly with "holding the floor" and "L2 reinforcement" but as the year advanced, reasons for use of non word utterances declined substantially except for L2 reinforcement. In the latter half of the year (February-May) there was evidence of a new category developing which incorporated non word characteristics in responses to children's direct statements (e.g. C."Next it's going to be jaune." P. "Oh, je ne sais pas."(contradiction) C." He had put cold mittens on my face." P. "Oh, c'est grave ça." (agreement)). While this strategy of employing non word utterances itself was used infrequently towards the end of the year those examples which the analysis revealed occurred exclusively within dialogue situations (e.g. C."Why is Gédeon scared?" P. "Oh, de la noirceur, eh.") or were an incidental part of setting up children for activities (e.g. "Ah, S. tu es le wagon jaune" - children making up parts of a train). With respect to the use of non words then, the emphasis shifted over the year from being a frequent, emphatic strategy to becoming one more incidental in nature and geared to responding to student statements within the context of dialogue.

Prosody. Integral to the use of any language are those aspects of prosody such as intonation, pitch, and intensity which serve the important function of allowing children to construct meaning before they actually understand the new language. Significant words drawn out for emphasis, a tone of voice exaggerated to make a point, or a juxtaposition of words and sounds (a small whispery voice for "petit", a large booming one for "grand") all serve to clarify, confirm or correct the

assumptions children are making about this new language and classroom expectations.

Inherent in this multi-dimensional strategy was an attempt to encourage and advance comprehension both affectively (motherese) and cognitively by drawing particular attention to lexical meaning. As the children in this classroom grew in L2 competence, evidence of this strategy decreased dramatically because there was no longer any need to emphasize what was already understood.

Silence. It was noted that verbal "cloze" was an infrequent strategy used by this teacher and that while the responses sought were at first closed (only one correct answer) later, as children's comprehension developed, cloze sentences became more open ended regarding the choice of answers (e.g., "Il mangeait"---- children invited to select any item of food they wished to complete this statement). The strategy evolved from "checking" to see if children knew the correct response to extending children's thinking by encouraging a variety of responses.

Common to all of these paraverbal strategies was the fact that they focused attention on meaning within the second language and as comprehension developed their usage declined noticeably.

Kinesic

Motion seems to reflect and reinforce verbal meaning. In this L2 classroom two kinesic behaviors seemed to stand out: gestures, and to a lesser degree facial expression. In particular, gestures seemed to be very important accompaniments to language teaching. Hands and arms moved about freely to both introduce and demonstrate salient points. Sweeping motions marked emphasis, mimicked ideas,

encouraged response, and directed behavior. Less evident within this study was the use of facial expression. One form, smiling, reflected support and reinforcement of ideas.

It appeared that the use of gestures by this teacher was designed, in particular, to draw attention to herself, with each of the smaller gestural subcomponents contributing towards this universal goal. For example, "pointing index finger in the air," "clicking fingers," and "clapping hands," gained children's attention quickly while "placing index finger and thumb together," "placing hand to ear," and "rubbing and/or clasping hands" were forms of mimicking to make a particular point. "Rolling arms and waving toward self," invited children to respond while "great sweeping motions" were used as markers of special emphasis. There was a very obvious attempt to "act out" the language in order to reduce complexity.

From the ample evidence available, it was interesting to note that this teacher's manipulation of pedagogical materials provided a great deal of language support consistently throughout the year. Initially, entirely teacher controlled, such materials were "animated," 'manipulated," "held up," and "demonstrated," with great "gusto" and accompanied by mimicking and noise effects.

This teacher's physical domination of the proceedings decreased markedly in the latter half of the year as gestures became more subdued and were no longer used solely to underscore reinforcement. A simple "pointing to materials" for reference replaced the previously zealous physical management of artifacts and a new dimension was uncovered. Now it became apparent that the teacher was "giving" objects more frequently to children and encouraging them to manipulate

them within set activities (e.g., in one activity seven children hang paper train cars representing days of the week around their necks and engage in song and movement activity to reinforce this concept). In effect, the children were now taking over the role of "acting out" language in order to extend comprehension and learning. The principal kinesic function therefore, seemed to encompass gestures, which shifted from an accent on "teacher performance" to one where children's participation became more important to the development of meaning.

With respect to the minor category of facial expression "smiling," this affective strategy predominated in the very early part of the year and co-occurred with the language behaviour, "encouragement." It dropped off noticeably by February and was employed more often to reinforce appropriate L2 responses rather than desirable classroom behaviours.

Proxemic

This strategy involved more direct contact with children. Touching children, physically moving them about, and pointing to them seemed to refocus behavior management goals and was , of necessity, accompanied by postural behaviors such as bending over, crouching, or walking towards and away from children. The two relevant proxemic behaviours (a) touching children, and (b) teacher posture revolved initially around questions of social distance and the establishment and control of the boundaries surrounding the large open area of space between the children and teacher. As well, however, this space provided the teacher with an "arena' for promoting a clear display of the language/paralanguage agenda. Frequent bending over, crouching, standing up, and walking around

supported language development within songs, rituals, etc. and co-occurred with the use of materials. Further on into the year when boundaries were taken for granted by all concerned, the focus of such behaviours was directed more toward engineering activities within that same space. Now, more of the touching of children and related postural stances were simply ways of guiding children to perform or engage in specific language songs, games etc. While the behaviours of touching and posture remained constant over the year their functions changeed from a stress on territorial control to simple manipulation of the available space in order to achieve language goals.

Summary

An examination of the paralanguage strategies in this data revealed that a wide variety of paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic variables provided a strong supportive role in the development of meaning. Often co-occurring and blending both across categories (e.g., paraverbal- kinesic) and within categories (touching-posture), paralanguage elements drew attention to both the teacher and specific features of language. This helped to concretize and contextualize language to allow a certain measure of child participation before true comprehension was evident. It was interesting to note that both teacher and child manipulation of materials were evident as important kinesic behaviours allowing for maximum exploitation of language and participation on the part of children. All of the paralanguage strategies decreased dramatically over time as the children's comprehension of L2 evolved.

General Summary of Research Findings

What are the variables that make up a French immersion scaffolding process? Are some variables more important than others and does their nature change over time? These were the questions this self-study sought to answer. The supporting evidence suggested that there was indeed a scaffolding process in place in this French immersion program and that the teacher employed a variety of language (modelling, expansion, direction, encouragement) and paralanguage (paraverbal, kinesic, proxemic) strategies. It further suggested that some strategies were more important than others at different times throughout the year.

Initially, language was primarily conveyed by the dominating physical presence of the teacher. Forcefully repeated, extended, and encouraged, language, both pedagogical and organizational in nature, was heavily supported by the manipulation of materials and the use of exaggerated voice and body movements. The children's participation at this stage revolved around the memorization and imitation of "teacher" language and gestures within songs and formulas.

Over the course of the year as behavioural expectations became established and comprehension developed, subtle shifts in emphasis appeared. The supportive paralanguage features decreased in intensity and the previous focus on "form" was replaced by an accentuation of content as teacher-student dialogue began to evolve. A new spirit of collaboration manifested itself as students increasingly initiated their own learning by being more involved in the physical organization of their activities, manipulating materials and directing dialogue.

A significant finding related to both the language and paralanguage dimensions was the important role played by the use of songs, formulas, and

pedagogical materials to not only concretize the language but permit participation of the children at all stages of language learning. The major finding was that paralanguage strategies provided not only useful but very necessary support to language in the early stages of second language learning. Gradually over time, however, these strategies decreased in frequency, emphasis and form as comprehension allowed language to gain dominance. Increasingly, language was used to clarify, link and extend ideas and was incorporated into dialogue in response to feedback from children. The "language" variable superseded the paralanguage variable to become the most important element of the scaffolding process allowing for teacher/student collaboration in the process of negotiation of meaning.

The following chapter will examine the conclusions which can be drawn from these findings and will outline implications for pedagogy and questions for further research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This self-study sought to answer a variety of questions and concerns about the social, interactive nature of the teacher's communication in the initial stages of L2 learning. In particular, as noted in the literature review (Genesee, 1987) there was a need to focus research on interaction patterns and to consider the pedagogical and linguistic strategies employed by teachers in the second language learning situation.

An application of Jerome Bruner's "scaffolding process" seemed particularly adaptable to this study because it considers the role of the adult tutor in an interactive instructional context. Furthermore, studies (Cazden, 1983; Ilott, 1987) which applied this technique yielded valuable information about communicative behaviors in classroom situations.

The task now became one of applying Bruner's principles to the data collected in a French immersion kindergarten in order to determine if there was an L2 scaffolding process in use in this classroom. If so, what were its dominant variables? were some more important than others? and did the variables change over time?

Choosing to employ constitutive ethnography as defined by Hugh Mehan to analyze the data was both a deliberate attempt to forego the traditional restrictive methodology vis-a-vis French immersion studies and a means to ensure comprehensive treatment of all the data.

Many hours of repeated viewings of selected videotapes identified important categories and extensive analysis further reduced the data to a manageable, integrated L2 Scaffolding Model which was labelled Control of Complexity of L2 (Table 1). The essential elements of its two major language and paralanguage components were clearly defined and an interpretation of these elements revealed several interesting findings which seemed to support and/or clarify the literature in this area.

A recap of the findings related to the purposes and strategies of the L2 scaffolding process accompanied by a consideration of their implications for further research and pedagogy along with a concluding statement will now bring the study to a close.

Major Purposes and Strategies of the L2 Scaffolding Process

The findings of this study disclosed that classroom culture (Wilkinson, 1982) as well as the culture of kindergarten itself (Weber & Tardif, 1987) provided the source of L2 content which was introduced and reinforced in this classroom. Revolving around the themes, rituals, and routines of typical kindergarten classroom life, the major purposes of language (supported by paralanguage strategies) usage by this teacher were, at first, to introduce and reinforce L2 content and to establish and regulate both boundaries and behavior. While the dominant classroom/kindergarten culture continued to provide an ongoing impetus for language development, the teacher's classroom language changed and expanded subtly as the year progressed. Then language became more complex, as organizational strategies shifted emphasis from behavior control to simple

management of space and activities and the increasing participation of the children defined new ways of expanding language concepts. From passive mimicking of songs and language formulas, the children passed into the stage of actively effecting and enlarging their repertoire of language skills. This occurred through manipulation of concrete materials, involvement in dialogue, and in response to the building up of shared experiences and expectations. This seems to support Wong-Fillmore's stance (1989) that children play an active role in language interaction; as the children in this study became more linguistically comfortable in the shared social setting their responses within dialogues indicated when and how speech should be adjusted. Beyond this however, it seemed that children's manipulation of concrete materials allowed them to physically "act out" language and thus added another dimension to the language learning process.

Within this study a variety of intentional and unintentional teaching strategies co-occurred, blended, and/or combined to define the role of the adult tutor in the process of negotiating meaning in L2. Common to all direct language behaviors (modeling, expansion, direction of rituals and routines, and encouragement) was the teacher's use of culturally determined language promoted by specific language formulas (McLaughlin, 1982) and patterns (e.g., beginning and finishing markers), songs and the use of "realia."

The interesting finding in this study however, was the importance of supportive paralanguage. An examination of pedagogically significant paraverbal, kinesic, and proxemic teacher behaviors revealed that paralanguage strategies functioned to reduce the complexity of language by drawing emphatic attention to language in order to contextualize and concretize it as well as to allow for some

participation of the children before comprehension was in place. This paralanguage function appears to extend Krashen's theory of "comprehensible input' (1982) by showing that in the early stages of L2 the students are actually responding more to non verbal cues than to actual language input as he defined it. It also appears to support Bruner's thesis (1987) that the information provided by non verbal cues permits children to engage in communicative activities that would otherwise be beyond their understanding. In the beginning, paralanguage strategies served to highlight the physical presence of the teacher as she focused attention on herself in order to emphasize the linguistic context. Language gains made by the children over the course of the year however, allowed them to become increasingly more actively involved in their learning and resulted in virtual "self-destruction" (Cazden, 1983) of the paralanguage strategies.

By closely examining the language and paralanguage teaching strategies as manifested in this classroom over a period of eight months, the researcher concluded that initially the adult tutor physically controlled a culturally determined L2 agenda principally through the use of paralanguage strategies. With the onset of the students' expanded comprehension of L2 and more active participation in the learning process, the teacher's role gradually expanded to include the children's perspective. Collaborative language strategies slowly replaced the paralanguage behaviors to become the major focus of second language learning.

Implications for Further Research

The major focus of this research was the role of the adult tutor in the L2 scaffolding process. As the study progressed it became clear that some relevant

questions were necessarily being left unanswered while other interesting questions arose as a result of the findings.

It was determined, in this study, that the source of all L2 content derived from the traditional and organizational language of kindergarten classroom life. It was found also that classroom culture in and of itself provided valuable "cues" to children, allowing them to build up a repertoire of expectations thus enabling them to feel more comfortable and to anticipate language as it developed. A more complete examination of classroom culture than that provided in this study is needed to explore the relationship between all these factors and their effects on second language development.

This study has concentrated on the interactive role of the adult tutor in the scaffolding process. A natural progression would now be to more closely consider the child's role in this process. When do children begin to feel comfortable participating? What form does their participation take both initially and later? Discourse analysis done from an interactive perspective might be revealing. Another component, as suggested by Weber and Tardif, would be to consider the "collective search for meaning." What are the group strategies? How do students help each other in this process?

The significance of paralanguage strategies has been highlighted in this research. This study has merely "scratched the surface" of this important area, which has been virtually neglected in second language research. The various paralanguage strategies should be considered in much more detail, and with sophisticated equipment in order to get at the "minutiae" (Birdwhistell, 1952) of non verbal content. To reiterate what Pennycook (1985) has said, teachers need to

understand the non verbal messages they send out and they must actively teach students to exploit the use of paralinguistic signals as well.

Implications for Pedagogy

The ultimate goal of research is to strengthen the knowledge base of any given field of study. My self-study adopted an interactive perspective of L2 acquisition and attempted to clarify the role of the teacher in the L2 teaching/learning interaction by looking specifically not only at language but paralanguage teaching strategies as well. I felt that not enough was known about a second language teacher's use of non verbal communication and I hoped to contribute information identifying important paralinguistic features of L2 which influenced subsequent language acquisition. It is my belief that the process model I developed and called Control of Complexity of L2 offers teachers and researchers in the field of L2 a clear description of the language and paralanguage behaviors and strategies at work in my classroom and provides a standard against which other teachers might like to compare their own classroom strategies. By examining these behaviors over a period of eight months I feel that I achieved a level of accuracy that lends credibility to my findings which show that paralanguage "self- destructs" and that language as dialogue becomes increasingly dominant. My findings related to the importance of classroom routines and rituals, songs, language formulas, dialogue, and the use of concrete materials might lead some teachers to consider with my results or encourage others to test out the viability of these strategies in their own classrooms.

The most satisfying part of this project for me was choosing to be a teacher/researcher because it has permitted me to gain a deeper knowledge of my

own teaching style and, I feel, this increased awareness will only help me to be a more effective L2 teacher.

Concluding Statement

This research study sought to identify an L2 scaffolding process in a French immersion kindergarten by applying constitutive ethnographic research methods as defined by Mehan to Bruner's principles of scaffolding. The research findings indicated that there was an L2 scaffolding process in this particular kindergarten consisting of specific language and paralanguage teaching strategies. It was further determined that, over time, as the children became more able to actively participate in their language learning, the initially dominant paralanguage strategies "self-destructed" to be replaced by "collaborative" language strategies.

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process of divorce mediation. It is his opinion that the Alberta mediation society could use a "strong male voice" to further its goals, and is willing to work as a leader in part from his commitment to the mediation ideal, and in part for his personal benefit. He notes his concern about the future of mediation because despite publicity, the number of mediation clients has not risen.

As a divorce lawyer Bill is faced with the dilemma of having to settle 90% of his cases while not being perceived as a settler which would dilute his effectiveness in court. As a mediator he is limited by clients who would prefer adjudicated settlements and would not consider mediation. He recognizes that not all people are suited to mediation and that some will fail, even though he feels responsible for the process.

Bill is "much less empathic in the sense of letting my clients go and vent their spleen." He is always aware that the goal of mediation is for clients to "impose a regime of settlement on themselves that is a custom fit, is workable for them and is liable to have a long shelf life". Bill controls the process by using his "personality to wield some control and some power" in order to proceed with negotiations. His opinion that, if the mediator fails to control the process "you've got . . . little more than a therapist . . . listen and bleed" displays a lack of interdisciplinary awareness about the therapy process and inadvertently displays a subjective evaluation of psychotherapy similar to others of his profession.

On the other hand, using Haynes as a model, Bill is clear about the qualities of an effective mediator that he thinks are important. He considers Haynes to be human, approachable, calm and vulnerable but not infallible. He comments that Haynes "will let you go a long mile before he reigns you in", seemingly unaware of

the discrepancy between this statement and his previous stance of "not allowing clients to vent their spleen.for too long." However, Bill is aware that in some respects he brings a different temperament to mediation. He is rueful when he wonders how "you keep your cheeks from going red?"

Bill finds satisfaction in his divorce work from his competence and rising reputation as a lawyer's lawyer. His major satisfaction from mediation is that agreements are suited to the people involved and provide a more humanitarian alternative to the adversarial method of divorce. He finds satisfaction in that it's "very liberating and everything, notwithstanding that's it's a lot of work and you have to be more committed to the process than the parties are probably."

This commitment applies to the legal profession's questionable use of the mediation system to gain time or try to obtain a more generous settlement in some way for their client. Bill's value system and his commitment to mediation make him question the integrity of lawyers who use mediation duplicitously. He is frank in his opinion when he says, "Some lawyers prostitute the mediation process in paying lip service to it, and I think that's intellectual dishonesty." Bill's values include an adherence to the global best interest of the child doctrine. He makes suggestions based on this bias and will not "willingly allow siblings to be separated" based on the same values. Bill's satisfaction from mediation springs from a deeply held belief that it is important to hold to humanistic values.

