

PATTERNS OF TEACHER INTERACTION IN AN
IMMERSION SCHOOL IN MONTREAL

by



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Abstract

The interactions of a linguistically mixed teaching staff of an immersion school in Montreal were explored to determine their influence on the integrative objectives of immersion programs. Teachers' formal and informal interactions were observed to feature the predominant use of English and the use of silence to avoid code switching and functioned to manage conflict to the detriment of integrative immersion goals. Conflict among the staff arose from disagreements about immersion programs, conflicting societal and professional norms and the school's organizational divisions. A projective technique was used to determine if perceptions of linguistic norms of 176 grades 1 to 6 pupils reflected the interactions of eight immersion and four English stream teachers. The study underlines the importance of the interactional context and organization of schools with mixed staff groups for achieving bilingual education goals. Attainment of integrative objectives may hinge on the degree of correspondence between stated aims and actual practice.

Résumé

Les interactions d'un groupe d'enseignantes d'appartenance ethnolinguistique mixte d'une école d'immersion à Montréal ont été étudiées par l'entremise d'une étude ethnographique. Le but de cette étude était d'évaluer l'influence de ces relations sur les objectifs d'intégration sociale des programmes d'immersion. On s'est servi d'une technique de projection pour évaluer si les perceptions des normes linguistiques de 176 élèves de la première à la sixième reflétaient les "interactions" de huit enseignantes du programme d'immersion et quatre du programme d'anglais. Les principales caractéristiques des "interactions" (comportement interpersonnel) des enseignantes étaient l'emploi de l'anglais et le silence afin d'éviter le passage à un autre code (de comportement); ces mécanismes servaient à contenir le conflit, mais au détriment des objectifs d'intégration sociale du programme d'immersion. Les conflits entre les enseignantes étaient dus aux désaccords concernant les programmes d'immersion, aux normes sociales ou professionnelles contradictoires, et aux divisions de l'organisation de l'école. L'étude souligne l'importance du contexte interactionnel et de la structure administrative des écoles dont les groupes d'enseignants sont mixtes pour la réalisation des objectifs de l'éducation bilingue. La réalisation des buts d'intégration pourrait dépendre du degré de correspondance entre les objectifs énoncés et la réalité.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The role of the school in a homogeneous, politically stable society is to socialize the young in the ways of the dominant cultural traditions in preparation for adult participation in that society (Cremin, 1953). The role of the school in societies with heterogeneous and politically divided or shifting populations is more complex. Societies undergoing change and development are often characterized by an interplay between formerly dominant cultural patterns and emerging new ones, by shifting traditions as well as by change in the power relationship between different ethnic or linguistic groups. These patterns are reflected in the school (Masemann, 1976) which is entrusted, implicitly or explicitly, with the dual task of perpetuating the traditional culture and of implementing social change (Anderson, 1970). Bilingual education is one means by which many heterogeneous societies throughout the world try to achieve both ends. To the extent that bilingual education serves to facilitate interaction between speakers of different languages, its general purpose is to reduce existing social boundaries between the groups or to prevent such boundaries from developing. The present study is concerned with bilingual education in Quebec, a society in transition where the relationship between anglophones and francophones has been characterized by the now popular term "two solitudes" (MacLennan, 1944).

The development of French immersion bilingual education programs for Quebec anglophone children in 1964 was one manifestation of the "Quiet Revolution", during which Quebec society began to change rapidly. A key aspect of this change was the effort of francophones to gain greater control of the economy. With this effort, the issue of language use came to the forefront as a means of asserting majority status and of bringing about

socio-economic change. Anglophones began at this time to lose majority-like control (Magnuson, 1980), while francophones, who had long been a numerical majority in Quebec, began to assume the power of a majority group as well. These changes, which are still occurring, altered the role of the school in society and have touched the lives of all who participated in this study.

Bilingual programs have pedagogical and social objectives which vary from one social context to another. Pedagogical objectives have to do with the desired academic outcomes that are related to curriculum and to instructional methods. The pedagogical outcomes of bilingual programs have received considerable attention from researchers who have concentrated largely on their linguistic or cognitive results. The pedagogical objectives of immersion programs in Quebec are well defined and the outcomes have been thoroughly documented (Genesee, 1978; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Tucker, 1977). Pedagogical outcomes are not in question here, but will be reviewed later in order to give a profile of a typical immersion school.

Social objectives refer to the attitudinal and other social changes that a bilingual program is intended to produce. In contrast to pedagogical objectives, the social objectives of bilingual education are less explicit and less amenable to quantitative methods of enquiry. Consequently, less research has been carried out in this area and the known outcomes are few and sometimes contradictory. Recently, some investigators have called for qualitative studies to demonstrate the relationship of the social objectives of bilingual education to the social context, and the relationship of both factors to the interactional processes that occur within the school (Bruck & Schultz, 1977; Mehan, 1978; Paulston, 1977b). There is now increasing interest in how a number of interacting variables influence educational experiences and results. The present study is an attempt to add to the small body of research in this

area by examining the interactions of an ethnolinguistically mixed teacher group and their possible influence on students' perceptions of language use in and out of school.