Bill has a high level of self awareness on many topics. He is cognizant of the psychological stress placed on him by the often unspoken, conflicting expectations of partners and the resentment towards him by clients who are placed in a subservient position by need. He ventures the opinion that these stressors are

compounded by the expectation that he always win. He is aware that power is imbalanced in a legal situation in that the lawyer is the person in power: "They really do need you." Bill is somewhat uncomfortable with the notion that: "I am absolutely essential to his well being, to his carrying on, and his success. So I've got to damn well be right." He is ambiguous about the qualities that he feels allow others to take advantage of him forcing Bill to "overextend myself spend too much time not be as efficient as I might." He sees himself as creative, empathic, sympathetic, aware of biases and insightful into human nature.

Throughout the data, a caring about people emerges strongly. Bill enjoys people and the variety they bring to family law: "The fact is I like it in a funny kind of way. . . I like the person to person contact." He is forthright about his caring for people and maintains "I want to help and I will take the time." He is sensitive to the concern of women in mediation that a husband will influence the mediator. He recognizes the emotional tone of clients and is comfortable with expressed emotion. He talks about putting himself in another's shoes to understand a case with which he was especially pleased. Bill talks about fears parents face from a personal perspective when theorizing about the best interests of the children should his own marriage dissolve, that indicates his genuineness, understanding, and empathy. Similarly he understands that the truth of the perceiver is not necessarily the absolute truth. In a vivid custody example he explains that "regardless whether the fears were justified (of children for their father), and they were not, they were real."

Bill reveals his respect for his clients with the idea that people are under stress and "six months either way of the dispute these people are probably very nice people." His satisfaction with mediation stems from a position of equality with his

clients in which he recognizes that the liberation that he feels is due to the clients taking responsibility for their agreement. To feel liberated by mediation signifies that Bill views people as being capable to negotiate settlements more suited to their needs. On a continuation of this theme, Bill also feels that if mediation fails, the clients assume responsibility.

One of Bill's charms is his willingness to be known, and his sense of congruence about who he is. He is genuine about his ambition and about who he thinks he is. In counseling, to have clients let down barriers the mediator or counselor must be willing to be known past their own barrier. Musing about his success at mediation he observes that "you have to have a personality that is malleable enough that you can get into individuals and let down some of the barriers."

Bill uses the observation skills he has developed to enhance understanding and improve communication. He naturally thinks in metaphors and encourages his clients to use metaphors so that he can get a "flavor" of what they are thinking. During these times he is also monitoring the reactions of his clients. The constant monitoring forces him to evaluate on one level while staying engaged with his clients. Bill finds this dimension missing in law, and considers the change exciting. He says that "it keeps my mind alive . . . you're taking sensor readings all the time about what's happening here." He values the mental stimulation and enjoys the evaluation process. He is aware that apart from mental stimulation he must keep himself in an objective stance. As an example he seldom imposes his views about what is in the best interest of the child on his clients, maintaining that

"as a professional you really have to subvert those kinds of feelings to represent your client's best interest" on a divorce file, it's like thinking on a different plane."

Bill's reputation as an effective mediator is likely based on the strong belief he has in himself and on the caring about people that emerges in the data. The way he views mediation is pivotal. Although his motivation to mediate was prompted by a wish "to see what's new" and to tap a source of new clients, Bill says "I am committed to it [the mediation process]. . . you have to be more committed to the process than the parties are probably." Bill's effectiveness likely relies on his belief in the humanitarian aspect of the mediation process, his enjoyment, and his caring about people.

Table # 4B

Higher order thematic descriptions of Pam's mediation experience.

Thematic clusters		
1. Professional Orientation	(a) Professional role (36, 50, 55, 59, 71, 87, 1, 2, 3, 4, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 78(.	Ambivalent feelings about divorce work forced re-appraisal and re-commitment. Aware of stigma attached to divorce work, professional concern about income. Mediation professional challenge, uncomfortable with emotional tone. Makes professional referrals if one person has consulted her as attorney. Feels obligation to canvas partners abut re-conciliation. Feels responsible for rapid resolution of mediation. Feels competent with money and property issues. Refers custody cases to a psychologist as a professional duty, perceives self to be less competent in custody. Uses theory from workshops to guide mediation.
	(b) Recognition that mediation goal directed (20, 21, 42, 92, 66).	Aware that a failed mediation can still be termed successful if couple experiences persona growth. Acknowledges feelings in order to facilitate mediation process. Successful mediation, signed agreement uncomfortable if the therapeutic goal not addressed. Believes mediator should be task directive and make suggestions for resolution of the dispute. Failure, unsigned agreement.
	(c) Recognition of professional limitations (18, 47, 48, 84).	Recognition that not all people suitable for mediation. Negotiations doomed if clients or lawyer not motivated to mediate.
	(d) Professional satisfaction (4, 9, 12, 27, 64, 80, 86).	Finds divorce practise satisfying because it meets need for social contact. Finds personal service vested in her practise nurtures satisfaction. Professional pride incompetence. Satisfaction in some cases where agreement not signed but clients experienced personal growth. Finds satisfaction when mediation productive, meets therapeutic end goal and is long lasting. Finds satisfaction in small achievements.
	(e) Model of ideal mediator (91, 92, 93).	Feels mediator including self should be good communicator, patient, trustworthy, and possess counselor skills based on Knowledge, be a genuine and open person. Also should be objective task oriented and directive to some degree. Should understand each persons point of view and balance the two.

2. Motivation	(a) Best interests of children (60, 95).	Wants child issues settled so that children cared for before money issues discussed. Uncomfortable when divorce clients use lawyers to exercise power using the children as pawns.
	(b) Therapeutic orientation (54, 63, 64, 65, 66, 80, 86).	Satisfaction when client show sign of personal growth. Believes growth empowers clients. Dissatisfied if underlying issues not resolved and clients do not grow from mediation. More honest communication between clients seen as positive.
3.Value System	(a) Social conscience (7, 8, 9, 14, 52, *53, 54, 75) – Primary motivation.	Responding to changing social needs, and desire to serve people motivation for divorce work. Strong belief in private ordering of marriage led to mediation. Belief people responsible for their own actions. Strong belief in the duty of the lawyer to serve.
	(b) Personal beliefs (56, 57, 59, 81, 94).	Values balance in life and time to be with family. Finds dealing with people personally meaningful. Willing to compromise mediator neutrality based on belief in fair settlements. Will not mediate if women ar judged to be too vulnerable. Will not tolerate clients who do not mediate in good faith. Involved in improving communication process in firm to benefit others as well as self. Believes strongly in mediation of all kinds as an important societal device to global cooperation.
	(c) Professional beliefs (83).	Sees lawyers who use mediation for manipulative purposes as intellectually and morally dishonest.
4. Change in World View (74)	Experience with disharmony between values of law, e.g. financial and ambition to succeed disconnected her from the person she felt that she had been. Decision to continue to practise law and to mediate based on values of service to people, duty of lawyer to serve. Mediation method to adhere to those values in socially meaningful sense.	
5. Counselor Qualities	(a) Polycentric empathy (31, 46, 93).	Aware of need to understand each partners point of view and balance attention between clients Finds balance difficult to achieve.

	(b) Empathy (15, 39, 41, 45, 56, 68)	Understanding combined with need to be objective. Understands tears but uncomfortable with emotion but aware that emotions such as anger must be understood. Tries to let client know that she hears both the message and he emotion. Sensitive to the self-image of vulnerable clients. Recognizes the power of being understood and enjoys the rapport it produces with clients.
	(c) Views clients as capable (5, 16, 47, 54, 76, 90).	Views clients as bright capable human beings. Enjoys clients who do not want to use legal system and has an ability to handle the issues. Thinks law making people responsible for themselves gives power to clients. Believes people responsible for their own actions. Will get involved in mediation only when she sees that the couple needs help.
	(d) Self awareness (10, 13, 40, 43, 49, 67, 69, 89).	Recognition that divorce work serves here purposes for the time being. Recognizes need to please others, e.g. clients and judges. Aware that at times she has difficulty maintaining objectivity. Recognition that clients testing her in the first mediation session. Relies on observational skills and senses to guide intuition. Likes to be aware of what she is thinking. always in process of self-evaluation.
	(e) Open to new experience (88).	Willing to learn.
	(f) Non judgmental (77).	Acts for people with varying values. Must be willing to take legal advice.
	(g) Genuine.	
6. Enjoyment of analysis and problem solving (6, 19, 22, 23, 43, 48).	Enjoys mental stimulation of court work. Able to see beyond surface issues. Able to analyze but finds emotions mask message.	

NOTE: Higher order thematic descriptions extracted from two levels of abstraction in Table 7. The numbers in parentheses refer to Pam's verbal reflections and experience in column one.

Pam

Pam is a divorce attorney with 13 years at the bar. Her reputation as an effective, experienced mediator is based on between three and four years practical experience gained after she attended a mediation workshop in the United States conducted by John Haynes. Pam averages approximately two mediation cases per month, often co-mediated with a mental health professional in cases where custody is the major concern of the disputing parents.

Recently, ambivalent feelings about divorce work forced Pam to re-examine her career resulting in a re-commitment to her own goal of helping people by providing a personal approach to their divorce. Worries about being able to "pull her weight" within her firm with regard to finances, plus an additional worry about the proportion of billings that she will receive, helped to precipitate a re-appraisal of her professional role. The income she is able to generate in practice is comparatively less than her partners in more ulcerative areas. It is a concern reflected by her comment that "we're coming up to our night of the long knives next week." Pam is aware of the lesser status accorded to divorce lawyers by their peers, but enjoys the daily contact with people absent in other areas of law, and the feelings of competence she has developed as she becomes a leader in her field. Pam's re-dedication to her craft, for these reasons, include mediation as a useful, but not all encompassing alternative to dispute resolution.

During our first interview, Pam reflected on herself as a divorce lawyer and as a mediator in general terms using few examples. She used more examples in order to generalize her experiences in the second interview, beginning or ending

with an analysis of the insight gained from the experience. Hence, the most clearly expressed synthesis of her accumulated knowledge often emerges in generalities.

Pam finds divorce mediation to be a professional challenge although she is often uncomfortable with the emotional tone of the sessions. She places a high emphasis on professional conduct illustrated by her willingness to co-mediate issues where she feels less comfortable, and to refer clients for mediation who initially consulted Pam in her capacity as a divorce lawyer. She canvasses her clients about the possibilities of re-conciliation, and makes them aware of the possibilities in mediation as an obligation to the divorce act and to her profession. Pam's strong sense of responsibility to keep the cost to the client as low as possible, impels her to try to complete mediation as quickly and efficiently as possible. Pam prefers to mediate cases where her expertise is most useful, namely financial and property issues. She is conscious of and conscientiously tries to use the theory that she learned in workshops to guide her mediation.

Pam's sense of obligation enhances the task orientation in mediation. She believes the mediator should be active and should participate in generating solutions to problems that might enhance the mediation process. Although she perceives herself to be empathic, she uses counseling techniques such as acknowledging feelings in order to facilitate the process. Pam's definition of failure is an unsigned agreement, although she is pleased when personal growth results from mediation, even those technically termed failures. Of one failed experience where personal growth occurred, Pam said "I've had feedback from both my clients in response to my request that they pay my bill, that they were totally happy. It was a wonderful experience."

Pam says that she recognizes that "only a small portion of the population will benefit" from mediation. Her opinion is reflected in the contention that these people must be capable and willing to negotiate with their former spouse. An example she gave was when she recalls realizing that "although the husband appeared to be holding the power and be the one who was undermining the process, the wife just wasn't ready to agree to anything." Pam is alert to the possibility that one of the partners may be represented by a lawyer who does not understand or believe in the mediation concept and then the process is, as she remarks, "doomed to failure."

Pam derives a great deal of satisfaction from her work as a divorce lawyer and as a divorce mediator. Social contact, and the opportunity to provide personalized service nurtures a sense of satisfaction in her family practice. She notes that it's "the social end of the practice that's fairly satisfying." Pam receives personal satisfaction from her feelings of professional competence in both family law and divorce mediation. Mediation is especially rewarding for Pam when mediation has been productive, meets a therapeutic end goal and is long lasting. She is able to take pride in small achievements in mediation, saying that it "is so nice to go home with a smile at the end of the day, when people have worked productively towards an agreement."

Pam reflects that in her opinion, a good mediator should be a "good communicator, able to listen well and be responsive to what is being said, . . . be patient, and be able to pickup on feelings in the room and show that they understand." She feels that a mediator should be task oriented, objective and to some degree directive, willing to be genuine and have some counseling skills. Lack

of consistent practice has led Pam to feel unsure of her counselor skills. She is open about her uncertainty, which is in itself a counselor quality, when she says "maybe a psychologist might be better in the situation, I don't know."

Pam is forthright about her discomfort in highly emotional situations. She admits that "the thing that gets me is tears . . . You know that they're hurt and that gets to me." She finds that the open expression of tears or hostility makes her so uncomfortable that she prefers to mediate only financial issues. In order to mediate an agreement that will be in the best interests of children, she often co-mediates with a mental health professional because "they tap resources in the client I didn't know existed." She thinks that child care issues should be settled so that the parents can relax and focus on financial issues." One particular trend Pam finds personally repugnant is lawyers using children as pawns in the negotiating process of divorce.

Her satisfaction when a client shows signs of personal growth is genuine. Talking about one of her first client's, Pam was smiling at the end of her description:. "but it was so nice to be able to say, 'Ah, you've finally decided to take care of yourself' . . . She was experiencing what mediation was for. She was empowered by the process . . . and it was a very successful agreement because of her growth." Pam is uneasy when the underlying issues are resolved but the clients show no signs of personal growth: "I remember one particularly where it was very successful and done in a compressed way and I just hated it. But we got our deal, it was an underlying feeling, I'm not sure what it was." Although she does not express personal growth as a goal, it emerges from her comments.

For Pam, the primary motivation to mediate divorce cases springs from a firm conviction that marriage is a private affair and should result in a private rather than public or legal ordering of it's dissolution. She believes that people are responsible for their actions and are entitled to settle their own marital disputes. Her desire to mediate stems from a wish to respond to changing social needs and a desire to help people. Pam's desire to help people is re-enforced by her commitment to the ideal that it is a lawyers duty to serve the public.

Pam has considered her values. She values her family as well as her work and makes an effort to balance the two. Dealing with people holds personal meaning. She is willing to compromise mediator neutrality if she perceives a power imbalance, and will not refer clients that do not seem to have enough self-esteem to negotiate in their own best interests: "They don't believe they do [have the ability to negotiate]. And I don't refer those people." Pam will not tolerate clients who do not mediate in good faith and think that lawyers who manipulate opposing counsel by using the mediation system are "intellectually and morally dishonest." Pam is committed to mediation as a tool of peaceful resolution. She believes strongly in mediation of all kinds as an important societal device for global co-operation.

Pam's change in world-view came about as a result of the disharmony she perceived between the implicit values of lawyers interested in financial rewards and her own values. She felt disconnected from the person that she felt that she had been. Her decision to continue to practise family law and to mediate was based on her personal values of service to others and the duty of lawyers to serve the public. Mediation is one method by which Pam is able to adhere to those values in a socially and personally meaningful sense. Pam says that the main focus of her life

is her relationship with people. Pam spoke with assurance when she stated that "it is very very central in my life." As a mediator she is able to understand each person's point of view and balance her understanding between clients, a skill that she finds difficult but improving. Pam recounts a case in which the female partner in a marriage was unable to present a realistic budget because of her low self esteem and the difficulty balancing negotiations when the husband thought, "[and] he really did think [the budget] was perfect." Pam combines her ability to empathize with the need to be objective. She acknowledges an extreme discomfort with tears because "you just know that they [the clients] hurt, and that gets to me." However, Pam understands that emotions such as anger must be understood and she "tries to let the client know that she hears both the emotion and the message." She recognizes that the times when clients feel they have been understood have great power and enjoys the rapport it produces.

In spite of her concern about her own handling of others emotions, Pam views most of her clients as bright capable human beings. She likes to work with people who feel they do not need the legal process and are confident of their ability to handle the issues. Pam thinks that the law making people responsible for themselves empowers clients. She sees her role as mediator as a facilitator, and will only become active in the negotiations if the clients seem to need help. Her sense of urgency may impel her to become involved at an earlier stage than some other mediators, but her success implies that she and the clients understand each other.

Pam has a self-awareness that she says she has always used. She makes assessments of herself which are not always flattering but reflect who she is: "I

think I am responding to something in me that wants to please others [when talking about litigation]." She is aware that at times she has trouble maintaining her objectivity and struggles to control her empathic responses. Pam acknowledges that at times she has trouble separating the message from emotion; however, she says that "I experience it in the moment, but I force myself to draw back and get on with the task." She is very aware that in the first mediation session the clients are evaluating her abilities. Pam is sensitive to the fact that throughout her life, she has relied on her observational skills and her senses to guide her intuition: "I like to know what I'm feeling about various things that I'm doing." She elaborates that she: "is always critical of what I'm doing," a tendency that forces self awareness and which may have contributed to her feelings of being burned out. Counterbalancing her feelings of responsibility for the process with her willingness to cede responsibility for actions to her clients, may help to lessen the effect of unremitting self-assessment for Pam.

An openness to new experience, evinced by a willingness to learn, and a non-judgmental attitude seemed to have helped Pam's transition from divorce attorney to divorce mediator. Her relish for analysis and mental stimulation combined with insight, have sustained Pam's efforts even when the message is "a lot harder to pick out if it's delivered in a very emotional way." In reference to clients who were happy with her work but did not sign an agreement, her comment that "maybe they just don't want to conclude a deal" seems to imply that she is content to leave the choices made by her mediation clients to them.