The social context of education has been determined to have an influence on educational results (Coleman, 1966). Also, knowledge about the social context has been recognized as important for understanding bilingual programs (Fishman, 1977; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Mackey, 1967). Social context is here defined as the totality of historical, attitudinal and cultural factors which account for the form that an educational system takes within a society. Few researchers have demonstrated how the social context relates to the specific interactional context of the bilingual school. For example, the interactions of an ethnolinguistically mixed teacher group may be strongly influenced by the social context. In turn, teacher interactions may influence the attainment of stated program goals as well as the educational experiences of the students. However, the details of these complex interactional processes have yet to be documented.

Several investigators have tried to understand the relationship of the social context to bilingual education by identifying different types of bilingual program. Programs have been classified on the basis of many different criteria, one of which is the political need of a society to align itself with a particular world power where the presence of a different language necessitates the development of a bilingual program to facilitate that alignment. Bilingual programs have also been classified in terms of a society's internal political need to assimilate diverse groups through bilingual programs that stress the language of the majority. Other societies use bilingual education to maintain minority languages because linguistic diversity is perceived as a political asset. In other cases, the promotion of second

language acquisition has served the aims of a power élite, and has been classified accordingly. Mackey (1972) identified 54 types of bilingual education along such lines, while Spolsky (1972; 1974) distinguished between programs that purport to rescue the linguistic-minority child by developing his/her facility in the language of the majority (transitional or compensatory bilingual education) and programs that try to keep a minority group's language in use (maintenance bilingual education).

Typological terms such as "enrichment", "additive", "subtractive", "submersion", "marked and unmarked languages" characterize the bilingual education literature (see Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives, 5 Vols., 1977) and reflect efforts to analyze differences in social contexts and the bilingual programs that are part of them (Parker, 1977). However, to the extent that typologies fail to ask fundamental questions about how and why a particular program develops, or how a social context influences a bilingual program on a day-to-day basis, their analytical value is limited. In fact, typologies tend to describe the social results of bilingual education: the participants are successfully "integrated" or "enriched" or suffer "subtractive" effects because of "submersion". For this reason, a lengthy enumeration of existing typologies does not throw much light on our understanding of the process of bilingual education or on the complex manner in which a program is continuously affected by the broad social context.

A more fruitful approach to understanding the relationship of the social context to bilingual education combines an analysis of the particular historical background with a sociological perspective on the bilingual school. Historical factors may account for the emergence of a specific form of bilingual education, and may help to explain the presence of attitudes that support one kind of bilingual education as opposed to another. In addition, an analysis of social processes, as well as of the sociological features of the bilingual

school is necessary to demonstrate how the social context is reflected in the functioning of the school. Accordingly, the rest of this first chapter describes the historical events surrounding the issue of language in Canada and Quebec which led to the development of the first immersion bilingual education program in Montreal. A sociological perspective which combines functional and conflict theory of social change is then used to show how bilingual education can be viewed in terms of process, that is, as a function of a constellation of interacting variables (Paulston, 1977b). This perspective illuminates typological differences between bilingual programs, using the example of Canada and the United States, and serves to raise questions concerning the analysis of a French immersion school. The rest of the first chapter then describes a "typical" immersion school in terms of school organization, social norms of the teaching profession, program objectives, teaching methods, pedagogical and social outcomes, and the role of language in interaction.

Chapter 2 presents a number of research questions pertaining to the following themes: (1) attitudinal differences and role conflict in a teacher group; (2) the influence of the formal organization of the immersion school on teacher interaction; (3) the functions of informal teacher interaction regarding role conflict; (4) the influence of teacher interaction on pupils' perceptions of the use of English and French in and out of school. The methodological approach, materials and procedures used during each phase of the study are also described in this chapter.

Chapter 3 presents the findings of the study in four major sections. The first section provides data on the subject of role conflict by examining teachers' perspectives on immersion programs and other language related attitudes. The second section explores patterns of teacher interaction that demonstrate how the group functions as a teacher group in the formal context of the school, particularly when influenced by outside events. The third

section gives data on informal patterns of teacher interaction and focuses on the subgroup structure of the teacher group, on teachers' management of conflict and on their use of language. The fourth section presents the results of a projective instrument administered to a sample of students to obtain their perceptions of the situational use of language in and out of school.

A discussion of the findings is given in the fourth and final chapter.

Historical Background of

The Language Issue in Canada and Quebec

Issues surrounding language differences have been an important theme throughout Canada's history since the country was created from former French and English colonies. There have been frequent official attempts to sanction the equality of the French and English founding groups. A preoccupation with group rights and in particular the rights of each group to its own language in the courts and in the schools has been reflected in various legislative acts and charters. Official sanction of the presence and preservation of cultural and linguistic differences between Canada's founding peoples predates Confederation - 1867. Despite official policy and rhetoric however, there exists a history of competition and conflict between the groups and attitudes have not always reflected official multicultural ideology.

The British North America (BNA) Act of 1867, the country's constitution, included clauses designed to insure the preservation of the cultural and linguistic rights of the English and French. Thus the Act established the use of French and English in the Canadian parliament, in all Federal courts, and in the legislature and courts of the Province of Quebec. The BNA Act represents, of course, only one point along the line of linguistic conflict

that really began with the French defeat on the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

The one hundred years before the BNA Act were marked by several major events with implications for the use of language in Canada. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 instituted an assimilative policy by imposing English law and customs on all, by excluding Catholics (who were mostly French) from public office, and by reducing the size of the territory of the former French colony. In response to the threat of the American Revolution, these harsh measures were reversed by the Québec Act of 1774, which reestablished French linguistic and religious rights and restored the previous borders. The pendulum then swung the other way with the Durham Report of 1839, which revoked the official status of the French language. One ultimate intent of the Durham Report, which was prepared after the Rebellion of the French Canadian "Patriotes" in 1837, was the assimilation of French Canadians into what was seen as the British mainstream of Canada. The British Parliament was then forced to restore the official use of French in 1848, again in the face of an American threat and French Canadian restiveness. This time was also marked by increasing demands for responsible government in Canada. In response to these demands, the English Canadian reformer Baldwin and his French Canadian counterpart Lafontaine were invited by the British to form a joint cabinet. This cabinet paved the way for autonomous government and established the principle of a dual majority for the first time. This principle was reaffirmed by the BNA Act some twenty years later.

The pattern of alternately strengthening and curtailing language rights in Canada has persisted. In 1870, Manitoba recognized English and French as official languages but revoked the status of French in 1890 in reaction to the Métis Rebellion led by Louis Riel in 1885. The Northwest Territories

(later Saskatchewan and Alberta) did the same in 1875 and 1892 respectively. In Quebec, the trend to curtail language rights has concerned the use of English. The first hint of attempts to control the official use of English came in 1910 when the Quebec legislature passed a law requiring public utilities to serve customers in French as well as in English. A second attempt came in 1937 when a law was passed giving French priority in the interpretation of provincial laws and regulations. This law was repealed a year later under pressure from the then powerful English minority.

Despite the terms of the BNA Act, which officially confirmed the equal status of French and English at the national level, it was not until 1927 that bilingual stamps were issued. Bilingual currency was issued for the first time as late as 1926, and bilingual cheques drawn on the Federal treasury appeared as recently as 1962. Clearly, attitudes and even official actions did not match official policy.

The language issue in Canada eventually became centered in Quebec and on education, despite the Federal government's periodic claims that the issue is a broad national one. Thus, in 1963 a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) was formed to make recommendations for promoting the equality of French and English in many spheres of life. The establishment of this Commission was in response to the initial stirrings of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, which were perceived as a potential threat to national unity. Published in 1967, the RCBB Report recommended the establishment of bilingual districts where warranted by population size, the creation of French speaking units in the federal public service, and, most importantly, federal recognition of the right to education in either French or English for all Canadians (Arnopoulos & Clift, 1980; Buteau, 1972; Henchey, 1972; Magnuson, 1969; 1971; 1980). Key recommendations of the RCBB Report were in-

corporated into the landmark federal Official Languages Act of 1969. Language rights, particularly the entrenchment of French minority rights outside of Quebec, are among the key issues of the present (1981) constitutional debate. The RCBB was not successful in its recommendation to establish rights regarding language of education.

The Language Issue in Education in Quebec

The language issue in education in Quebec can be viewed against the broad socio-historical background of cultural differences between the French and English speaking groups. These differences, in part responsible for the development of dual and separate systems of education for each group in Quebec also help to explain certain reactions to recent social changes there, such as the development of bilingual education for anglophone children. Historically based cultural differences, including language differences, have played a particularly important role in Quebec. According to Arnopoulos and Clift (1980), French Canadians have had, and still have, a collective orientation to society that combines ideas of: a common "race" with roots in France; a common destiny for over 300 years; a common religion, and a strong attachment to the new land. Important aspects of life were the family and the Church. Mobility of individuals out of Quebec for occupational advancement was rare. These cultural values affected occupational choice and the form that the educational system took--French, Catholic and classical.

In contrast, English Canadians held an individualistic and secular orientation to society, relinquishing attachment to the new land in favor of sentimentality over ties to Britain. They perceived society as a collection of individuals with individual rights. The notion of group or collective rights was quite foreign to English Canadians, perhaps because these ideas are generated when a group has been treated as a minority. Anglophones living in

Quebec did not view themselves as Quebecois or as a minority but as part of North American industrial society and therefore oriented to change, possessing loose family ties, and accepting the mobility (Armenopoulos & Clift, 1980). These cultural values similarly influenced occupational choice and led to an educational system modelled in the British and American tradition.

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in French Canadian society and in education has been particularly important. The Church had gained full control over education in Quebec under the terms of the Quebec Act of 1774 and the Constitutional Act of 1791. Exceptions were made for the non-Catholic British minority, and as a result separate educational systems along confessional lines evolved. The Church, with its unwillingness to adapt to economic change, industrialization and urbanization, placed severe constraints on educational development in French Quebec. Adaptation would have meant secularization, which francophones associated with the English Culture and with cultural disintegration. The role of the Church in "handicapping" French Canada has been much criticized, but scholars have emphasized that until recently Quebec was largely rural and poor, and perhaps was only able to support an educational system that relied on poorly paid religious teachers (Magnuson, 1980).