Pam's reputation as an effective divorce mediator likely results from her caring for and about the people with whom she works, and the strong sense of

integrity that she displays. Although these qualities are based on the premise of a therapeutic goal and on the best interest of children doctrine, the emphasis on these emerges from the data in a more obscure way. Specifically, when Pam says: "where there are kids in issue and two people who seem to be saying good things about the other. . . I'll encourage them." A second example appears when Pam says: "She was experiencing what mediation was for. She was empowered by the process and it was a very engaged agreement, a very successful mediation because of her growth. So that was a good experience."

Pam recognizes that experience is a factor in successful mediation. She would like to increase her mediation practice for the experience: "We need more experience," and for the help it would give to families. Discussing a difficult contested divorce, she talks about power exhibited in the way people fight over small details. "China is petty, kids are not petty, and the exercise of power is devastating." It is apparent that Pam is committed to the goals of mediation from a social and personal standpoint and successfully translates the commitment to her clients.

Synthesis of shared qualities of divorce mediators

Heidegger (Packer, 1985) described three processes by which hermeneutics could describe practical activity. He outlined modes of involvement that people have with their surroundings. These are the ready-to-hand, the unready-at hand, and the present at hand, modes of engagement. The basic mode is the ready-to hand which describes practical projects in the world carried on in a global or wholistic sense, in that the parts of our activity are so ingrained in our being, that we have "no need for focal awareness of ourselves and our tools: Both become fused into the activity" (p. 1083). An illustration of the ready-to-hand mode of engagement is that of a person driving a car. When a problem occurs making us aware of the process and the interrelated skills required to drive the car, our performance deteriorates rapidly.

In the unready-to-hand mode, experience changes with the awareness that there is a problem related to our activity and we try to identify it's nature. Elements of the experience become more salient and stand out against the background of experience analagous to the figure ground structure found in the Gestalt school of visual experience.

The present-to-hand mode is experienced when an effort is made to detach from and analyze ongoing practical involvement in a specific project. The process of stepping back to analyze in order to solve the problem provides access to a theoretical phenomena which is separate and distinct from emotions, habitual practices and skills of the ready-to-hand mode of involvement.

Cognitive orientation

An examination of the data reveals that the most obvious quality shared by the four co-researchers has eluded experiential description. Each co-researcher displayed a tendency to be extremely cognitive about their life-world experience. When the data were examined for experiential description as opposed to a synthesis of observations, two distinct patterns occurred. The psychologists, more experienced in numbers of clients, had difficulty pin pointing examples of a particular kind of problem. The lawyers, when asked, were able to describe examples of problems, but not without some difficulty.

The ready-to-hand mode is the beginning point for hermeneutic inquiry. However, the present at hand mode is present when interviews are conducted because a reflective and disengaged attitude is needed for description. The purpose of inquiry is to reveal the ready-to-hand way of being in the world. Joe and Cecile's involvement with mediation is of longer standing and their experiences seem to have melded into a ready-to-hand-mode of involvement that makes particular descriptions especially difficult. Cecile, however, was able to generate generic examples based on experience more readily than Joe. Bill and Pam were able to give examples of their experiences more readily. Pam's comment that she feels encumbered by "my lack of training in the psychological area," coupled with Bill's remark about the importance of feelings being a "side trip" (indicating that he does not often take side trips), suggests that the lawyers may be operating in the unready-to-hand mode in the area of psychological expertise, thereby making examples easier to recall. However, both would slip into the present-to-hand stance

of description which is presumably made easier by long standing analytical activity. Similarly, the psychologists who spend their days in mental involvement with clients while maintaining an evaluative goal directed component were able to describe themes or types of clients, but were unable to readily identify salience with regard to individuals.

Motivation

The divorce mediators in this study all seemed to have very different personalities. Each arrived in the mediation field for individual reasons. Much of the motivation for the practioners to mediate is similar, so that shading of emphasis varies according to the individual. Joe developed a divorce mediation practice with the clear intention of helping children by helping their parents to say goodbye in the manner least harmful for the children. He pursued the additional goal of therapeutic acceptance of the divorce by the parents, not only as a positive step for the individuals, but as one which would ultimately generate a more peaceful environment for children to grow. Cecile found herself doing two kinds of therapy before she realized that one of the kinds had been called mediation. Her primary motivation for divorce mediation was her strong belief that people are capable of making their own decisions and by doing so they become psychologically empowered. Cecile adheres to the tenet of children's best interests; however, she feels children will be better served by parents who are capable of making decisions.

The two lawyers assigned higher importance to the ideals of individual rights. Pam agrees with the body of thought (Mnookin & Kornhauser, 1979) holding that marriage and divorce belong to a private rather than public ordering

before the law. A keenly felt commitment to and caring for people prompted her to embody the ideal of service to the community through the law. Bill arrived at his position of respected mediator via a road less traveled but one which is of concern to the legal community. He approached mediation from a stand point of personal gain. Bill reasoned that if he learned the new techniques, he would enhance his growing reputation and satisfy his need for new knowledge. It was after he began to learn more about the process and the values of divorce mediation that he "bought into the notion." It is probable that Bill bought into the notion because his natural attitude or way of being in the world is one of caring about people, particularly those who "cry in my office and I see them mad, and I catch colds from their kids."

Change in World-View

All of the practitioners experienced a change in world view which enabled them to orient to divorce mediation as a viable method of divorce dispute resolution. Joe could only endure openly hostile sessions when he "did it for the kids" Cecile experienced a gradual change in that she recognized that the goals of mediation and therapy were different. Pam was influenced in her professional life by a personal decision to live by ideals that would bring help to others and harmony to her own life. Bill experienced a conversion from a surface interest to a deep personal commitment to the humanity of divorce mediation. Each change enhanced the mediators' ability to be present to their clients in an open and genuine manner, engage the client's trust and to function effectively in their role as divorce mediator.

Counselor Qualities

The qualities that emerged consistently in all mediators were similar to the qualities outlined by Rogers (1961), elaborated by Soper (1963), and explicated by the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (1964). Rogers posited that an effective counselor had to be an attractive, friendly person who inspired confidence and trust. Soper added the conditions that counselors must perceive their clients as capable, dependable, and trustworthy and must perceive themselves as nondominating and altruistic. The six qualities outlined by the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision are a belief in each individual, open-mindedness, commitment to human values, alertness to the world, open-mindedness, understanding of self, and professional commitment. The conditions conductive to therapy include the ideal qualities held by counselors, which enable and enhance therapy where the goal is personal awareness and personal growth. In divorce, the disputant must first accept the divorce before personal growth can begin. When the divorce is not accepted as being necessary, the probability of a contested divorce is much higher (Brown, 1982).

All co-researchers approached divorce mediation as a viable method of dispute resolution because of the emphasis on a therapeutic end goal or on the children's best interest. These goals may not have been the primary motivation for the lawyers, but were present in the humanitarian orientation exhibited by each. From this perspective, counselor qualities would be expected in effective mediators, and were found.

Empathy requires one to enter the world-view of clients (Ivey et al., 1987), or as Bill and Cecile explained "to walk in their shoes." An elementary

approximation of empathy may be achieved through an effective use of attending behaviors and the attending skills. There are two levels of empathy. Advanced accurate empathy requires that counselors give more of themselves and may include attempts to directly influence the client. Primary empathy influences behavior in more subtle ways by giving feedback, suggestions, interpretation, logical consequences and by using an influencing summary, as well as using attending skills (Ivey et al., 1987). Divorce mediation is usually conducted with both disputants present, which calls for an understanding of each person's point of view. In addition, mediators need to remember the cultural and historical perspective they bring to the session as well as those brought by both clients. All co-researchers displayed not only unidirectional empathy, but also an ability to understand the viewpoint of both parties, or polycentric empathy. Cecile specified that not only should the parties be understood, but that the understanding should be explicated in order to facilitate the mediation process.

To be truly empathic and attending with clients, the counselor must be able to grow personally (Ivey et al., 1987). One of the conditions for personal growth according to Maslow (1954), is an openness to experience. Mediation was a new experience for all four individuals who worked at the process in order to learn and practice their new skills and therefore demonstrate an openness to experience. Talking about an unsuccessful mediation, Pam reflected that it had carried an impact because it had been "such a valuable learning experience." She demonstrated a willingness to learn more thereby maintaining a continued openness to experience. The habit of looking at people as individuals and a wish to learn their world is an openness to experience also shared by all mediators.

Regardless of background, all of the divorce mediators viewed their clients with respect and as capable of making decisions. This belief formed the foundation of Cecile's approach to mediation. Pam's statement that people are responsible for their own actions was very strong. Bill observed that "I haven't seen a couple yet that are not more capable than I or a judge of working out something that's going to be functional for them." Joe refuses to take credit for a successful agreement or blame for an unsuccessful agreement, although he enjoys sessions where he feels that his facilitation has been helpful to the clients.

Similarly, all mediators exhibited a nonjudgemental attitude towards clients in all but two areas. None of these professionals would mediate an agreement which would disadvantage an abused spouse, nor would they willingly jeopardize the best interests of the children. All cited their own value system as the basis for making a decision about whether to continue to mediate. Often the decision to mediate in good faith depends upon the integrity of the mediator. Joe justified his decision to allow an agreement that separated siblings on gender lines by pointing to the fact that things are better now than they were for the family. He ensured a second opportunity to unite the children by qualifying the separation as a temporary step written into the agreement and subject to a specified review. The case cited by Bill where a similar separation of sibling took place, hinged on his judgement that the discord in the household was longstanding and not expected to change. Bill acknowledged that although the terms were not ideal, the children, as in Joe's case, would be happier than previously. It was only after some self-examination that he concluded the agreement.

Each divorce mediator works with a high degree of self-awareness and personal congruence. Each was aware how values influenced thinking. All revealed at least one attribute that might be considered undesirable, but maintained an honesty congruent with their self-knowledge: Pam knows that she has a need to please others, Bill is open about his reasons for becoming a divorce lawyer and mediator, Joe acknowledges that his concern for children stems from his own childhood which might influence his thinking, and Cecile knows that she becomes impatient with the process and would like to say "Oh, for God's sake . . . 'Let me tell you how you're going to do it.'"

Professional orientation

A noticeable attribute of the co-researchers was a high degree of commitment to their individual professions, and to the goals of mediation. Professionalism emerged in comments such as the one made by Joe that the test of a professional's attitude is "the way they talk about their cases when they are away from their office." Cecile often integrated her observations with research from professional literature. Pam talks of her divorce work as a commitment, and Bill voices concern that divorce mediation is not gathering momentum. The four also recognize that many people are not suited to mediation, and are realistic that not all cases of divorce mediation will be successful. Despite problems, each finds mediation a professionally and personally satisfying experience; a satisfaction that appears to come from having helped others. Although the motives to mediate are different, satisfaction for each mediator arises when clients exhibit some evidence of personal growth or when children of divorcing families benefit.

Enjoyment of Analysis and Problem solving

A common enjoyment of mental involvement and stimulation was noted in all co-researchers. Bill found satisfaction in the concentration and mental activity involved with understanding each client. He said that his mind "came alive" when working on two levels, emotional and problem solving. The distinction between pure analysis required by people who solve problems based on written work, which admittedly may be a distillation of peoples experience, and the pressure of guiding people to problem solve in an emotionally laden atmosphere, is of interest in that it implies a perception that the latter is more critical to the participants. In a comment made after the tape stopped, Bill allowed that he found it difficult to maintain eye contact with his clients and an interest in their divorce cases after he had the information needed and a plan formulated. His experience as an expert divorce lawyer and team leader made his experience of divorce law fall into the ready-to-hand mode of engagement, an experience that he contends is quite different from his role as mediator. It would be unwise to label the enjoyment of mental activity and analysis as a lawyer characteristic since both professions use these abilities extensively. Psychologists are taught to assess clients in order to bring about change in an interactive setting. Similarly lawyers use their analytical abilities daily. Hochberg and Kressel (1983), maintains that by virtue of their advice-giving role, lawyers expect their advice to be heeded. The interactive setting of the court is slightly different than a session with clients, in that there are certain forms to be observed and questions that can be anticipated. In a mediation session the self-determination of the clients is compromised when a lawyer (or mediator), assumes the role of advice giver (Irving, 1980).

Distinctions Found Between Divorce Mediators

Some differences along gender lines were anticipated in this study. Differences were found in the degree of similarity rather than complete divergence, with the degree of similarity being divided by profession rather than gender. Even though the lawyers thought their clients to be capable, they felt a greater responsibility to move quickly to agreement than did the psychologists. Pam says that she feels "a very strong obligation to as quickly as I can, answer their questions. I'm just firing the stuff up on the board." Bill comments that "I've got enough of a balance now to say, here's what I need you to do, and here's why, and here's what you need to know, and here's what I want you to do." The psychologists at times assume responsibility for the agreement, but with an awareness that it is a mistake. Joe is rueful about being forced to take more responsibility than he should at times, because he knows that a directed agreement stands less chance of being followed. Cecile notes that when she gets tired it is because she is the one who is working "and they're the ones on the sidelines." It may be that the lawyers' sense of responsibility stems from a feeling that their time is more valuable. Joe's charges are at par with lawyers so that the clients will value his input as they would any other professional. He says that at times responsibility seems to be forced on him, but that from a therapeutic point of view, responsibility must rest with the clients.

The difference apparently separating the two professions is the degree of orientation to the therapeutic end goal. This goal is acknowledged by all, but the lawyers place more emphasis on social ideals evinced by Pam's wish to enable a private ordering of marriage, and Bill's declaration of humanitarian ideals for a

solution to human problems as a less destructive alternative to current adversarial methods. In contrast, the psychologists placed more emphasis on child related issues and emotional acceptance of the divorce by the parting couple.

The degree of psychological skill held by each mediator varied with experience. Pam is uncertain of the level of her skills. She feels that she has not been able to practise those skills enough. One of Bill's most satisfying cases called for a degree of thought and psychological skill that he apparently had not previously used, since the resolution of this case is memorable to him because of his ability to understand the people and their reasoning. However, the lawyers willingness to learn new skills, and their efforts to integrate the skills into their practice has led to success in divorce mediation. Ivey et al. (1987) notes that number of researchers have found that first level attending behavior and skills are relatively easy to teach and are extremely successful techniques that enhance effectiveness in all aspects of life for the recipients. Mediation does not include therapy, merely the recognition of the need for therapy so that the required level of psychological skills need not be those of a therapist. Following Irving and Benjamin's (1987) reasoning, the skills must be sufficient for the mediator to understand the world-view of clients in order to facilitate a fair agreement which will be in the best interests of children, and will encourage personal growth for the clients. Riskin (1982) interprets the issue of psychological skills when he comments "a like sensitivity is essential for good lawyering as well, but it occupies a more prominent place on the list of skills required for a mediator" (p.36).

Concerns expressed by the legal profession regarding non-lawyers offering legal advice appears to be unfounded in the case of the participants of this study.

Cecile is emphatic about the delineation of roles. She encourages clients to check with their lawyers if any part of an agreement is troublesome. She encourages frequent contact with lawyers to facilitate the process of mediation and furthermore, will not mediate an agreement that she perceives to be detrimental to one client. Joe holds case conferences with all parties present, including the lawyers, so that all know the ground rules, the purpose of the mediation, and that access to legal advice is encouraged. The obligation held by all liscenced psychologists under their code of ethics, is to practice only in areas of competence. The high degree of professionalism found in these individuals makes it unlikely that legal advice, per se, would be given.

Conclusion

Themes that emerged from the data varied in emphasis but were found to be consistent in the experience of the co-researchers. Participants approached a discussion of their work in a manner that suggests a cognitive style of experiencing their world. In addition, all mediators exhibited an enjoyment of intellectual and emotional problem solving. Motivation for both lawyers and psychologists to mediate encompassed individual rights, children's best interest and emotional acceptance of the divorce by clients. Generally, the lawyers tended to emphasize human rights and the psychologists emphasize children's best interests and client's emotional acceptance of the divorce.

All co-researchers demonstrated a high degree of professionalism and a commitment to their profession and the principles and practice of divorce mediation. These ideals are based on a value and belief system that also prohibited mediators

from entering into negotiations where a chronic imbalance of power or abuse by a spouse was perceived. Counselor qualities emerged in every instance, particularly with regard to empathy and an open and genuine way of being in the world. A change in world-view had occurred for each co-researcher. In every case, it enabled the practioner to function more effectively as a divorce mediator. Of special significance is the change in world-view for one of the lawyers from mediation as a method to increase personal reputation and, in part, financial gain, to a true belief in mediation as a humane solution to a human problem. The significance of these findings are discussed further in chapter five.

Chapter 5
General Discussion

The concluding chapter discusses methodological considerations and limitations of the study as it evolved. Issues relating to mediation, from the legal perspective, future direction for divorce mediators, especially in regard to education, are highlighted. Contributions of this study and implications for future research are considered.

Methodological Considerations

Phenomenological research is always a beginning. Often it reveals what we didn't know we knew, so that when the revelation appears there is a tendency to think "I knew that." Others with different questions may examine the data and find another map. In this study, the question "what are the shared qualities of divorce mediators?" revealed significant similarities based on the experience of the individual co-researchers. The similarities that emerged from the data must now be replicated or built upon.

Limitations of This Study

Phenomenological research searches for examples of the phenomenon as they are lived rather than as they are theorized about (Salner, 1986). Each of the co-researchers in this study had difficulty not theorizing about an area of great interest to us both. I have tried to use language that clearly delimits experience from opinion. One difficulty is that examples of lived experience would often be

preceded by or summarized in a theoretical fashion. For all that theorizing in part obstructed method, the consistency with which this happened led to the conclusion that a meta cognitive approach is a quality shared by effective divorce mediators. Implications of a meta cognitive approach might be that it is important for divorce mediators to protect their feelings by an objective approach, much as psychologists are taught, in order that the client may benefit. Since the researcher was looking for underlying qualities rather than an explication of lived experience, the data was considered useful to illuminate qualities co-researchers revealed in all discussions about divorce mediation.