Open anti-clerical dissent first appeared in Quebec during the 1950s, mainly in the writings of P.E. Trudeau, in the periodical Cité Libre, and in Les Insolences du Frère Untel, then an anonymous book (Desbiens, 1960). By 1960, there was widespread recognition among francophones that the educational system needed vast reform in order to catch up with the rest of the world (Magnuson, 1980). The goal was to implement educational change without disruption to the French Canadian culture. Thus, two major social changes had to take place at the same time. First, the status relationship of francophones

and anglophones had to undergo a dramatic shift so that francophones no longer occupied a minority-like position in the society. Next, and simultaneously, the French language had to receive protection and reinforcement to prevent cultural disintegration in a largely English speaking continent. That is, changes had to take place while ethnolinguistic boundaries were being maintained and even reaffirmed by action on the part of the francophone and by reaction on the part of the anglophone. The time during which this process occurred has become popularly known as the Quiet Revolution. The extent to which the preservation of the French language was considered imperative for cultural preservation helps to explain the legal measures taken by the Quebec government and the reactions of anglophones to these measures. The steps leading up to the most recent educational and language laws are summarized below.

Section 93 of the BNA Act defines education as the responsibility of each province. It guaranteed only the right to education in the religion of one's choice. This provision was the legal basis for separate Protestant and Catholic systems of education in Quebec where the Protestant system happened to serve the English and the Catholic system happened to serve the French. In reality, the separation was not as absolute since the English Protestant system developed a small French sector while the French Catholic system developed a small English sector. It should be added that trends in the rest of Canada contributed to the situation in Quebec. Until recently, the provinces showed little concern for bilingual education. Ontario eliminated the use of French in the public school system in 1912 ("Regulation 17"), but restored it in 1968. Manitoba removed the right to French public education in 1890 but reinstated that right in 1970. In 1969 New Brunswick, a province with a sizable Acadian minority, recognized the official status of French and

English in the government, the courts and in education. Each of these recent events in other provinces can be seen as responses to the recommendations of the RCBB and as attempts to avoid the kind of linguistic-educational conflict that arose in the Montreal suburb of St. Léonard in 1968, (Lysons, 1973). Riots broke out in St. Léonard, a community with a high proportion of immigrants, when the provincial government first tried to restrict access to English Catholic schools. Most affected were the non-English, non-French-speaking immigrant families of the area whose English-medium school was closed. Open expression of polarized attitudes, public debates and barely concealed hostility between French, English and others were the result. This event was both the result and the cause of legal and other changes designed to improve education, while ensuring the survival of the French language and culture.

Recommendations put forth by the Parent Commission known as the Magna Charta of Education of 1961 was the first official action taken in Quebec to set the stage for reform in education. It recommended the formation of a Ministry of Education, as called for in the BNA Act. Whereas in Ontario such a ministry had been created as early as 1876, in Quebec education had been regarded as the business of the Church, not of secular authorities (Magnuson, 1971). The Magna Charta of 1961 also suggested that secondary school fees be abolished to help reduce the high drop-out rates associated with then current economic hardships. School boards were to be regionalized and other means were to be used to increase levels of schooling and to make schooling available to all.

The Quebec Ministry of Education was established in 1964, and opened the way for provincially appointed officials to take control of education from the Church. As the central role of the Church in education came to an end, so did the total separation between the English Protestant and French Catholic school

systems. Both were now under the authority of the Ministry which set educational policy, prescribed curriculum, chose textbooks, set final examinations, approved budgets, issued diplomas and, most importantly, controlled the training and certification of teachers. Teacher education was to take place within the universities. In order to accomplish this, there was a merger of English Catholic and non-denominational teacher training institutions at McGill University. Increasingly, the separating element in education became language, although the denominational aspects have survived to the present day despite parent supported efforts to deconfessionalize some French Catholic schools (The Montreal Gazette, June 14, 1980).

One of the consequences of the establishment of an education Ministry was the new possibility of hiring teachers across school board lines and, therefore, across language lines. Prior to this time, cross-board hiring was not possible because training was not standardized and employee benefits could not be transferred from one board to another. In turn, these changes paved the way for improved second language teaching in each system. Specifically, it became possible to hire francophones to teach French-as-a-second-language classes in the English schools, where French had previously been taught by anglophones. It should be noted that it took several years before such cross-hiring took place perhaps because a degree of social change was necessary to permit other barriers between the two systems to be reduced. No similar development occurred in the teaching of English in the French schools because of the increased emphasis on protecting the French language from anglicization.

The thrust of Quebec educational policy was to modernize the system and to reinforce the French culture by increasing the use of French. To this end several language laws were passed. Three major language laws were passed

between 1969 and 1977 (Magnuson, 1980). The first, called Bill 63 was an immediate response to the St. Léonard crisis. Bill 63 gave parents the right to choose the language of schooling for their children, against the opposition of francophone teachers, intellectuals and nationalist politicians who saw the Bill as a contradiction of the government's stated intention to enhance French culture and language. On the other hand, Bill 63 was welcomed at the federal level as being consistent with the spirit of the Official Languages Act passed in the same year. This federal law embodied the concept of a bilingual Canada, and provided for federal services in both French and English anywhere in Canada where both groups are present in sufficient numbers. These federal measures were insufficient to placate the forces of Quebec nationalism. The dissent generated by Bill 63 led instead to the formation of the Gendron Commission which investigated the status of the French language and the question of language rights in Quebec.

Some of the main recommendations of the Gendron Commission (1972) were incorporated into a second language law, "Bill 22", passed in 1974. Bill 22 revoked the right of choice in the language of schooling and restricted access to English schools to anglophones and immigrant children who could pass an English proficiency test. Bill 22 led to the administrative and pedagogical nightmare of assessing the English language proficiency of five year old children whose first language was neither French nor English. The Bill also resulted in parents establishing an underground English nursery school where their children might acquire the facility in English necessary to pass the school entrance examination (Arnopoulos & Clift, 1980).