Mediation and Relevant Legal Issues

The appeal of mediation is apparent in the words of Gandhi, Indian lawyer and political leader, whose strength lay in his willingness to compromise.

> I had learnt the true practice of the law. I had learnt to find out the better side of human nature and to enter men's hearts. I had realized that the true function of a lawyer was to unite parties riven asunder. The lesson was so indelibly burnt into me that a large part of my time during the twenty years of my practice as a lawyer was occupied in bringing about private compromises of hundreds of cases. I lost nothing thereby- not even money; certainly not my soul.
>
> Gandhi, (Blades, 1984, p. 59).

The future of divorce mediation is still unclear (Silberman, 1982). Bill worries that the mediation movement may have peaked. Irving and Benjamin (1987) note that the number of publicly funded mediators throughout Canada has remained constant from the inception of each provincial program. The debate surrounding mediation by lawyers centers on the ethical dilemma for lawyers. More importantly, mediation is seen to be a threat to the legal profession because clients may be enticed from the legal pervue. Riskin (1982) reminds us that the future of mediation rests heavily on the attitudes and involvement of the legal profession. It is unlikely that any movement perceived to be counter to the best interests of the legal profession will gather momentum even though all divorces require some level of legal assistance.

Resistance from the legal profession can be understood from Bill's comments outlining the determination of the legal profession not to cede further areas of the legal domain to another profession, based on the professions' experience with chartered accountants. A second hypothesis is that the legal profession as a whole, male and female, believe that work in the psychological area would promote a public perception of lawyers who also mediate, as being soft or feminine (similar to Farnon's unexamined findings of 1954), and perhaps less able to act in an adversarial manner when necessary. Lastly, those lawyers who may be concerned that the status quo may not be congruent with the ideals of the lawyer as servant to the public are reassured by members of the profession, who point to the statistics showing that most divorce cases are settled out of court. These members contend that the divorce lawyer is already a mediator and that any formal mechanism is superfluous. This may be in part true. One wonders what problem

exists that inhibits lawyers from learning techniques that would minimize potential harm to the family, when divorce agreements are concluded. It is possible to speculate that settlements are often concluded on arbitrary advice of lawyers, without the spousal participants engaging in constructive discussion with each other throughout the process. A settlement so concluded is not mediation, nor does it ascribe to the goals of mediation. It is a smoke-screen that conceals the intent of the adversarial process. The combination of these three ideas embodies formidable opposition to acceptance of divorce mediation by the legal profession. Lawyers may pay lip service to the ideals of mediation, formulated to inflict less psychological harm to the participants and intended to protect the children's best interests, but if this were the case, referrals to mediation would be steadily increasing. Low participation (by the public in mediation) has been found to be tied to the attitudes of the legal community and public and legal ignorance about the mediation alternative (Pearson & Thoennes, 1988). The Canadian Task Force Report agrees and observes that "the low demand for mediation services may be due . . . to the results of a recent study that found 'while 85 percent of lawyers advise clients about the existence of mediation, in only 10.4 percent of their cases is there actual encouragement to attempt divorce mediation.'"

Future Direction for Mediation and Lawyers

Irving and Benjamin (1987) emphasize that the divorce mediator and the lawyer should not be seen as adversaries. They point out that the positions are complementary. The people who have the most to gain from the good will and mutual respect between members of the two professions are the client couple and

their children. The difficulty for lawyers is that when once perceived by other lawyers as being a settler, status (the pinnacle being a "lawyer's lawyer"), is lessened and referrals decrease from colleagues.

It is, as Bill observed, important not to be perceived as one who routinely settles, or as Gandhi would say, one who has lost his soul. Bill and Pam are very clear about the goals of mediation and the boundaries within which they work. They are able to cross-over to divorce work and the adversarial mode, because they both enjoy competence, court work and have consistently cultivated their reputation as experts. It is significant that both came to divorce mediation with their reputation as counsel already established. It is possible to speculate that their professional reputation as divorce counsel may not have been as high if they had been seen by the profession as divorce mediators first and counsel second.

The dilemma of poor legal support for the concept of mediation has been noted often in mediation literature (Irving & Benjamin, 1987; Pearson & Thoennes, 1988; Smart & Salts, 1984). It is exacerbated by the fact that some of those who teach in law faculties are proponents of a school of thought that sees lawyers as already being mediators and mediation as an unnecessary additional expense and complication to a straightforward process (Pollock, 1987). Law school is the place to begin to orient the legal profession to alternative dispute resolution. Studies of medical students indicate that impersonal attitudes held by medical students towards their patients are most influenced by role models provided by senior faculty members (Coombs, 1978). Despite the best attempts to teach divorce mediation, it seems unlikely that student commitment to the mediation process will develop if the course is not presented as a philosophy demanding respect and taught by valued

members of the legal profession who are committed to the goals of divorce mediation. One possible solution would be to recruit respected divorce lawyers, who also have experience and are reputed to be effective divorce mediators, to develop lectures to be included in a basic family law unit. The lectures could address the problem of divorce settlements, clearly defining the boundaries between the two related fields and their intent. In this way young lawyers might be more willing to refer suitable candidates to divorce mediation or to become mediators themselves. A recent task force report to the Canadian Bar Association upholds a similar view. Thompson, Cosman, Potter, & Kelly (1989) contend that "Education for the Canadian legal profession must be encouraged at all levels of training. . . there is a need for coordination and cooperation at each level and among the levels of legal education" (p. 44).

A related difficulty occurs when lawyers use mediation to further their own objectives, and subvert the process if negotiations in divorce mediation result in unfavorable terms for their client. Pam calls this attitude "a kind of moral dishonor," and Bill says that "some lawyers prostitute the mediation process in paying lip service to it . . . and I think that's intellectual dishonesty." Lawyers who use every means possible to further the interests of their client in order to win, would seem to have little or no understanding of the purpose of mediation. Pearson & Thoennes (1984) have found that very few clients will continue to mediate against their lawyer's wishes. For mediation to expand, it is critical that a complete understanding of the process and its attendant goals be formalized and integrated into the legal body of knowledge. Perhaps the goals of divorce mediation could be taught in different ways, over the three years of legal training so that lawyers will

not embarrass themselves by crossing specific and specified boundaries in their practice.

Implication for Divorce Mediation Education

Recently, a body of thought has arisen regarding divorce mediator education. The Academy of Family Mediators and the Family Mediation Association proposed five mechanisms for quality control at a symposium held in Toronto in 1983. The mechanisms include licensure, certification, accreditation, registration and the formal subscription to a standard of practice or a code of ethics (Milne, 1984). Divorce mediators need training because conflict management procedures are new and unfamiliar to most novices (Moore, 1983). As previously noted the probability of a successful resolution of a dispute increases with the amount of experience held by the mediator (Pearson, 1981). The concern of those responsible for mediator education now extends beyond practical experience. The level of knowledge in diverse but related fields which each practitioner holds becomes more important as the movement becomes a profession.

Koopman (1985) contends that the ideal education would be a two year post-graduate level, multidisciplinary degree from an accredited university. She envisions a degree which would encompass all aspects of mediation. The idea has been suggested by other writers, (Girdner, 1986). It holds more appeal in 1989 when "head hunters" for the insurance industry are recruiting lawyers with family mediation experience to negotiate nondivorce related settlements on the companies' behalf. The industry has found that lawyers with this type of experience, settle claims in a minimal time frame and continue to have the good-will of the clients.

Koopman's (1985) study highlighted a concern expressed by all faculty members canvassed, that adequate practice time and competent supervision be an important component of any mediator training program. Just as lawyers, doctors, dentists and psychologists are trained in practicum settings, the experience of the co-researchers, regardless of educational background, indicates ease of practice increased with number of cases handled. It is suggested that any education component of mediation training contain a minimum of ten to twenty hours of supervised case experience. The hours suggested are based on Pearson's findings that mediators with more than ten cases double their effectiveness from 30% to 60%. The practicum time would be designed to increase mediator effectiveness.

The results of this study indicate that personal style did not affect mediated outcomes. Blades (1984) places lawyers at the directive end of a continuum with mental health professionals at the opposite end. Pearson & Thoennes (1981) found that mental health professionals tend to become more directive, and lawyers less directive with experience, until a balance was reached by members of each educational background. The deciding factor of effectiveness in the study investigating shared qualities of effective divorce mediators was judged to be a commitment to the divorce mediation process, and an obvious caring about people which transcended technique.

In Alberta, as in many other jurisdictions, divorce mediators from either a legal or a mental health background must have attended a minimum of one 40 hour workshop before being allowed to practice. Instances of poor or unethical mediator behavior at this period of the profession's development are likely to be the result of ignorance or poor training rather than of bad intent (Moore, 1983). The degree of

professionalism found in all mediators seems to cooborate Moore's thesis. All co-researchers displayed a high ethical component. For example, rather than mediate in an area where she feels uneasy, Pam ensures co-mediation with a health care professional. The ethical code of each profession demands competence. It seems likely that additional hours of practice would be accepted by divorce mediation students, as a method of ensuring competence and of avoiding the pitfalls of venturing into uncharted waters.

Contribution of This Study

A major purpose of an investigation into the shared qualities of effective divorce mediators was to place knowledge from three fields into a context which would focus the issues for those interested in divorce mediation in Alberta. Information about the qualities shared by divorce mediators should help to ensure that members of both professions be able to understand and search for these qualities in the divorce mediators that they may use as experts. In this way, lawyers or other professionals may refer clients with greater assurance of a positive divorce mediation outcome.

The perspective of those in the legal field varies from that found in psychology. Some of the results show that members approach mediation with different world-views and goals. Results seem to confirm Girdner's (1986) contention that lawyers tend to be content oriented, while psychologists concentrate on how the agreement will affect the clients and their children. The predominant theme, however, was the focus each co-researcher placed on obtaining a signed agreement. The language which members of each profession brings to mediation is

different, thus shading mediation with different meanings. The field of divorce mediation is dynamic and mentally absorbing. It holds the attention of practitioners from both areas.

Irving and Benjamin (1987) maintain that the success of mediation is predicated on the qualities the mediator brings to the negotiation. Findings from this study indicate that there is a tendency for effective divorce mediators to maintain a cognitive problem solving approach to their work. Effective divorce mediators from either background have counselor qualities that allow them to relate to each of their clients from the client's perspective and communicate in a caring, effective and efficient way, while moving the negotiations closer to agreement. All mediators were committed to the mediation process as a humane method of divorce dispute resolution that will ultimately benefit all members of the divorcing family. Value systems of the co-researchers tended to be similar. None would agree to mediate to the advantage of the most powerful person in the dyad. The most important consideration for all was the well being of the children, although motivation to mediate may have been diverse.

Motivation to mediate varied. The determining factor in this study was found to be an abiding belief that positive factors in the divorce mediation process outweighed the negative. Concerns about unsuitable divorce mediators subverting the prospects of the mediation field appear to be unfounded, as long as a genuine belief in the value of the mediation process evolves within the belief system of the divorce mediator.

Implications for Future Research

Divorce mediation as a field of study would benefit from further research in a number of areas. Irving and Benjamin (1987) encourage work into the effectiveness of the therapeutic model as compared to other models of divorce mediation. They question the range of nonspecific factors in outcome success and would like investigation into successful versus unsuccessful cases. Kressel (1985) proposes that the evidence is too weak to reach a firm conclusion about the superiority of divorce mediation over the adversarial procedures now in place, although he allows that the evidence points in favor of mediation. He observes that the appropriate question is what types of disputes and for what types of outcomes is mediation appropriate? The Canadian Task force Report urges research and study into suitable and effective alternative dispute resolution, the effectiveness of mandatory alternate dispute resolution, and accreditation for neutrals.

Investigation into the effects of mediated versus adversarial divorce on children is critical. Research to determine if a children's ombudsman would be effective in divorce, including mediated settlements, would be helpful to all who consider children's best interests to be paramount. Questions outweigh the accumulated body of evidence in all areas.

I believe that the key to effectively mediated settlements is an effective divorce mediator. Research into the most appropriate means of mediator development is practically nonexistent as is research into the beliefs, professional attitude, and characteristics that the mediators bring to negotiations and how these qualities are used. "Available data confirms, that mediation and advocacy be seen as complementary approaches to dispute resolution. A major question concerns

who should best be advised to participate in the one and who the other" (Irving & Benjamin, 1987, p. 25).

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Appendix

Issues arising from two in-depth interviews were initially analyzed in sequence for each person. Tables 1a, 2a, 3a, and 4a represent thematic abstractions of each person's experience. Column one contains excerpts from the transcribed interviews. Two levels of abstraction were applied to each excerpt. Column two reflects the first level of abstraction, which is a paraphrase of descriptions chosen to illustrate an underlying quality or idea held by the co-researcher as it related to experience. As an example, Joe's statement " I charge more because it's difficult" is paraphrased to illuminate the underlying belief that the difficulty of the work should be reflected in fees. Column three of Tables 1a, 2a, 3a and 4a, represents a second level of abstraction which formulates a theme designed to distill the paraphrase from column two, to its elemental form. Following our example, the second level theme becomes professional worth.

Table # 1A

Thematic Abstraction of Joe's experience as a psychologist/divorce mediator

Excerpts from transcribed interview	Two Levels of Abstraction *1. Paraphrases*	*2. Themes*
1. I think that I am offering really a mental health service, a psychotherapeutic service for a particular symptom, and that symptom is the problem that people are having in saying good-bye.	Realization that mediation helpful in disengagement.	Therapeutic orientation.
2. I started off as a psychotherapist for children from an analytic background. And then I got a reputation for knowing something about kids and families, and so pretty soon they're asking me if I couldn't offer some kind of expert opinion in court as to what might be best for the kids in a custody or access dispute.	Reputation as child expert arose from psychotherapeutic background.	Recognition that best interests of children primary motivator.
3. I'm discovering that the children especially are having a whole lot of trouble with the divorce and are reacting to divided loyalties and the family is stuck in its task of moving from a married family to a divorced family.	Recognized family's task to change, needed therapeutic help.	Therapeutic orientation.
4. So in my initial attempts at mediation, I was trying to resolve the conflicts by getting the people to understand one another... unfortunately. I would be very successful.	Initially tried to create understanding.	Initial counseling orientation.
5. But there would be such an escalation of conflict that it would blow the mediation and everything right out of the water. And the mediation would stop and fail.	Awareness of wrong goal.	Self knowledge.
6. We figured that applying the techniques of saying hello was inappropriate and counterproductive to families in mediation because the real task is good-bye. And we began to do exactly the opposite things that a marriage counsellor would do.	Realized counseling goals opposite to mediation.	Transition in professional perspective..
7. I would communicate to her that I understood but that didn't she realize that he was never going to understand and that it was futile to try to make him understand.... And I communicate to him that I understood and I'd say understanding things to him, showing him that I could understand his perspective. I had validated their divorce.	Able to understand both peoples perspectives.	Polycentric empathy.

8.	There was almost a palpable sight of relief on both of the couple's part.	Gives permission for divorce.	Recognition of influence.
9.	After a session or two of those kinds of interventions, they really did begin to be able to pay more attention to their task of parenting their children.	Goal directed – best interests of children.	Recognition that best interest s of children primary motive.
10.	What they (children) are attempting to do is show their loyalty to both of their parents and how better to show your loyalty than to say some negative things about the other parent .	Understands stress on children.	Empathy with children.
11.	And I help them to be aware that the kids are doing things unwittingly and unintentionally that are causing the conflict.	Reflections enable him to teach about children's feelings in divorce.	Teacher role fulfilling.
12.	Saying what we really need to do is build up your adequacy as parents and your self respect as parents and that will help you leave your role as a spouse and then we can get on with our task of how we're going to parent these kids.	Recognizes need to build parenting skills to enhance mediation process.	Therapeutic goal orientation
13.	They begin to get some awareness and some experience that the kids really can be okay with each parent, even though the parents are very different. That seems to me to be kind of the essence of what I'm doing when I mediate.	Shift for clients to therapeutic end goal for children.	Recognition that primary motivation best interest of children.
14.	I didn't become a mediator or an evaluator because I chose that kind of work or I liked it. I began to pay attention to the issue of divorce because I was concerned about children.	Recognition that primary motivation best interest of children.	Motivated by childrens needs.
15.	The first prospect of sitting with people that have this much difficulty and animosity with each other is very uncomfortable for me.	Emotion and expression of emotions uncomfortable at first.	Learned skill.
16.	I learned that there is a human issue here that needs treatment. And it's quite rewarding. Why does this family have to have this conflict and why can't they settle this? What is it that each parent is really concerned about and interested in?	Learned to analyze hostility as problem to be solved.	Finds satisfaction in analysis and problem solving.
17.	I charge more because it is more difficult.	Believes cost of difficulty of work should be reflected in price.	Professional worth.

18.	(In an evaluation) I go on to recommend for the balance, for those issues on which they can't agree, what seems to me would be a reasonably mediated solution, if they were able to mediate. Lawyers and the couple are almost forced into a mediation stance because all they have left to fight about is they don't like Section 5(a)... etc.	Looks beyond obvious issued to understand so evaluation is fair but forces parties to mediate.	Value system. Use of analysis and problem solving.
19.	I'll be called as an expert witness, and I'm prepared to defend, as a psychologist, the recommendations I've made and why I've made them. And there's always good clinical reasons.	Takes pride in work and reputation – will stand by his clinical evaluation.	Professional commitment.
20.	The balanced solution is usually indeed the best solution for the children of this particular family, if it truly represents the position of both of their parents.	Believes that balance and moderation best for all, especially the children.	Value system balance primary motive best interests of children.
21.	What really influences the recommendations I make is my experience as a therapist where I can have a parent or couple of parents come into my office for counselling and they have kids of such and such an age that are reacting in all kinds of problems.	Experience as a therapist influences mediation to some degree.	Therapeutic orientation.
22.	I feel that there needs to be a balance but there isn't a right way and a wrong way, or that my own personal way is only one way.	Flexible about solutions.	Non judgmental.
23.	All those times when one may be out of sorts with one's spouse. That thought (of divorce) doesn't cross one's mind nearly as readily, you know, as if I hadn't been exposed to the other side of the coin.	Uses distance language to protect from invasion into domain of own family.	Separation of professional life from personal life.
24.	There are times when I get more personally vested and involved with the problem and try to control what's going on too much.	Recognizes that mediation is client's responsibility.	Views client as capable,
25.	At which point I can make the mistake of arguing or starting some kind of a campaign and at those time I am affected and touched by something.	Recognizes mistake in becoming responsible for outcome.	Self awareness.
26.	Whereas with mediation, which I think operates by very different rules than any other kind of therapy... There's an aspect of needing to control the process actively, more actively than in psychotherapy.	Recognizes the goals are different for mediation and therapy.	Recognition that mediation goal directed.
27.	I've got a mandate to somehow control the process. I'm busy reminding myself that this is roughly my responsibility.	Takes responsibility for mediation process.	Professional responsibility

28.	These are very desperate people in a very desperate position in their lives. And that's exactly when I'm susceptible to taking more responsibility than I should or starting some lobbying.	Aware that clients in a crisis situation force responsibility on him.	Views clients as capable. Self awareness.
29.	They get the agency and the responsibility back on the client where they deserve, you know, where it belongs.	Aware that mediation results are client's responsibility.	Views clients as capable.
30.	I feel that most of the people that we see that are in such distress and difficulty around their divorces at one time in their lives were really quite together....	Views client's actions is out of character through stress.	Attitude towards clients one of respect.
31.	My theory became that people go crazy during their divorce and therefore you should not make recommendations about what to do with the children or who they are based on the last year.	Careful to recommend best interests based on parenting prior to crisis.	Value system. Best interests of children.
32.	I tell people in evaluation as they try to convince me how crazy the other parent is, that this might be a function of going through the divorce.	Explains to clients to help process.	Teacher role.
33.	In mediation, I attempt mostly to point out to the couple the futility of trying to resolve issues in the past, they're getting a divorce is because they've already determined that they can't resolve those issues.	Helps to bring closure to the marriage by teaching that issue is beyond resolution.	Therapeutic teacher role.
34.	I first try to deal with that at the very beginning. I always try to determine at the very beginning where the parties are on the divorce issue.	Understands stages of divorce and possibility that one party may not want divorce.	Uses of analysis based on professional knowledge.
35.	They're trying to force the other person to stay in the marriage that he or she doesn't want. And then my fear for them would be that they might succeed – I tell them, I really think that you deserve better than that.	Brings realization of inevitability of divorce to unwilling partner with empathy.	Empathy.
36.	I like what I do, I want to keep doing it forever, and so I do it 25 hours a week or so. I'm usually not fatigued, but I've been working hard and I feel glad to have it and get on with my other activities.	Derives satisfaction from his work but aware of mental strain in work. Works less to maintain quality of work and satisfaction.	Self awareness of strain of mental work.
37.	(Meets with) Both lawyers, both clients,both parents and myself. I used to refuse to take any case where we couldn't begin with that kind of meeting because it seemed to me that it greatly, greatly increased the odds of a successful mediation.	Recognizes influence lawyers have over their clients and uses meeting to enhance goals of mediation. Not threatened by other professionals.	Professional commitment to therapeutic goal.

38.	I have always found that... its the unconscious, the unknown, the unspoken things that are always discovered and there is some misconception that the lawyer has,or some misconception that one of the clients has.	Interdisciplinary meeting outlines understandings, spoken non verbal.	Takes responsibility for communication.
39.	It's not that unusual that a person isn't getting swept along in the divorce and the custody conflict and all the rest when really their lives are absolutely desperately falling apart. So no way they should be expected to conduct serious negotiations about their kids.	Will only mediate if clients seem to be able and competent.	Value system used in evaluation.
40.	Other times there is a financial issue at that original meeting with the lawyers and it's really good that the lawyers are there as often you know the woman is absolutely desperate and she's not going to have food on the table and he's holding out at his lawyer's advice or what his lawyer's going to say, he's holding out at because he doesn't want to prejudice his position and wants to get a settlement....He learns that he is not railroaded and that he still can negotiate.	Recognizes that interprofessional first meeting establishes trust.	Recognition that professional competence helps to establish trust.
41.	For me personally its more unpleasant, I find it to be more difficult to sit with interpersonal conflict than to sit with somebody, the purpose of which is to make contact in amongst ourselves,...My own personal tension is higher. I like it because of the good it does.	Conflict and open expressions of hostility or anger uncomfortable.	Professional discomfort motivated by best interests of children and therapeutic goal.
42.	Acknowledge and I help them acknowledge, they really, its the loss, you know desperation and all that.... What it does for the mediation is that it helps to put aside the marital conflicts and to get back focused on the issue for the kids you know the task at hand.	Acknowledges emotional pain of each client to enable the focus to return to task of session.	Goal directed empathy.
43.	If they were to acknowledge at that time that they needed some personal help from this, I would ensure them the opportunity. Their own personal therapy about that issue is a side issue.	Does not consider personal therapy to be a goal of mediation.	Recognition that personal counseling may interrupt mediation process: therapeutic goal.
44.	My objective in mediation is again,to help them know and experience that the marriage is over and to provide an answer to the past and from there we have to go on and arrange the lives of the children.	Mediator neutrality openly biased in favour of the children.	Recognition of primary motivation biases mediator neutrality.

45.	The ones I feel best about are ones that come out with arrangements that seem really balanced and workable and the children are going to be fine.	Enjoys succeeding when children do well.	Primary motivation best interests of children fulfilling.
46.	That this bad agreement, bad for the kids,bad for the family is being undertaken because it is better than what is going on now.... It's an improvement and that they know that, they know that they can't do any better. ...at least we will get them to the next step.	Bad agreements tolerated as necessary but on an interim basis.	Recognition of professional limitations.
47.	Its a very powerful time to allow everybody you know to decide that we really can't solve this problem and mediation fails.	Recognizes that not all people able to mediate.	Recognition of professional limitations.
48.	Maybe we should have a final meeting with the lawyers, all of us and see if with their help we can't get past this problem.... very often at that meeting the whole thing will be solved. Usually I feel it's because the lawyer for the person whose decision it really was quite unreasonable often go to the lawyer who help them make the compromise in preparation for that meeting.	Returns responsibility to client or lawyers of client rather than make unfair agreement.	Recognition that value system force limitations.
49.	I don't feel that the solution that emerges is particularly to my credit nor do I feel that the, you know the failure to reach an agreement, is particularly in my credit. The agreement that's reached is usually their agreement that they feel that, they know and it was their ability to compromise and entertain possibilities.	Credit for success and failure belongs to clients.	Views clients as capable. Recognition of professional limits.
50.	The fundamental human quality that seems to cut through it all is the ability to understand both sides,both people's perspective to show respect and validation for both people's position.	Ability to understand and respect each client critical in a good mediator.	Polycentric empathy and respect for each client.
51.	The thing that cuts through all of this is the ability to know about oneself.	Mediator must understand self.	Self knowledge.
52.	I would assume that the more dogmatic such a person is about truth and right in the world the more difficulty that person would have with mediation.	People who believe in absolute truth and absolute right not suitable to mediate.	Non judgmental.
53.	I know that they are suffering and that I'm compassionate towards that suffering and that I am prepared to understand it is a way of communicating to people when they are at their worst. The notion that as well there is something lovable, something legitimate.	Mediator needs to express empathy to encourage communication.	Empathy.

54.	I suppose the best test would be a person has that attitude and is how they talk about their cases when they are away from their office, ...It would betray for me an attitude that they can't be very good.	Feels that respect and understanding for client should be carried through to personal life.	Value system. Empathic respect.
55.	I honestly feel a great compassion for people I'm dealing with in spite of the fact that I see people at their absolute worst.	Unable to be cynical about people involved with mediation.	Perceives self as compassionate.
56.	I can have people in here just absolutely ugly and fighting and all of that and something happens and look me in the eye again and say thank you. Anybody watching the session would say well for what. When they get upset with everything I did.	Because clients feel understood and respected they are free to express themselves but know that the mediator (Joe) has given permission.	Appreciated by clients. Satisfying.
57.	...help that I wish that I had had, and that I needed when I was child ... the family I grew up in, there were significant differences and significant conflict, under the surface between my father and my mother about child rearing differences... the best therapy happens for children when conflicts ... were worked out such that the children were no longer caught in the middle....	Own experience as child of conflict motivates best interest of the child mediator.	Self awareness of personal reason for primary motivation.
58.	In parent child counselling both of the parents are there because they want to come to a harmony, a consensus of opinion about the children and a consensus in a way of treating the children.	Goal to promote harmony in life of children.	Recognition that primary motivation best interests of children.
59.	It's an extremely interesting process to watch people come to terms with their divorce with actually accepting and realizing the consequences of their divorce as they go through mediation.. The distinguishing characteristic that I would perceive is the mental health types and lay person or typical lawyer type would be that mental healthy types are always interested in underlying process.	Main interest is the process of change resulting in emotional acceptance of divorce by client.	Objective, analytical. Therapeutic orientation.
60.	I would be paying a whole lot of attention to what's happening to people emotionally and psychologically as they go through this process and how they are changing on some deeper personal level. ...I mean that's what makes it interesting. That's what makes it more meaningful.	Finds meaning in client's emotional acceptance of divorce.	Personal satisfaction when secondary goal reached.
61.	The adversarial nature of the litigation process. You're never more engaged with your partner than when you're in litigation. Whether we're talking a previous spouse or a business partner you are living and breathing that individual.	Feels that litigation does not accomplish emotional separation of clients.	Professional commitment to therapeutic goal.

62.	My way of being helpful is to be loyal to their stated desire for the marriage to work and that would not be right or proper for me to be the one who would put any momentum to the idea of separating or calling it off.	Recognizes the difference between marriage counseling and mediation.	Professional commitment to goals of session.
63.	The way I experience it is that the teaching comes in a sense that nothing in our background has prepared us for the idea that we can still be a family after a divorce.	Recognizes teacher role.	Teacher role.
64.	I ask the parents in the very first session what it is they are most afraid of. Almost every time, ultimately what they are afraid of is they are going to lose the children. Both of them. So you get an agreement in the first session that neither one of them is going to lose the children.	Aware that fundamental loss for each parent is the loss of the children.	Plycentric empathy.
65.	The parent that is in that situation... is very caught in the middle and that the parent's consternation, anxiety and frustration and all the rest is a direct result of being caught in the middle of all of these forces. When the mediator draws parallel between how that parent is feeling and how the children are feeling they almost always settle down and get more committed to the notion that their kids are not going to go through that.	Uses techniques to parallel parents' anxiety to illustrate division the children feel.	Best interests of children.
66.	The idea that they could do something for a month or they could try something for two months or they could try it his way for a while and her way for a while with no precedents, no commitments, just agree to take turns. One month this way, one month that way will almost always get the family, or get the couple off of a log jam.	Encourages creative and flexible solutions.	Encourages creative flexibility.

Table # 2A

Thematic Abstraction of Cecile's experience as a psychologist/divorce mediator

	Excerpts from transcribed interview	Two Levels of Abstraction *1. Paraphrases*	*2. Themes*
1.	In counselling,... and if we're going to our files and I'm saying that it was successful or unsuccessful, that's my own judgment.	In counseling definition of success is subjective.	Professional role– counselor goal.
2.	In mediation, I have something objective and concrete...If I'm successful, the parties have an agreement.	Mediation-agreement basic form of success.	Professional role– mediator goal.
3.	If both parties say that they're satisfied with the agreement and not going to litigation, I would consider that success.	Defines success as mutual agreement.	Professional role– goal directed.
4.	I feel very satisfied because not only have they saved themselves a lot of time by not going to court, but I think it's a lot easier on the kids too.	Personal satisfaction based on best interests of children.	Value system. Best interests of children fulfillment.
5.	The other thing is that I feel that these people are more likely to follow an agreement that they have drafted themselves...judge imposes something, or if somebody else makes the recommendations in court, people are less likely to follow through on that.	Believes people more responsible for results in self determined process .	Value system. Self determination superior for clients.
6.	Parents who work out their own agreements...fathers are more likely to pay the maintenance than if the court has just imposed a certain sum .	Fathers pay maintenance if self determined-best interests of the child.	Motivation best interests of children.
7.	What I can do is encourage them to brainstorm to come up with ideas and I think my role in the event that they get stuck and they're unable to come up with ideas, I can generate a lot of ideas. I have been here 11 years. You can think of all kinds of ways for people to solve problems.	Sees role as helper-creative problem solving.	Enjoyment of creative problem solving.
8.	No, I'm suggesting that that sort of person can be trained, but underneath that is something that they have.	Thinks some people predisposed to mediate with training.	Believes in shared qualities of mediators.
9.	...it will tell you a fundamental belief that people are able to solve their own problems. That belief in other human beings.	Fundamental belief-people able to solve own problems with some guidance.	Views clients as capable.

10.	I often see the lawyer having difficulty as he or she is the expert. People are perceived as not being able to solve problems for themselves. Therefore the lawyer comes up with a solution.	Sees mediator/lawyers having difficulty relinquishing decision making control to people.	Views people as capable.
11.	I think that's part of the empowering is to have that kind of belief about them.... you can solve the problem. No, I'm not going to solve it for you.	Uses her belief to empower people.	Views people as capable.
12.	I just answer only to myself and I'm the one really that has to struggle and find a solution.	Self reliant problem solver.	Self awareness of past experience influences C's life.
13.	I feel that if you do too much for your clients, then they depend on you... That dependency is really unhealthy for them,... the goal is to help people be independent, not dependent..	Believes encouraging dependent clients not emotionally healthy. Goal is to have emotionally healthy client's.	Therapeutic orientation.
14.	And there's that temptation to just jump in and say for God's sake, let's do it this way. Let me tell you how you're going to do it.	Aware that she is sometimes frustrated by clients slow progress.	Self awareness of impatience with progress.
15.	Here we are stuck, just like we were many times (inaudible).... you've come a long way and if you've come this far, there's no reason why you're not going to go.	Actively encourages clients to work.	Professional role– mediation active encouragement.
16.	It was just an expectation that you were going to be dealing with couples that are separating, they are thinking of divorcing, or for those divorced, and you're going to be helping them deal with their feelings.	Did not choose mediation but understands differences between therapy and mediation.	Professional role– began as counselor.
17.	Although if the person needs ongoing help, then I will refer them. If it's going to be a longer term counselling, then... maybe we will come to an interim agreement until such time as...	Interchanges role of mediation with therapist.	Professional role– flexible.
18.	There are certain people that are just not ready for mediation. And you know it because they haven't gone through the grief process... think of the stages of dying. It's inappropriate at that time to mediate.	Aware of stages of divorce. Judges clients ability to mediate.	Value system– clients ability to mediate.
19.	It would be unfair for a person at that stage to mediate.	Strong sense of fairness to clients.	Value system.

20.	I've had cases where one individual feels so guilty, perhaps because they've had an affair... that they're willing to walk away without a cent... so I can walk away with a clear conscience and I will not mediate under those circumstances.	Understands client's motivation. If situation is unfair refuses to progress.	Value system.
21.	And I often sit down with both parties and talk about the stages that the person needs to go through.	Teaches stages of grief in divorce process.	Teacher role.
22.	I also turn to the other person and there's the balance of power, and say you don't want an agreement where this person here is going to renege in six months' time because he or she is grieving...	Responsible to both clients. Points out disadvantage of proceeding to spouse.	Professional role– Responsible to both clients.
23.	Within the first half hour I have a pretty good idea of whether we're going to be successful...I'm a believer in people watching ah hah, this is going to be a difficult session where you get somebody to stand by the elevator pit, and not even come into the waiting room with his wife.	Relies on observation as indicators.	Professional role– observation.
24.	I tell people that I have advised and my bias is that I believe children should have two parents. So that sometimes runs contrary to what one person would want here, especially if you're dealing with somebody who is bitter and may be clinging.	Best interest of the child to have two parents.	Motivation best interests of children.
25.	There's a lot that's been written lately about the disadvantage to women who came to mediation.	Current with professional literature.	Professional role.
26.	Financially the husband may have the upper hand but when it comes to children, women have the upper hand. I think women are very good. negotiators.	Believes power balanced by children.	Views client as capable.
27.	And some people will say they're disadvantaged because they'll see the man as perhaps being more aware of the law, where he stands in relation to the law. So we encourage people to discuss things with their lawyers all the time. In that way, the woman isn't disadvantaged.	Women competent to negotiate if knowledge available.	Views clients as capable.
28.	Women are all capable and therefore, instead of having daddy look after you, the lawyer looks after you.	Feminist views on capability.	Respect for client.

29. If I perceive that one person, whether it's the husband or the wife, is lacking confidence, perhaps because they're lacking information and the other party has actually consulted with a lawyer.	Provides information to increase client's self confidence and balance of power.	Value system. Clients entitled to equal information.
30. If there has been severe abuse and intimidation in the marriage, and this is a woman who is afraid of her husband, I don't think mediation is appropriate.	Not concerned abut neutrality and does not mediate cases of abuse.	Value system.
31. I would say I think these people are inappropriate for mediation and suggest that they use the court system, or have somebody do a home assessment for court recommendation so that you can get the best for the children.	Best interests of the child.	Motivation best interests of children.
32. People are more likely to ask about my personal life experiences than they are about my qualifications... but it's not uncommon for people to say have you ever been married? Have you ever gone through a divorce? Do you have children?	Clients able to ask personal questions about her.	Open about self.
33. They're far more interested in my personal experiences. That's an important question for people... And I feel that helps us to connect.	Uses self to facilitate process.	Open about self.
34. There again I'm saying to them, I respect you for taking this much trouble, no matter how difficult it is for you. I know how difficult it is not to allow a lot of feelings that you feel for one another to get out of hand, and that you're still able to look after business.	Encourages mediation by being honest about difficulty of process and offers her respect.	Respect goal directed.
35. If I'm tired and I'm getting drained and expending a lot of energy, I usually look at myself and I say oh, oh, what on earth is going on here? What have I been doing? And it's like trying to step outside yourself and sort of observe what you're doing. Most of the time I have found I'm working and these people aren't.	Able to dissociate from process to evaluate session.	Analytic ability.
36. I feel good, I feel as if we've accomplished something. There's a sense of satisfaction, a sense of accomplishment, sense of pride and there certainly isn't that draining feeling. You're not expending a lot of energy.	Movement in negotiations engenders feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment.	Professional role. Satisfaction.
37. A sense of accomplishment, it needn't be that we have a whole agreement worked out. It may be that we just have part of an agreement and there's that satisfaction, as this was such a tough issue and we've cleared that hurdle and it feels good. And they usually feel good too.	Breaks process into manageable parts and incorporates positive feelings as incentive to continue.	Professional role. Satisfaction goal directed.