The most important and comprehensive attempt to make "Quebec as French as Ontario is English" came in 1977 with the third language law, "Bill 101". This Bill was introduced by the Parti Québécois government which had come to

power the previous year. The election of this government marked the culmination of two hundred years of French Canadian nationalism. It was the first government elected in Quebec to openly challenge the notion of Canada as a nation formed of a pact between francophone and anglophone settlers. It advocated outright separation of Quebec as a sovereign nation.

Bill 101 made French the sole official language of the Quebec legislature and of the courts. French was to be the language of work and of most other activities, including education. Bill 101 restricted English language schooling to anglophone children whose parent(s) had been schooled in Quebec. Entry to English language schools required documented proof of parent's schooling. In other words, English language education was seen as an exception or privilege restricted to the resident English minority of Quebec, not as a right available to all English speaking Canadians. As Bill 101 ran counter to federal policies on language the federal government attempted to weaken it by having the Supreme Court of Canada rule that Manitoba's revocation of the status of French in 1890 was unconstitutional. Thus by analogy the government tried to make unconstitutional those parts of Bill 101 that made French the sole language of the courts of Quebec. However, the federal government was not able to affect the language issue in education as education was and is clearly a provincial matter (Henchey, 1972; Magnuson, 1980).

The historical events summarized so far provide only an outline of the social forces that have helped shape Quebec's educational system. Some of the events described are reflections of deep attitudinal shifts as well as trends in themselves. As described they do not convey the extent to which individuals felt that their lives were affected. The recent past in Quebec has been characterized by a highly emotionally charged social climate.

Two aspects of this climate have already been hinted at by the historical events described above. One is the tendency of francophones, with their strong collective sense, to regard anglophones as a single collective. One result is that the francophone education Ministry restricted access to English schools on the basis of linguistic differences. The other aspect of change that has elicited strong emotional reactions has to do with the extent of secularization and centralization of education. As education was modernized, clericalism was replaced by a degree of technocratic centralization of education not found elsewhere in North America, modelled as it was after the system in France. Moreover, the issues of language of education, language use and language rights have replaced religion as the core of French Canadian nationalism. Social debate and reform focus there.

Population changes, the expansion of mass communications and the increasing strength of minorities in the United States in the 1960's contributed to the political and social changes in Quebec in the last 20 years. The need to strengthen French culture and to curb access to English schools is partially explained by the drop in the francophone birthrate below the national average and by the resistance of immigrants to integrate into the French community. Education became a key instrument of Quebec public policy for coping with these trends. Government intervention was also seen as essential to counter the influence of the English dominated media. Some insight into the pressures felt by French Canadians can be gained from the following remarks made by a French Canadian school principal.

Modern means of communication have defeated the resistance to foreign influences that ... isolation offered. The frontiers are abolished and everyone comes together in the same public square. Children ... are incapable of improving their language because they are contin-

ually under the influence of a language often neglected in the family ...and bastardized in the society. The government is the only means capable of advancing French Canadian people lost in the middle of an anglophone ocean (Lambert & Tucker, 1972, p. 5).

Anglophones and other minorities in Quebec have reacted to language laws and other restrictions by defending the status quo and by claiming that individuals have rights, particularly to choose the language of schooling. These attitudes were prevalent when immersion programs first developed, and persisted at the time the present study was carried out.

Long used to freedom of educational choice, many anglophones reacted to the controls imposed by the Ministry of Education by leaving the province. In turn, the reduction of the English language school population confirmed the fears of some anglophones who remained that the English culture of Quebec was threatened. Public expressions of these fears became more frequent over time and served further to define and solidify ethnic boundaries, as indicated for example, in the following statement:

How can anyone living in Quebec today be unaware of the deeply emotional need of people, not only to be educated in their own language, but to have rights to their language securely established in societal institutions? Primary among these institutions, of course, is the school system (The Montreal Gazette, December 12, 1979).

The reaction of anglophones took another form. Some had been quick to foresee, in the early 1960s, that the ability to use French was soon going to be a necessity for anglophone survival in Quebec. Acquisition of French may have been perceived by some anglophones as a way to maintain their position in Quebec society. French language classes for adults proliferated, and it be-

came fashionable for young adults to spend summers at Trois Pistoies near Quebec City, where they could live in a French milieu and attend intensive French language classes. However, these efforts were not often successful in producing proficiency in French. Apart from the difficulties encountered by many adults in learning a second language, geographical separation of anglophones and francophones in different neighborhoods, especially in Montreal, reduced the opportunity to practice newly acquired language skills.

Social distance also played an important role in preventing linguistic integration. Contact between anglophones and francophones was governed by deeply entrenched traditional social norms which affected the use of language between members of the two groups. Moreover, the division of labor and occupational ranking in society was still closely linked to ethnolinguistic group membership, with anglophones occupying higher status positions (Porter, 1965). Rules of language use in the society were tied to the rules of discourse between people who have different status (Hymes, 1972). Thus English remained the language of authority and the predominant language of use in business. An important part of the minority status role was that the francophone needed to know both languages so that he could switch to English in situations requiring a show of deference (Genesee & Bourhis, Note 1). Anglophones have not really needed to know French to live and work in Quebec.

The rules of language use began to shift with the social changes that took place in Quebec in the 1960s. As francophones gained in power and began to occupy positions vacated by anglophones, and as language laws were passed, the overall attitude of anglophones towards the new rules of language use shifted from resistance to acquiescence and perhaps by 1981 to acceptance. Individual attitudes varied, however, for many anglophones who chose to remain in Quebec, the hopes of bilingualism were passed on to the next generation. Thus the climate was

ripe for an innovative approach in education that would bring this about. A movement began in the Montreal suburb of St. Lambert in 1963 to develop a program of bilingual education for anglophone children that came to be called "early French immersion".

The Development of Immersion in Montreal

In October 1963, a group of 12 English speaking parents living in the Montreal suburb of St. Lambert met to discuss ways in which their children could become bilingual. Some parents had placed their children in French schools, and had been impressed with the ease with which their children acquired French and handled the subject matter. French school principals were reluctant however to enroll many anglophone pupils in their schools because of the feeling that the French language needed protection from English. The parent group sought ways to institute effective French language education within the English school system.

The parent group developed a program called early French immersion. They designed a program beginning in Kindergarten in which French would be the sole language of instruction for the first few years. Originally English language arts were to be introduced in grade four. The primary goal of the program was to make children functionally bilingual by the end of high school. This was acknowledged as a necessity for living in Quebec in the future. The parents believed that if their children learned French early from French speaking teachers it might prevent the formation of negative attitudes towards francophones and might ultimately help to reduce the tensions between the two ethno-linguistic groups. A corollary of this belief was that negative attitudes towards the speakers of another language thwarted adult attempts to learn that language. (The validity of this idea was confirmed by Gardner and Lambert (1972) in their study of the influence of different kinds of motiva-

tion and attitude in adult second language learning.) Thus we see that from the beginning immersion programs had distinct pedagogical and social intentions. They sought to give the participants proficiency in a second language and they sought to reduce tensions between anglophones and francophones.

The St. Lambert parent group met with considerable resistance in their efforts to establish the first early French immersion class. They presented their proposal to the local school board and were told to return if they could gather enough pupils for one class. When they returned with the names of several hundred pupils the matter was turned over to the central board, which was in charge of innovative educational policy. Here the proposal was refused outright. Next, the parents prepared briefs and sought publicity. Interest among parents and in academic circles grew but official support was not forthcoming. In the absence of this support, the first class was opened on a private basis in rented space in the fall of 1964 (Melikoff, Note 2).

The efforts of the parent group continued when the first group of early immersion pupils entered public school in grade one with a noticeable head-start in French speaking ability. Using political pressure tactics, the parent group then gained a seat on the school board. As well, they publicized the support of prominent citizens, including members of the RCBB, in the English newspapers. The school board finally agreed to open one immersion kindergarten class in the fall of 1965 and reluctantly agreed to open another the following year. The first kindergarten group then formed an early immersion grade one. Parents were made responsible for finding teachers and for overseeing every aspect of the program. To assist them in these tasks and to insure continuation of the program, the parents enlisted the services of social psychologists and psycholinguistic researchers at McGill University who were to evaluate the children's academic and cognitive progress. Evaluations

were carried out for the duration of the first and second group's schooling, and later with more students in other school boards. The findings of these evaluations are given in the next section which describes a typical immersion school.

The resistance among educators to early French immersion that the parents and their supporters encountered was slow to disappear. At the time that the immersion movement began, the Quiet Revolution was already in progress, and the Quebec government's efforts to enhance the power of francophones and the role of French in society were underway. Anglophones reacted in somewhat contradictory ways to francophone efforts to secure their language and culture. Some anglophones feared the loss of majority group status and with it the integrity of their institutions. School officials were looked to to protect the exclusivity of English schools. Others, such as the St. Lambert group were prepared to meet social change with action designed to secure a place for their children in Quebec. At the same time they professed a desire to improve relations between the two groups by means of better French language teaching. Thus the changes and the reactions to them created an atmosphere by the mid 1960's that was marked by heightened attitudinal and cultural differences between francophones and anglophones as well as by considerable polarization of views within the English community itself. School officials were caught between the opposing demands to change and to maintain past traditions.

Negative attitudes towards the development of immersion also stemmed from concerns regarding the possible harmful effects of learning in a second language. Some feared that cognitive development might be hampered if basic skills were taught first in a second language. In particular, there was concern that English language skills might fail to develop properly, eventually

leading to school failure. The idea of learning to read in French first was very disturbing to some. The intensity of these worries resulted in a change to the original immersion plan whereby English language arts would be introduced in grade two instead of grade four.

Although fears about the scholastic effects of immersion served for some to vent feelings of threat to the anglophone culture and schools, the fears were justified by the fact that in the early 1960's there was little empirical evidence to indicate that such a program of instruction could be successful. On the contrary some studies had claimed that early bilingualism was harmful (Prator, 1950; West, 1926). Notwithstanding such prior negative results, positive findings concerning the benefits of learning in a second language were reported by Peal and Lambert (1962), Vygotsky (1962) and Williams (1963). These results encouraged the St. Lambert parent group to persist in their plans (See Note 2).