38.	Accepting rather than judgmental. I think if you're judgmental, you can't go anywhere. I'm here listening to someone and you're saying to yourself, oh, she's being such a bitch, you're not going to get anywhere. If you're able to get beyond the "she's a bitch" too, she's really hurting and she's feeling abandoned. And to acknowledge it. They feel understood.	Recognizes that to be effective she must understand and accept client rather than judge.	Non judgmental.
39.	You're accepting the person's hurting, you're understanding why they're lashing out, and you acknowledge that they feel understood, that sure facilitates the whole approach. And maybe that's where it's important to have those kinds of skills to go beyond what you've seen in the person.	Accepting facilitates progress.	Therapeutic orientation– accepting-goal directed.
40.	You've got to have empathy for the person and to know what it must be like to be in her shoes... to have been let down, to have been abandoned, and have all these things happen.	Believes counselor skills important to mediate well.	Empathy.
41.	Somehow the acceptance generates change. If you try to change the person and you try to say to the person, don't be so angry, don't be unreasonable, they're just going to resist but it's at this point you accept them and you acknowledge and accept it...make the shift from not being angry to suddenly dealing with the task at hand.	Acceptance generates willingness to change in client.	Empathy. Goal directed.
42.	And there again, you know, you're acknowledging the person's feelings but you're aware that the task is to negotiate an agreement. I'm not going to get sidetracked into suddenly doing therapy here. Acceptin gis therapeutic, but it isn't therapy necessarily either.	Able to distinguish between therapy and divorce mediation.	Professional role– differentiates therapy from mediation.
43.	If there is a time limit where they're going back to court in four weeks time or six weeks time, there's been a court date set, I'm more aware then the task at hand is to reach an agreement. So that's definitely my primary function.	Aware of time pressure to conclude agreement.	Professional role– goal directed
44.	I like the people I work with. I like my clients very much. Most of the people I see I feel very, very good about.... I mean, that really makes me feel good to have clients come in and say, you were so helpful. The kids are doing fine.	Enjoyment of co-workers and clients especially successful result that benefits children.	Professional satisfaction. Motivation best interest of children.
45.	It takes an awful lot to get me in a knot, an awful lot. I think that I can deal with a lot of hostility and a lot of anger without it affecting me personally.	Separates self from other people's emotions.	Objective.

46.	I enjoy the issues that I'm dealing with. I was going to say that I feel that I'm good at what I do.	Takes pride in work.	Professional pride.
47.	I'm good at working with these particular types of people. Now, there are certain issues that I would not be good at and I know better than to work in that kind of a work environment. I would find it very difficult, for example, to work with people how either abused alcohol or other substances.... I don't think I would be very effective. I would never work in a setting or with individuals where I thought I was ineffective.	Understands the issues that she is effectively at.	Self knowledge. Objective about self.
48.	I like the kind of people and I have the fortunate situation where I'm dealing with fairly well educated middle class people. ... a more acceptable thing for educated people to see a therapist, see a counsellor, to see a mediator.	Enjoys clients similar to self.	Respect for client.
49.	And they're exciting to work with. I mean, it's really nice to see this, that parents are sharing the parenting responsibilities. ... children needing both parents.	Best interest of the children to have both parents act as caretakers which usually happens in upper middle classes.	Professional role– flexible. Motivation best interests of children.
50.	I have a sense of pride when they come along and they tell me how helpful I was. Everything is going well in their life.	Finds meaning and satisfaction in helping others.	Fulfillment.
51.	I see people sometimes when they're really down and out. They are depressed, they're feeling like failures,... you'll look back on this and you'll think it was a good experience for you, or that you're going to grow and you're going to grow in a really positive way. You're always reaffirming your faith in people.	Secondary objective of mediation for client's personal growth and acceptance of situation.	Therapeutic orientation.
52.	When you're seeing people at the initial breakup stage, people are making the decisions on the future of their marriage, it's a pretty traumatic time to be working with people.	Recognizes psychological trauma makes people different than normal.	Accepting respect for clients.
53.	That's always the turning point and things will get better, and telling them that too.	Teaches that life will get better.	Teacher role.
54.	Maybe that's why I like my job, I don't have to go and rescue people or save the world. It's a good feeling.	Does not feel responsible for peoples decisions. Sense of liberation.	Professional role.

55. And somehow my faith in them has an effect on them. It has a positive effect on them. And if I believe in them, they then begin to believe in themselves. It works very well, I've seen it happen.	Believes faith in people enriches self esteem.	Therapeutic Orientation– views people as capable.
56. Sometimes just normalizing things for people is an important thing and I think that's an important role that I play.	Aware that people unsure of how they are at this time.	Empathy.
57. There is a time when people behave very much out of character in a separation. They say things that are out of character, but no, they're not going crazy. To understand that yes, it's normal to get really mad and yes, it's normal to get really depressed. There are no shortcuts and they're able to accept that as important.	Accepts clients and teaches that feelings are normal.	Teacher role.
58. When I say that a person– and I feel that a person is not ready to mediate, I feel a lot of tension in the air. I feel that there's a lot of stress in the room. It's a gut feeling.	Physiognomic understanding of when a person not ready to mediate.	Intuitive– psysiognomic knowing.
59. The goal is to assist the parent in meeting their own needs, dealing with their own feelings and it's only in that way that they can be effective parents in dealing with their children.	Therapeutic secondary objective of mediation directed by best interest of children.	Goal directed by best interests of the children.
60. There's a definitely an issue of trust. I think telling people that it's voluntary to me is a very important thing. I find that there is resistance from clients who believe that they have to be there.	Recognizes importance of trust displaces responsibility for choice to client.	Views clients as capable.
61. Resistance is often in their tone of voice, a belligerent type of	Recognizes resistance by observation.	Observation.
62. I will say to them immediately,... If you don't want to be here, you don't have to use this service at all. I find that that sort of hooks them to say to a person, I acknowledge that you may not want to be here and maybe you'll choose not to use the service after I explain the process to you.	Does not focus trust on herself as a person but in a service.	Professional role– deflects personality conflict by calling mediation a service.
63. So you're saying, look, I respect you and you can say yes or you can say no and that's all right.	Choice lends respect to client.	Respect for clients.
64. I'm a great believer in offering people choices. People have the right to choose.	Believes choice empowers people.	Value system– believes in individual choice.

65.	They have a right to the court system and if they choose to go that route, I think that they should have that choice. It may not necessarily be what I think is in the best interests of the family, but I'm not there to tell people it's right or wrong.	Non directive about choice whether to mediate.	Self awareness. Views self as non directive.
66.	And when I'm able to say what must it feel like to have gone through three unsuccessful relationships, to be stuck with three children, trying to raise these kids on your own, she's on social allowance, and here's the third fellow who's abandoned her for another woman. and just trying to put myself in her shoes.	Empathetic to clients situations. Recognizes expression of emotions is a symptom.	Empathy. Comfortable with peoples emotions and their ways of expressing emotions.
67.	I can look at him and I can see,... he's looking at her and thinking that she's a bitch. From his perspective, here he is, he's connected up with this lady who had a low self-esteem, who doesn't want to deal with intimacy, who wants it but yet when she gets close to it, she pushes him away.	Empathy to spouse's situations.	Empathy.
68.	So trying to understand your clients is trying to, I guess, get under their skin and see things the way that they see things, not necessarily, as I say, what comes across on the surface.	Understands each persons viewpoint.	Polycentric empathy.
69.	I think it's easy to say well, he's really miserable and she's a bitch and they're unreasonable. And if you take that attitude, there's no way you can be helpful.	Mental flexibility motivated by desire to be helpful.	Therapeutic orientation.
70.	And often all it takes is that acknowledgment. someone else knows what I'm going through. You haven't solved the problem for them and all you've done is merely say, I think I know what it must be like to live your life. You're not getting into a counselling session, but you're acknowledging the pain and that's enough to get them moving.	Acknowledges emotions to enable negotiations.	Professional role– goal directed. Empathy.
71.	We talk about mediators being neutral and I think I've talked to you in the past that that is absolutely impossible. Of course, you can't be neutral, but we can be supportive of her in this position and then later on, maybe we suggest something that sounds reasonable and maybe the way I support him is to say, well, this sounds pretty reasonable, let's look at that. He's been told that his proposal is reasonable so at least there's a balance there of power.	Aware that mediation neutrality is more a balance of power.	Professional role is balance between clients.

72.	I don't for a moment believe that you could fake that, because if you thought this woman was a miserable S.O.B. and you thought this guy was so unreasonable, they wouldn't trust you. They know whether you're sincere or not. And if you're not sincere, I don't think you're going to get too far.	Understanding and mediator role must be genuine to retain trust of clients.	Genuine, sincere, goal directed.
73.	I attended some of those training sessions with John Haynes and we had half the group was lawyers and the other half would be either psychologists or social workers, that the lawyers tend to deal with the task at hand, getting an agreement, and they would ignore the feelings.	Personal experience shows lawyers not willing to deal with feelings.	Objective. Evaluates effectiveness based on ability to deal with feelings.
74.	You're helping them to develop a different kind of relationship, a business arrangement, where the business at hand is the raising of the children and you're binding them as parents, to parent the children.	Teaches new relationship skills to parents for sake of children.	Best interest of children.
75.	You talk about empathy, acceptance, genuineness, you know, all of the qualities that you need to be a good counsellor. Those same qualities are being used, you know, as a mediator as well.	Believes counselor qualities also necessary to mediation.	Analysis. Sees self as having counselor qualities that enable mediation.
76.	He (Haynes) said one of the reasons I wouldn't have the children in the room is that there might be a lot of anger and hostility and that would be frightening to the children... Whereas, Howard Irving has always welcomed the children to be part of the mediation and isn't threatened by hostility, anger, whatever the negative feeling may be.	Purpose of mediation to form a different relationship aimed at parenting children.	Primary motivation– best interests of children.
77.	Children have heard these fights a thousand times before... maybe this is safer to have the mediator sitting there, because maybe things won't escalate to the point where they perhaps would at home if there weren't an observer present.	Contrasts models of mediation. In favour of therapeutic approach. Best interests of child.	Primary motivation– best interests of children.
78.	I think facilitating, that both, whether you're a lawyer or a person from the health profession...could balance the power and both would probably play the same type of role in terms of educating.... psychologist might have an edge on normalizing. My guess is that they would have less of a tendency to do the normalizing to say that what you're experiencing right now is normal.	Skill as facilitators best psychological ability may be deficient with normalizing.	Professional role.

79.	Do they acknowledge that to the client though? You know, to know that is one thing, but are you explicit?	Not enough to understand– must state normalizing beliefs.	empathic communication.
80.	I probably spend more time on the educational part if I think there's a tremendous amount of hostility.... you sense that within the first few seconds you know that there's a lot of anger,... I spend a lot of time in talking about how important it is for parents to cooperate and spend a lot of time talking about the Kelly and Wallerstein studies in the United States, talking about the kinds of things that parents can do, how they can work as a team, how important it is for the children's mental and emotional health for them to work as a team.	Education role critical to best interest of child.	Uses senses to decide when and how much to educate parents. Best interests of the child.
81.	It's not for the couple, it's for the kids that you really feel for. And you just see what a loss, a loss for those kids. There is no hope whatsoever of having a good relationship with the absent parent.	Believes children most important reason to mediate.	Primary motivation– best interests of children.
82.	And then you look at the parent who's alienated those kids and you think, what hope is there for that individual to ever have any happiness in life? How can they ever feel good about themselves. And if they don't feel good abut themselves, there's no hope for them to ever have a relationship that can be satisfying. That's the sadness. it's about the children, about these people, you know that it's– and there's nothing that I can do.	Genuine feelings of sadness when unable to help personal growth or children of divorcing family.	Professional limitation. Genuine feelings of sadness when not allowed to help.

Table # 3A

Thematic Abstraction of Bill's experience as a lawyer/divorce mediator

	Excerpts from transcribed interview	Two Levels of Abstraction *1. Paraphrases*	*2. Themes*
1.	That was the beginning on my doing matrimonial work and like anything else, well I hated it at first. ... It seemed to be a way to get into an area that was not occupied and guarantee my usefulness or utility around here.	Divorce work means to realize career ambitions.	Professional role– ambition.
2.	It seems to me that practicing matrimonial work in a large firm is very difficult, and those who do find themselves unhappy and frustrated. ... It's not *real litigation.*	Divorce lawyers unhappy and frustrated. Divorce law poorly regarded.	Professional role– perceives lack of status.
3.	I think in many large firms, the practice of matrimonial law isn't taken seriously.	Sees divorce law outside main legal area.	Professional role– perceives lack of status.
4.	other areas... people are coming to you with kind of a benign feeling. In matrimonial law... The clients kind of resent to you because they have to admit that there is a problem	Relationship with clients complicated by resentment.	Self awareness. Psychological stress.
5.	It's a very fast and emotional kind of bond including the fact that they do very much need you. They are asked to put their entire confidence about a very sensitive area in your hands.	Relationship with divorce clients based on need– one sided.	Professional role–confident of legal ability.
6.	So there you have a practitioner in the big firm who must defend his position or justify his position as a viable economic unit and the area of law being litigated generally is known to have a negative area more so.	It doesn't matter how good a lawyer you are you must bill to justify your place in a large firm even as a partner.	Self awareness. Psychological stress, financial status.
7.	You can't reasonably expect (given that neither side is really happy with the outcome of the divorce) with any regularity your clients are going to be satisfied that you have been there, that you have earned your age, as having a victor on the battlefield, their gladiator and so on.	Divorce lawyer must demonstrate active involvement and success for client.	Self awareness. Psychological pressure to win divorce cases.
8.	They're not themselves. I'm convinced six months either way of the dispute, these people are probably very nice people.	Clients not functioning at usual level and need help.	Respect for clients.

9.	You don't have the comfort of not having an environment that's not stressful because you're concerned about paying your way.	Both types of work (law and mediation) are stressful financially.	Self awareness– financial pressure.
10.	When you want to be able to give that client (commercial high yield) the service when he has a problem that colors his whole world and for which he'll be eternally grateful, but you want to be able to give him a break.	Recognizes need to keep the good-will of large client for good of the firm.	Professional role. Stress meeting to unspoken expectations of partners.
11.	So you find yourself doing divorces and other things for staff members, partners and associates at cut rates... usually far more complicated than your one shot house deal.	Worries about the time and work needed to provide service to firm which does not show on books.	Professional role– financial strain.
12.	He (every lawyer) can't afford to take every file to trial. You can't afford to take more than 10% of files to trial. So you've got to be a settler.	Aware that compromise is most effective for clients.	Professional role. Predisposed to negotiate and compromise.
13.	On the other hand, you can't be perceived as a settler.	Aware that reputation will suffer if perceived to be *weak*.	Professional role. Recognizes need for strong image.
14.	I'm pretty fortunate... I've got a high profile in this area of the bar and that's due in part to the things I did at an early stage in my practice to develop my profile.	Pleased with results of hard work, becoming known as divorce counsel.	Professional role. Ambitious. Proud of professional image.
15.	It kept me on the cutting edge of what was happening in my area. Result is that more than 70% of my practice comes from other lawyers because it's an area they don't practice in they feel it's beyond their depth sometimes conflict situations.	Hard work, self promotion resulted in being viewed as expert by peers.	Professional role. Pride in image as expert.
16.	That means there's already been screening process.	Referrals from lawyers a more affluent client, usually more educated and therefore preferable.	Enjoys working with people like himself.
17.	The fact is that I like it in a funny way. Not because of the money that I'm going to generate. I like the person to person contact.	Recognizes importance of financial aspect but would continue because he enjoys.	Enjoys working with people.
18.	I would never... I don't like it, I don't like how routine it is.	Does not like routine. Personal aspect of divorce lends interest and variety.	Self knowledge. Enjoys variety.

19.	Whereas man, in domestic matters, I see people and I see the crying, I see them mad, I see them face to face...	Clients are emotional but not all the same.	'Comfortable with emotion.
20.	I enjoy the variety.	Enjoys the differences in people.	Enjoys people.
21.	And, rather than me be their salve, it's a much more mutuous relationship where I can say here's what I can do and theres some things I can't do and there's some thing you'd better do for me because (a) I want you to and (b) it's economic for you to do this yourself.	Enjoys relationship with mediation clients more equal than as a divorce lawyer.	Respect for clients.
22.	And the other thing I like about it is the way that matrimonial law keeps me at the cutting edge of social reforms... I like being up front and seeing what's happening and what's new.	Interested in new approaches in his field. i.e. mediation.	Motivation–self knowledge. New ideas.
23.	I guess if I was just in the ocean some place paddling paddling paddling to feed a money machine, that's a dismal prospect... But it isn't dismal for me because I keep sort of a cutting edge. And so I find it very exciting and very satisfying.	Views self as different from other family lawyers because knowledge and practise puts him ahead.	Personal satisfaction from being first. Pride in professional competence.
24.	I'm the resource person. He's hanging on to my every word... It's an imbalance of power and I am the expert. I am his everything... I am absolutely essential to his well being, his carrying on and his success. So I've got to damn well be right.	Aware of traditional power imbalance and psychological stress associated with never being wrong.	Self knowledge. Psychological pressure.
25.	I have sense now, I think for how much therapy I need to do to do the bonding things and the confidence things and to impart to them a healthy concern.	Confuses minimal listening skills with therapy. Object is to show caring.	Feels confident about psychological skills. Perceives self as empathetic.
26.	I think some good old fashioned callousness helps. I'm much less empathetic in the sense of letting my client go and vent their spleen.	Will not allow mediation client to vent emotions for more than minimum period of time.	Controls process. Professional role.
27.	You have to be at least that detached I think, in some of the strategy you need in order to mediate the intractable situation.	Aware of strategies needed to mediate.	Objective.
28.	I've got enough of a balance now that I can prune all that and say no, here's what I need to know and here's why and here's what you need to know, here's what I want you to do.	Controls process by organizing stages of mediation.	Directive.

29.	I think that I'm very interested in people and I think I am empathetic and sympathetic. I want to help and I will take the time.	Self-reflective. Knows own qualities that encourage mediation.	Perceives self as empathetic.
30.	Some of these qualities, though lead me to be taken advantage of, overextend myself, spend too much time, not be as efficient as I might and so on.	Perceives self as disadvantaged by good qualities results in not doing as good a job as he would wish.	Self awareness. Ambiguous feelings re good qualities.
31.	I've found that difference very exciting in that it keeps my mind alive in doing this other stuff.	Mediation more challenging. Alertness required.	Stimulated by need to be mentally alert in mediation.
32.	It is very exciting and very liberating... because I don't have to take a whole hell of a lot of personal responsibility for it.	Pressure not as great in mediation because lessened feeling of responsibility.	Perceives clients as capable.
33.	It is very liberating because they understand that I'm there to facilitate them. They are imposing their own settlement on themselves and if they want to walk out, provided that they do so under the terms of the agreement... that's fine. I don't feel that I've failed.	Difference between responsibility in mediation and as lawyer. People responsible for own choices.	People responsible for own choices.
34.	I'm committed to it. (the process).	Believes in mediation.	Professional role. Committed to mediation.
35.	deteriorates into an extension of the pattern of abuse that the wife has received at the husbands hand throughout the marriage, and I don't want to see that happen.	Unhappy if clients do not respond in a responsible manner indicates loss of control of process by him.	Professional role. Responsible for process.
36.	I don't want to see that kind of suffering happening around me. I don't want to feel responsible for not having been able to better facilitate their creativity.	Sensitive to emotional pain. Sense of responsibility for controlling process.	Professional orientation. Responsible.
37.	There's no question, I haven't seen a couple yet that are not capable, much more capable than I or a judge in working out something that's going to be functional for them.	Believes clients can work to agreements better than lawyer or judge.	Views clients as capable.
38.	I may feel badly that another one slips through the cracks or there was some defect there that prevented it from going to closure but I don't feel the same way as losing a (divorce) client.	Successful mediation– closure. Responsibility of clients.	Views clients as capable.

39.	What is it you can live with? What works for this little relationship, to whether you are going to get every last farthing... entitled to after months of litigation. That's tough for people to understand.	Basis of agreement practical not picayune.	Professional role. Competence.
40.	I know some of my colleagues, some of my partners in the litigation area are really wigged out about. And that further isolates me from them. Next you're going to be talking Shirley MacLaine and all that stuff.	Other lawyers do not understand mediation, isolated from partners, defensive about mediation.	Self awareness. Isolation.
41.	I had to rationalize my getting into it on the basis that I think it's the way of the future. Somebody's going to be doing it and if it isn't me, it's going to be some other young aggressive person...	Obtained partners support by telling them it is an area that can be taken away from the legal profession. Likens mediation to accountants who specialize in tax law.	Self knowledge. Ambitious.
42.	But once I did get into it, I stared to do some thing... And I did buy into this notion...	After being exposed to mediation, emotional commitment began.	Change in world view.
43.	So the problem, I sense is that the legal process is not well equipped to address human problems... And I think that's what mediation is. It's a humane response to a human problem.	Begins to question the role of the law in divorce.	Humanist orientation to mediation.
44.	So they're going to have to hear it from the oracle and they have to pay their money... After they've lost their money... they will have this mail order fit for a very personal appliance.	People who reject mediation gamble on a judicial decision.	Professional role. Realistic when clients reject mediation.
45.	They have a verbal and superficial commitment to mediation (other lawyers). Having sent the clients to mediation, hoping the result would be something they could recommend to their client... forgetting that the objective was not to gain the highest and best return necessarily.	Sees problem with other lawyers referring clients duplicitously.	Value system. Querys some lawyers integrity.
46.	The thing that's been most important to these people wasn't what I thought from a legal perspective. It's been something completely ancillary that I would never have thought of, certainly no judge would ever have twigged to.	Realizes clients have personal agenda's that outsiders would not recognize.	Change in world view.
47.	He comes across being human, very, very, approachable... disarming in a lot of ways because he strikes you as being so human, so capable. He's very controlled. He's entirely unflappable and entirely accessible. Until you've gone a long mile with him, he won't cut you off.	Ideal mediator qualities human, approachable and calm.	Awareness of ideal mediator.

48.	I think one of the things about him (Haynes) is almost a kind of vulnerability... vulnerable in a sense but I wouldn't go as far as saying fallible.	Has thought about paradox of being vulnerable and effective.	Awareness of ideal mediator.
49.	The kinds of qualities that I sense that I'm able to bring to the task is a voice of calm, a voice of reason, a voice of control organization as far as reasonable... as wealth of experience but not as much as on the litigation size... Maybe a wealth of resources that can be accessed, like ideas and strategies, and here's what other people do...	Feel self is calm, reasonably controlled and experienced.	Self awareness of perceived strengths.
50.	He's very controlled, unflappable, effective. Me... if somebody bugs me bad enough,... how do you keep your cheeks from going red?	Contrasts an expert mediator with self.	Self awareness of inability to meet ideal.
51.	A lot of the preliminary things we go through I think will give them cause to trust you. The confidentiality of it, the fact that I'm not going to impose my will and I'm not going to tell them that they're being...	Recognizes trust established in preliminary stage.	Mediator orientation. Professional role.
52.	That's not what I'm about , it's not what I'm here for. If that's the feeling they get. Then I'm out of it, and I guess they're out of it and they're condemned to go elsewhere.	Feels its clients loss if they aren't able to negotiate.	Professional role. Confident of ability.
53.	There is a higher law than that, ... some sense of natural justice. There's some other rules of natural justice here... can't be compromised for the sake of having the war over.	Standard of fairness in settlement must be adhered to.	Value system. Mediator neutrality. Biased.
54.	And it's like your outside may be very calm, but you're taking sensor readings all the time about what's happening here, how is the wife... What's the body language... am I being sucked in by counsel... You're always taking sensor readings while trying to maintain this façade of being benign without any real valence...	Feels exterior self should hide mental alertness needed in mediation.	Recognition that he values mental alertness and enjoys analysis.
55.	She feels, oh God, it's another situation in which her husband is going to hurry to get the mediator on his side... And before you've even sat down, you're operating under that kind of situation...	Is area of power imbalance in clients and need to balance to attain trust.	Empathy.
56.	I feel it and I believe it... I find it very liberating and everything, notwithstanding that's its a lot of work and you have to be more committed to the process than the parties are probably. To the process not the result.	Mental work is more taxing but thinks process is worthwhile.	Professional commitment.

57.	I guess my tactile response... is to obtain closure with a minimum of fuss and muss and as quickly as possible.	Successful mediation is agreement with little trouble to save cost.	Professional role. Goal directed.
58.	Philosophically, my objective is to ensure that the parties are able as far as practicable, to impose a regime of settlement on themselves that is a custom fit, is workable for them and is liable to have a long shelf life.	Successful mediation when parties make own agreement that they will abide by.	Professional role. Goal directed.
59.	I think you can make a hell of a difference to these people depending on how creative you are.	Takes responsibility for finding creative solutions to help clients resolve problems.	Lawyer quality– directive. helpful.
60.	It became very clear that I felt there was a greater than usual amount of hostility...	Recognizes emotional tone of clients.	Comfortable with emotion.
61.	When we started taking a side trip and start talking about some of the parties feelings.	Discussions about feelings not usual part of mediation process for Bill.	Empathy.
62.	It almost required me to go away and think about it and put myself in his shoes.	Recognizes need to understand each person's truth.	Empathy.
63.	We say my mind came alive... because you'd never usually get embroiled in those kinds of emotional level issues. (in law)....Getting there is half of the mandate and it really intriqued me.	Mediation allows freedom to operate on more than one level.	Self awareness. Mentally stimulated by emotional problem solving.
64.	The object was to survive, and I think in that case a legal remedy would have cauterized them... lots of opportunities to be creative in mediation because you're dealing with a problem on a much more human and human level than just being a surgeon and cutting up...	Examples of flexible solutions show how mediation is more satisfying in that problem solving can be possible.	Enjoyment of mental stimulation of problem solving.
65.	It really helps me if I get a story back or get them relating to me in examples because sometimes, like me they can't get their concepts across or their feelings... helps to give shape of their idea or a coloration as well.	Client generated metaphors help clarify client's thinking for Bill who also thinks in metaphors.	Self awareness. Creative.
66.	You have to consider what's in the children's global best interests, looking at all of the considerations, not just things that some people consider to be dominant.	Custody should be based on best interest of the child without restricting factors that might influence the choice.	Value system. Best interest of children.
67.	Every spouse, every natural parent has the fear that if they abdicate primary care, somehow their memory or their relationship will not be encouraged or nurtured.	Empathizes with parents concern that if the spouse has primary care, they will be forgotten.	Empathy.

68.	Only in the most extraordinary circumstances am I comfortable with seeings siblings split.	Acknowledges bias that siblings not be separated.	Self knowledge– aware of biase. Value system– best interest of children.
69.	I probably suspected every client's motive's initially... A process of telling... to see how committed they are to it, if they've thought about it or whether it's a reflex... (child custody).	Bill's feelings about best interest make him alert to manipulation by client.	Professional role. Resists manipulation .
70.	The unfortunate place that we got to was that regardless of whether or not the fears were justified, and they were not, they were real.	Understands clients perception of truth.	Empathy.
71.	I guess I feel that way about just about all of the mediations I have done,... ultimately the result has been a custom fit... and a more human result.	Proud of humane agreements.	Value system. Humane solution.
72.	during the course of the dialogue you have been seeing little indicators... they're changing their orientation.	Recognizes that observation and listening skills essential to understanding.	Communication.
73.	(to have both clients trust you in a short time)... it's been a case of being really natural... being fallible, and being vulnerable.	Effective mediation depends on using the self.	Genuine.
74.	trust... to listen real good to what's being said and to try not to be superior.	Recognizes listening skills and self essential to trust.	Listening skills. Respect for client.
75.	In mediation part of that (letting clients vent emotions) is therapy and part is getting out some of their concerns.	Patient with clients need to weave feelings with explanations.	Comfortable with emotion.
76.	I think you have to (understand each persons point of view) because that's the only way to communicate effectively.	Effective mediation is effective communication. Needs ability to understand both persons point of view.	Polycentric empathy.
77.	I've seen not as much interest or fervor or as many referrals...	Concerned about future of mediation.	Professional role. Commitment to mediation.
78.	Some lawyers prostitute the mediation process in paying lip service to it... And I think that intellectual dishonesty.	Ethical responsibility of legal profession eroded.	Value system.

79.	It won't work for everybody seeing people come to it with not the right motivation (failure).	Realistic about population served.	Professional role. Realistic about clients.
80.	Need some personality to wield some control and wield some power. If you don't you've got... little more than a therapist... listen and bleed...	Mediator must be task oriented. Subjective evaluation of psychotherapy.	Professional role. Task orientation.
81.	I'm not sure whether that's a study in psychology... need for a practical insight of human nature.	Effectiveness depends upon psychological skill.	Self awareness that effectiveness depends on psychological skills.
82.	Something I think you've really got to work on are some of those kinds of skills that are important ,tricks of the trade that are psychological things.	Recognizes that psychological skills need practice.	Open to experience. Willing to learn.
83.	I think you have to have a personality that is malleable enough that you can get into individuals and let down some of the barriers.	Openness needed to communicate.	Genuine.
84.	One of them (flaws) is that sometimes I get really impatient with the process... and I fidget... want to summarize too often.	Dissatisfied with aspects of self as mediator.	Self awareness if dissatisfaction with aspects of self as mediator.
85.	Mediation is a much more complicated process of brokering feelings and all of the other elements of human relations, and you've got to be respected and liked in a curious kind of combination or it's not going to work.	Success contingent upon personal qualities.	Self awareness that success contingent on personal qualities.

Table # 4A

Thematic Abstraction of Pam's experience as a lawyer/divorce mediator

Excerpts from transcribed interview	Two Levels of Abstraction *1. Paraphrases*	*2. Themes*
1. I've actually recently made the commitment to stay in divorce work.	Ambivalent feelings about being a divorce lawyer forced a re-appraisal and recommitment.	Professional commitment.
2. I know it is (considered a Jonah) We're coming up to our night of the long knives which is next week.	Divorce work considered the *Jonah* in most law firms.	Professional orientation aware of stigma of divorce work.
3. ...interest to me in particular because divorce work doesn't produce the same kind of income in a firm that deals with banks, insurance companies and the plaintiffs.	Divorce work not as profitable as other areas.	Professional concern about income.
4. Those people are in the position to bill substantially more in legal fees than I am, although I do fairly well. So there's always the thing of, am I able to pull my weight, how much of the income that I bring in should I receive in my own pocket and do I want to change?	Recently reassessed career in light of time and effort compared to income.	Professional pride. Contributes to the firm Awareness.
5. Well, I like dealing with the clients. Mind you, I've done it for over ten years so I'm starting to get a kind of clientele that's easy to enjoy. They're pretty bright, decent human beings.	Enjoys clients similar to self (Rogers) inteiligent and decent people.	Respects clients.
6. I like going to court and you get to court all the time in divorce work. It's constant because there's so many things that you need to look at. Like negotiating.	Enjoys mental stimulation of court work.	Enjoyment of mental stimulation.
7. The area's constantly changing. It's constantly responding to different social needs, and so it's interesting.	Work interesting because it has implications of social values.	Motivation. Social conscience.
8. The narrowness of the field serves me really well right now in my life and my career, this type of work.... I would rather be at home with my kids than researching the law every night. It's also because of the nature of the work being high overturn.	Work allows professional competence and time at home to co-exist.	Value system family. Professional Orientation competence.

9. There's a certain amount of challenge in just dealing with people and judges every day, and lawyers, and it's very social practice and I think that's important to ,... its just that social end of the practice that's fairly satisfying.	Challenge in variety of people. Socially satisfying.	Value system. Satisfaction from dealing with people.
10. It definitely gets on my nerves and I've been real close to burning out at various times in the last several years of my practice. But if it's well managed, it does more for me than against me.	Honest about reasons for staying in divorce work.	Eloquent, genuine.
11. A lot of lawyers would rather be drafting lawsuits or whatever. I like and thrive on– a certain portion of my personality thrives on interpersonal contact.	Enjoys people in work world.	Social contact.
12. I prefer to do it where I meet the client, I get to know them, and generally the clients come to me who want this kind of personalized service.	Offers personal interest in divorce cases.	Professional Orientation..
13. So yes, I think I am responding to something inside me that wants to please others. I'm very critical about how I present cases to a judge for example, and I won't let my client fox me into saying something that I think is ridiculous, because I don't want the judge thinking I'm being ridiculous.	Recognizes need to please others. Not just clients but come up to expectations of judges.	Self-awareness.
14. Decided I wanted to try family law. At that point, I decided maybe I'd like to serve people. Maybe this will do the trick. I can't stand this other stuff. It just keeps crystalizing for me more and more and more.	Sees divorce work as a service to others.	Value system. Social contact.
15. And it doesn't mean being an unobjective person doing what the client tells you to do. It means offering the best service and making them feel like they're cared for,.	Recognizes importance of objectivity in family law.	Empathy.
16. During that period of time is when I became interested in mediation and the style of my clientele changed. I grew to like more of them. As you get more experienced, you attract a different style of clientele. They're here to do it without the need of the legal system. That's the kind of client I like to have.	Experience brought clients more suitable to mediation.	Respect for client.
17. I learned a lot about negotiations as well as mediation from his. And that– it just seemed like such a viable alternative, I just got right into it.	Began to consider mediation as an attractive alternative to litigation.	Change in world view.

18. Since then I have recognized that there's a lot of people who come to see lawyers who are not the least bit interested in mediating and you have to be careful about who you make that sort of referral to. I recognize more that there's only a small portion of the population that will benefit.	Realistic about possibility that not all people suitable for or wish to mediate.	Professional limitations.
19. What came clear to me was that although the husband appeared to be holding the power and be the one who was undermining the process, the wife just wasn't willing to agree to anything.	Able to see beyond surface to analyze what is happening in sessions.	Enjoyment of analysis.
20. I'd say a failure just because we didn't conclude the agreement.	Failure agreement not signed.	Professional Orientation definition of failure.
21. I think I called it right (failed mediation) and I've had feedback from both the clients in response to my request, they paid my bill, that they were totally happy. It was a wonderful experience.	Sense that failure not so bad if clients experienced some personal growth.	Therapeutic orientation. Aware of secondary goal.
22. But they still hadn't concluded their deal, and it may be that they just don't want to conclude it.	Recognizes and accepts couple enmeshment.	Experiment of analysis. accepting.
23. The mediator has to have the lawyers willing to make a recommendation or support to some degree a mediator's experience.	Aware that lawyers influence clients.	Professional concerns.
24. If clients come to me, I'm going to tie up all those little extra issues for them and they'll go back to their lawyers with them all tied up. So the holes won't be there hopefully.	Pride in professional competence.	Professional pride.
25. It may on the other hand be a lawyer saying, well, this isn't what I wanted, and that's where you get into the lawyer that does not support the process. That happens fairly frequently.	Aware that lawyers use mediation as a tool towards a more advantageous settlement.	Professional concerns.
26. But mediations are very time consuming and we usually meet on a weekly basis for a couple of hours and that's a lot of time per week on a file, on a weekly basis. I find it to be quite hard work.	Mediation more difficult and more time consuming.	Professional challenge.
27. The divorce work is much easier from the point of view I meet with the client, I control the interview, I'm in the discovery doing what I know how to do and reading letters.	Sees self as competent divorce lawyer.	Professional competence.