Perhaps the most important factor behind the resistance of the school officials to the idea of immersion concerned the role of the school in society during social change and the locus of responsibility for school failure. The school was implicitly being asked to perform a dual role: to perpetuate the traditional culture and to implement social change. However, a program of instruction that is designed to implement social change is also an experimental one. In experimental programs, the responsibility for failure shifts to those in charge of making educational changes, whereas school failure in North America has traditionally "belonged" to the child (Dreeben, 1970). In the case at hand, the school board insisted that the parent group assume all responsibility for monitoring the program, and in this way managed to shift the responsibility for failure to the parent group.

The reasons given so far account in part but not entirely for the long delay in obtaining official approval of immersion programs. Instead they retained experimental status and approval came only after many years of indisputable positive results that accumulated from the evaluative studies that were conducted to assess their pedagogical outcomes. Before, then there were repeated objections about costs, materials and difficulties in finding qualified teachers. Even after approval was received the position of immersion programs within the larger English school system remained precarious. For example, by the late 1970s, school board officials claimed in press statements that the institution of English language education in Quebec was threatened. Some favored the curtailment of the immersion movement because it threatened the jobs of English teachers. Still others saw the continued growth and popularity of immersion programs as threatening to the maintenance of well defined ethnic boundaries in Quebec. In 1979, there were rumors that early immersion programs would be ended.

After the first difficult years of immersion in St. Lambert, parents elsewhere in the Montreal area found it easier to persuade school authorities to introduce this type of instruction. In 1968, a similar program began in one school of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM). Immersion classes soon opened in other schools, and by the mid-1970s these classes had become an informally institutionalized part of the English school system, with about one quarter of the kindergarten population enrolling each year. By 1979, one quarter of the schools in the PSBGM had immersion classes at some or all grade levels (PSBGM statistics, Note 3).

It should be mentioned that by 1969 two other forms of immersion had evolved. Both forms, grade four and five Partial Immersion (see Swain, 1978 for description) and grade seven Total Immersion (see Genesee, Polich & Stanley, 1977

for description) served to offer immersion to pupils who had, for reasons of choice or late transfer to Quebec missed out on early immersion. Grade seven immersion is a major program and 44% of PSBGM grade seven pupils were enrolled in these classes by 1977 (PSBGM statistics, Note 4).

Sociology of the Immersion School

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective used in this study brings together a theory of conflict in interethnic group relations with a conventional sociological analysis of the immersion school as a formal organization. In this way the relationship of the immersion school to its social context is illuminated and the important ways in which immersion schools differ from non-immersion or regular schools are brought forth. Using this perspective a profile of a "typical" immersion school is provided. The discussion includes reference to the formal organization of the school, social norms governing teachers, goals, methods, results and the role of language in interaction in bilingual settings.

This theoretical approach allows bilingual education to be treated either as an intervening variable or as a dependent variable. Bilingual education or its specific outcomes are viewed in terms of a number of related factors such as the social context, the interaction between the participants in the school and educational treatment. The emphasis is on interactional events or processes in the school that reflect the broader social dimensions of the society in which the school is located. Such an approach has been called for recently by several investigators (Bruck & Schultz, 1977; Cummins, 1979; Mehan, 1978; Paulston, 1977b; Swain, in Paulston, 1977a) who think that bilingual education research ought to move away from the somewhat static "input-output" model used for many years to explore pedagogical results (Bruck, Lambert & Tucker, 1974; Cohen, 1974; Genesee, 1978a; Lambert, Tucker & d'Anglejan, 1973). To

date most studies have treated bilingual education as an independent variable--a perspective that had prevented adequate interpretation of some results because of the absence of process information.

Paulston (1977b) borrows from the interethnic group relations theory of Schermerhorn (1970) and from R.G. Paulston's (1976a; 1976b) conflict theory of social and education change to provide a model for bilingual education research. She uses this approach to explore the nature of typological differences in bilingual programs in the United States and Canada. By going far beyond categorizing and labelling she provides understanding of the different bilingual education types and the manner in which they reflect their respective social contexts. For example, bilingual education in the United States and Canada is seen as having the same long range goals of avoiding interethnic group conflict and of producing harmony between the speakers of different linguistic groups. However, fundamental differences in social philosophies are seen to account for the emergence of very different forms of bilingual education in each social context.

Paulston states that immersion programs in Canada emerged and persisted because of a value on preserving cultural differences and boundaries and that the primary function of immersion programs is to maintain these differences. The value on cultural differences is considered an outgrowth of the fact of two founding groups--the French and the English (Porter, 1966; Richmond, 1970; 1972) while the ideological policy of multiculturalism (House of Commons Debates, October 8, 1971, Note 5) attests to its persistence. As evidence for her position, Paulston cites the heavy emphasis in immersion programs on native (English) language maintenance after the first three years (Kindergarten, grades one and two) of total immersion in French. She feels that social harmony in Quebec depends on the preservation of the traditional social status quo, and that immersion programs help the anglophone group to

maintain a position of power in the society by providing bilingualism without any degree of assimilation.