28. The mediation work is on-site. It's highly charged virtually all the time, and if it's not, they usually can do it by negotiation and don't need to mediate. It takes a lot out of you.	Mediation professionally challenging but emotions of conflict uncomfortable.	Professional Challenge uncomfortable with emotions.
29. So I feel a very strong obligation to as quickly as I can answer their questions. I'm just firing the stuff up on the board. As long as they're following and balanced. So I put a great deal of pressure on myself to produce that, make sure they've got their homework at the end of the session and know exactly what they're going to do.	Sense of responsibility to be as efficient as possible to save clients expense.	Professional Challenge–uncomfortable with emotions.
30. Then there's also this emotion, the question sort of emotionally loaded about what happened in the marriage, the accusations, and you just want to sort of brush that aside and get on the issues.	Uncomfortable with emotions. Goal directed.	Uncomfortable with emotions. Professional role goal directed.
31. That was tough, I think, to deal with when you've got the other side in the office too. It's one thing to sympathize and care for your client. It's another thing to try and balance that or get rid of it.	Difficult to balance empathy between both clients. Feels lack of psychological experience.	Empathy.
32. Very hot emotional type of mediation. Sometimes a psychologist might be better in the situation, I don't know.	Feels a lack of psychological experience.	Congruence.
33. My lack of training in the psychological arena of drawing people out, in using some of the mediation techniques to get them to whatever it is, reality tests or search within themselves for the right answer, whatever it might be.	Aware of lack of psychological skills.	Recognizes lack of skills.
34. I can get them right on the money real fast and down to what's necessary to conclude those issues. and keep them pretty balanced emotionally, both being strong at the same time, so I've got the ability there.	Feels confident mediating financial issues using some psychological techniques.	Professional competence.
35. So I just don't offer to mediate custody issues over.... those people or to other private psychologists who are mediating custody with the explicit instruction not to touch the money.	Refers custody cases.	Professional competence.
36. Money's sort of a special child in itself because of different emotions attached to it.... They're hooked and the money issues are hooked with the children's issues, not just because kids cost money. And power, that power, it's hard to mediate the one in the absence of the other sometimes.	Recognizes that it is difficult to separate children from money issues because of the power children represent.	Professional Orientation.

37. Sometimes it an absolute Vesuvius type blow up.... Personally, I tend to cringe is my first reaction. To fortify myself, listen and they try to.	Uncomfortable with expression of emotions.	Uncomfortable with emotions.
38. It may get lost by them, but not by me....I may be shaken by the strength of the response.... But that doesn't mean I'm unobjective on the issue.	Perceives self as objective.	Counselor Quality– empathy. Self-knowledge.
39. The thing that gets me is tears. I see somebody who's being devastated and who has a terrible story and I often have felt just like crying with the person. It does get me, particularly where there's a real hurt on both sides and one party's expressing. You just know that they're hurt and that gets to me.	Empathetic to unhappiness.	Counselor Quality– empathy. Self-knowledge.
40. I find it harder to kind of draw back and say, okay, I've got to set this aside.	Sometimes has difficulty maintaining objectivity.	Self-knowledge.
41. Anger is one thing, the real hurt is another. But you still have to do it. You have to, to some degree, experience it. You can't be totally insensitive to it.	Recognizes empathy important.	Empathy.
42. You have to acknowledge it, verify it, and then get on with the issues, the objective.	Recognizes that explicit acknowledgement facilitates mediation process.	Professional role. Goal directed.
43. In those emotional messages, there is a kernel that's necessary, an issue that you have to bring out and put on the table.... It's a lot harder to pick it out if it's delivered in a very emotional way.	Because of her discomfort with expressed emotion, Pam has trouble finding the problem.	Self awareness analysis.
44. I experience it in the moment but I force myself in a way to draw back to get on with the task. I mean I've been in tears in a mediation session, and I say listen, I'm moved by that but we have to whatever the situation requires.	Aware of clients experience but consciously maintains objectivity.	Objective empathy. Professional Role– goal directed.
45. I acknowledge it. I often tell them that I've been feeling what they're feeling.... I try to let them know that I am hearing not only the message which is important, which I try to think of to say but also the emotion.	Makes conscientious effort to convey empathy.	Empathy.
46. They feel like I'm hearing all their emotions and the other sides eventually going to say to themselves, if she's starting to listen to all of this, where does that leave me? There has to be a really high level of trust, yeah. And willingness to mediate.	Aware of the need to balance attention between clients in mediation.	Polycentric empathy.

47. There has to be an ability to handle the issues and part of that is learning about the issues and being somewhat bright and capable.	Cognizant of kinds of clients who do well in mediation.	Professional role. Limitations clients as capable.
48. The second is willingness. They've got to really want to mediate. I have not been successful mediating people who just don't want to be here.	Aware that motivation to mediate powerful.	Professional Role. Limitations.
49. The third thing is for me to convince them that I'm the right one and that's where this level of trust is available. I usually do that in my first session to the extent that they're going to allow me at my rate.	Recognizes first session testing of Pam as mediator.	Self awareness.
50. I tell them a little bit about my divorce work and that I've acted for both sides and that I'm not here to do that.... and that I'm going to encourage them to talk to their lawyers throughout the process so they feel like they've got that support system behind them as well.	Encourages trust by professional attitude and information towards clients.	Professional orientation.
51. I don't declare my position I will give the, if they ask, some legal information on what the courts are doing and about certain things, about what the current law is.	Does not disclose biases but gives information in unbiased manner.	Objective.
52. If we're sort of negotiating towards something that I think is manifestly unfair I won't go on with it, and I tell them that.	Recognizes mediator neutrality can be compromised by unfair practice.	Mediator neutrality based on concept of fairness.
53. Marriage is a private contract.... mediation is a viable alternative to looking at a private order rather than publicly imposed resolution of problems.	Strong belief in private ordering of marriage.	Belief system. Private ordering.
54. They're making people be responsible for their own house and I think that's good. It gives them a feeling of well-being, a sense of power, a thin, to be able to come and say, look, we want to do this, we don't want some judge doing this but we need help.	Responsibility empowers clients.	Views clients as responsible.
55. My experience talking to couples that they don't ever think they're going to be the one that ends up having that experience to go to court.	People always feel that they will be the winner in a court battle.	Professional orientation.

56. Especially to the older ones, whose kids are grown, no power whatsoever, no control over money, no job, no memory of any of the financial details. They just feel terrible. And just having to get up and say this is me, it's just devastating for her. There's something that kind of levels it off there so they participated.	Feels that women who are vulnerable not suited to mediate.	Value system. Empathy.
57. There's just a strength there and I'm speaking mostly of working women that doesn't exist in other women who really just don't have the self esteem to– they don't have the ability or they don't think they do. It's not because they don't. They don't believe they do. And I don't refer those people.	Follows act– mentions alternative dispute resolution and reconciliation.	Value system.
58. I tell everybody when they come in the door what the options are and I make recommendations on what I think they should do, to the extent that I can. But I often will suggest that people consider it, go and think on it for awhile, but I always mention it.	Will not mediate for divorce client.	Value system.
59. If they're at all interested, then I tell them that I won't mediate for them because I've seen them as divorce clients– they have to get their spouse to agree to go to a third party on record, various people.	Believes mediation preferable.	Professional commitment.
60. I think that a settled dispute, as long as it's a fair one, is far better for most families, or husbands and wives if there's no kids, than a litigator. and it's less money in my pocket but I don't care. I've got all kinds of clients dying to get in here. And where there are kids in issue and two people who seem to be saying good things about–... the other ... And I'll encourage them.	Mediates custody first so parents able to think about plan issues.	Therapeutic orientation. Best interests of children.
61. People, the ones with children, and I'm thinking of kids here, it's a hot issue, that they don't want to litigate, but they can't agree on. They can't settle down and think about the rest until they're secure in knowing they're going to parent their child X or Y. That's what I felt. What I usually do is go over all the issues with them and try to pick out the toughies and the easy ones and kind of choose my own map. I'll often, if it's the first, right at the beginning.	Tries to settle important issues first to give clients peace of mind.	Therapeutic orientation.
62. People have to live while they're going through this so you have to respond to the survival issues first. Emotional survival, will I see my kids, the financial survival.	Tries to settle the most serious problems financial and family first to give some peace of mind for clients.	Therapeutic orientation.

63. In a mediated situation, I tend to work towards something that I think will work for both. If they're both a little unhappy, that's a good sign and good settlement. The money but the caring for herself started to happen in the other areas too.	Works towards a fair goal that she has decided upon.	Mediators form sense of personal fairness.
64. I was so frustrated. I found it frustrating. But that's part of the caring and the dealing with people that you have to be very careful to do in mediation.... But it was so nice to be able to say, ah, you finally decide to take care of yourself.	Finds personal growth process of clients frustrating but satisfying.	Therapeutic orientation.
65. She was experiencing what mediation was for. She was empowered by a process and it was a very engaged agreement, very successful mediation because of her growth. So that was a good experience.	Derives satisfaction from seeing clients personal growth.	Finds secondary goal of mediation satisfying.
66. I remember one particularly where it was very successful and done in a very compressed way and I just hated it. But we got our deal and... it lacked a connection with people somehow... underlying feeling... I'm not sure what it was, it wasn't addressed. Hostility or something.	When agreement reached but underlying issues not resolved Pam finds less personal satisfaction.	Successful agreement not satisfying if secondary goal not met.
67. My faith in the correctness of it has continued to develop. But I've always been fairly sensitive that way to other people.	Uses senses, consciously develops and relies on intuition.	Uses self.
68. I think a lot of the rapport I have with my own clients comes from that.... I think you're feeling this now... That gives them a real feeling of being understood.... It's something I enjoy using.	Recognizes power of being understood and enjoys that rapport it gives with clients.	Empathy.
68. I guess that feeds into... me liking to do this for people. It's partly because it comes back to me as being what I've been right. Or I can use that part of me every day in my practice. It's very important to me to acknowledge the people in the courthouse.	Enjoys the added dimension relying on intuition gives to her life.	Self awareness.
69. It is very, very central in my life, very important. Even internally. I like to know what I'm feeling about various things of what I'm doing.	Pays attention to own feelings.	Self awareness.
70. I usually sense some way part through whether they're really ready to walk from this marriage or whether they're just really anxious to hang on or just devastated by the thought that the other side wants out.	Uses observation skills and senses to decide clients emotional state.	Observation skills

71. I think my duty as a lawyer, again I go back to the Divorce Act, is to canvass reconciliation and if there's a chance that this marriage is going to succeed and my client thinks there's a chance, then I want to give them the opportunity to have that fully canvassed with the other side.	Feels obliged to explore possibility of reconciliation with clients.	Professional orientation.
72. If they're just asking for a reconciliation so they can postpone the divorce for a couple of years to squirrel away the property, and I've had people come in and say that, we get to the bottom of it very quickly.	Will not tolerate manipulation of law or spouse by clients.	Value systems.
73. Most of that is just in my development as a professional, becoming more experienced more confident in my work, realizing– I've had kids within this time as well, and realizing there has to be balance to life. Integrating it into my life scheme.	Strives for a well balanced life.	Congruence.
74. The kernel is there. I feel very connected to the person I was when I chose to do this.... and burned out quite badly. And I wasn't really thinking about much other than practicing law. And got pretty disconnected from a lot of life.	Has experienced disharmony from working too hard and has returned to the person that she feels she has been.	Change in world view.
75. It keeps coming back to this wish to work with people and the service profession and the duty of the lawyer to serve and all that kind of stuff.	Returned to ideals of legal profession and personal ideals.	Value system.
76. I do generally believe that people are capable. If they need help I'll... get involved.	Believes people capable but need help.	Views clients as capable.
77. I act for lots of people whose philosophies are different. That's not a problem, but if they are not willing to listen to me or they say they'll do something and then don't or if they lie to me, those types of things, I don't want them in my life.	Unbiased but sets personal limits for clients.	Professional orientation. Counselor Quality– non-judgmental.
78. I think it's good to have a theory.	Bases work on theory acquired in workshop.	Professional competence.
79. They become more relaxed. They use human warmth, sometimes. Sometimes you can see a visual relaxation. They start to sit back in their seat and speak louder and small things like that. You can when they are upset.	Uses observational skills to decide state of mind for the client.	Observational skills.
80. Was a co-mediation psychologist who spent sometime with the wife in helping her realize that she was going through these stages.... Very satisfying, very productive. It's a good mediation that it has stood the test of time.	Finds mediation satisfying when productive, personal growth and works for a long time.	Professional Orientation– most satisfied when both goals of mediation are met.

81. Now I am involved in organizing almost a communication workshop which is important to this firm. With the lack of it I have decided that no one else is going to do it I've got to do it. I have to get the rapport going here.	Uses communication skills to benefit others and strengthen firm.	Value system.
82. I am certainly listening on a intellectual level and there usually there has been a whole bunch of senses, sensual type clues before that, that something is not right. Sometimes it will be a total voice that I hear. Sometimes it will just be somebody moving forward in their chair, getting on the attack, sometimes it might even be a facial expression or looking down, a little bit of body movement, uncharacteristic to what is going on.	Evaluates using multi clues observed in clients.	Objective-evaluative works on two levels.
83. But there are also lawyers who are encouraging clients to go to mediation because to give it some more time with the kid. Don't worry about it. All it does is make that case stronger. And I think that's dishonest. Now when I say dishonest... I am not saying they are practising law improperly,... it just a kind of moral dishonor.	Sees lawyers who use mediation for manipulative purposes are intellectually and morally deficient.	Value system.
84. If that lawyer is absolutely opposed to mediation there is no way. Doesn't matter what you do. Very adversary, very controlled because that is what they need at this stage in their lives. They can go to mediation because the lawyer says go on and they know darn well that they are just stopped.	Recognizes influence of lawyers over clients.	Professional limitations.
85. I like meeting with people. I like getting to know them and I enjoy watching people relate. That is different from what I see in my office. Most of the time. It is me and the client. And in mediation it is refreshing to see these unusual ways that people communicate.	Enjoys working with more than one person.	Enjoys mental stimulation of more than one person.
86. I have a feeling there is a little more honesty in the mediation process then there has been in the marriage for a while. They get surprised by each other sometimes and that is sort of fun. If the mediation is successful, there is often a feeling of being attached. Little success mean a lot to the people who are involved. That is so nice to go home with, with a smile at the end of the day.	Enjoys progress made in mediation when people work well together.	See people as capable.
87. But yeah so I suffered a lot over that one. Suffered in my own personal life with the point of view that I can't believe I let that happen.	Worries that a mistake caused mediation to fail.	Professional Orientation–responsible for process.

88. I mean I see it as a wonderful learning experience,... We need more experience.	Willing to learn.	Open to experience.
89. It doesn't matter if I win or lose I'm always critical of what I'm doing.	Evaluates own performance.	Self awareness of performance.
90. And yet you believe though people, I remember talking about this, have the responsibility for their own actions. They do, but I still have a responsibility that comes out and is allowed to count for the process.	Believes people responsible for own actions but sees self as responsible for the process.	View clients as capable.
91. The first quality in a good mediator would be, like I said they would have to be a good communicator, they would have to be able to listen well and be responsive as to what is being said. by that it may be by saying nothing, appropriate response. So good communication skills would be number one. They would have to have some patient.... somebody who these people feel they can confide in almost like the Dr. Welby type image. They have to have, be very sensitive. They have to be able to pick up on the feelings that are in the room and be able to show that quite quickly they understand. Genuine openness.	Feels mediator, including self must be good communicator. Patient and be trustworthy. They must possess counselor skills based on knowledge, be genuine and open.	Ideal mediator.
92. You still have to be removed from the process so there has to be an ability to separate the task and the people from that work. Has to be task oriented. You have to get on with the job so your going to give directiveness in a sense. I think that knowledge, there is a certain amount of knowledge that is needed to and I was going to say earlier knowledge of the subject area of the mediator.	Feels mediator should be objective, task oriented and to some degree directive.	Professional Orientation–objective. Task oriented direction. (give alternative suggestions)
93. You have to be able to understand through various communication skills each person.	Recognizes the need to understand each person within a balance.	Balance empathy neutrality.
94. I believe that very strongly and I think that if we don't sort of settle down and start to do more things in mediation and real conflict resolution everybody... our society is doomed. Literally I believe that and I think a lot of other people agree because not so much really me, but are sensing a similar type of thing because even the largest American companies are mediating.	Believes mediation important as a societal device.	Value system.
95. The exercise of power through us as instruments is destroying these people in the family. But when you get into a real big fight over kids or something that is too petty,... the exercise of power is devastating.	Believes mediation important in the best interests of the children and family.	Motivation. Best interest of children. Human for individuals.

Letter of Consent

To whom it may concern:

I understand that I have been selected as a candidate for an investigation into the shared qualities of effective divorce mediators.

I agree to two or three in depth interviews by Betty Stevens-Gayle, which will be audiotaped and transcribed for analysis and used as data for her Masters of Education Thesis.

I have been assured that my participation in this study is to be anomymous in that my name and identifying characteristics will be changed and will remain confidential. I agree to act as a co-researcher for this study.

Date

Signature