Paulston further substantiates her position with the observation that in immersion schools French is used in the classrooms only, while English is the predominant language of use outside of the classroom. She alludes to the possibility that, if a policy of linguistic integration in the informal context of the school were adopted, structural change in the society might eventually result. In fact, the separation between the groups in society at large is reflected in the immersion school by keeping French and English separated by person as well as by situation. To extrapolate further for a moment, it is suggested that a policy of linguistic integration would change the language use models that students are exposed to providing them with daily examples of integrated interaction between members of both groups. The effects of this are open to conjecture. However, there is some evidence from studies of racially integrated schools that modeling and imitation are important mechanisms in the educational process, acting as mediators between the stated objectives of a program of instruction and what is actually learned (Cohen, E., 1979; Gerard & Miller, 1975). In a bilingual school, we might expect that interactional processes and use of language may influence the development of students' attitudes towards the different groups in the society as well as their perceptions of the manner in which that society is ordered.

Paulston uses the same theories to explain the development and persistence of transitional bilingual programs in the United States. In transitional programs, the child is taught in his own language for the first years of school. The assumption underlying this approach is that it provides a "linguistic bridge" to learning in English. The intention is to allow the child to join the American, English taught mainstream as quickly as possible. Paulston

notes that in the United States the perpetuation of ethnic or linguistic differences is considered undemocratic and unAmerican. Notions of equality are closely related to the degree to which assimilation of groups or individuals has occurred. Ethnolinguistic and other differences are thought to result in educational disadvantages (Coleman, 1968) which must be compensated for in order to comply with democratic ideals and to give equal access to the benefits of the American culture. The main concern in American education has been with the reduction of linguistic and cultural boundaries as one part of a larger effort to reduce or avoid conflict between groups. Hence the emergence and persistence of transitional bilingual programs there.

Additional support for this position regarding transitional programs is found in the history of transitional-maintenance programs. Some educational researchers reported that the loss of a child's native language in transitional programs had detrimental educational and social consequences. As a result, some attempts were made to establish true bilingual programs that would both teach English and maintain the child's native tongue ("transitional-maintenance"). These programs have failed to persist (Velasquez, 1973; The New York Times, May 13, 1980), despite their established improvement over transitional programs (Troike, 1978). The reason for this failure lies in a value system that does not support the idea of maintaining ethnolinguistic differences and boundaries.

The perspective described above is well suited to large-scale process analysis that illuminates the relationship of the social context to the type of program within a school. Paulston's work points to the implications of this relationship for educational results, but the model does not adequately fit the analysis of smaller-scale, in-school processes. In order to examine how societal processes are played out on a daily basis in the school, and in

order to determine what their effects might be on the attainment of social or pedagogical objectives, the perspective is combined in this study with a conventional sociological analysis of the school as a formal organization (Johnson, 1960). Accordingly, a "typical" immersion school is described below and contrasted with non-immersion "regular" schools in terms of formal organization, social norms governing teacher groups, organizational goals, means of goal attainment, results and the role of language in interaction. Using this approach and methods advocated especially by Mehan (1977; 1978), this study attempts to shed more light on the processes that are particular to the immersion school and due in part to its unique sociological profile. This combination of approaches thus permits an examination of the way an ethnolinguistically mixed teacher group functions in a unique formal organization and also allows for an exploration of the ways the teacher group interacts informally. A major concern is with teachers' patterns of language use during formal and informal interactions.

The School as a Formal Organization

The term "formal organization" may be defined as an interaction system that relates to the attainment of organizational goals. The term implies a level of agreement between the participants about objectives. It also implies that there is a contribution to a common effort and that there is some form of leadership over the participants who form one or more groups. The goals of an organization are to be distinguished from individual motives for participating but individual motivations are important for the successful functioning of the organization. Individual motives may include the need for remuneration, the desire to practice professional skills, the wish to maintain social connections incidental to the organization or personal identification with stated organizational goals. An organization is best able to attain its goals if the participants identify strongly with it. Strong identification can occur if

the organization meets a number of individual needs, if the participants perceive the goals as shared, if they perceive the work of the organization as important and prestigious, and if interaction between them is frequent, friendly and not too competitive (Johnson, 1960).

An important factor affecting the success of an organization is social change. Organizational goals change over time as social change occurs. The survival of the organization thus depends on its ability to adapt to social change and, in turn, on the ability of the participants to adapt to changes within the organization.

The position, or role, that a person occupies in an organization and the relationship between role occupants is said to be normative. A norm is a shared idea that defines the acceptable limits of behavior. Norms may be explicit, as in the case of rules for carrying out a particular task, or they may be implicit, as in the case of the "rules" governing the interaction between people occupying positions of different social status, race or language group.

When a person occupies a role in one group that is incompatible with the role she/he occupies in another, there is said to be role conflict. Inter-group conflict is likely to occur when all or most members of the group or subgroup in the organization experience role conflict. The result of role conflict is departure from conformity to the norms of one or both roles. When norms are violated, group cohesion is threatened as is the functioning of the group as a whole and the attainment of common goals. There is a need for agreed upon social arrangements for managing overt or covert conflict for the continued functioning of an organization.

Every formal organization develops an informal interaction system. Patterns of informal relations are based on social differences, personal attributes (such as race or ethnolinguistic group membership) or position

in the organization (formal status). Formal subgroups (such as school departments) within the organization, between which there may be competition, contribute further to the informal system of interaction. The informal relations that develop may or may not be functional as far as they affect the attainment of organization goals. (Johnson, 1960).

Several researchers in educational sociology have explored the influence of the school's formal organization on the informal organization and interactions of the teacher group. Martin (1975; 1976; 1978), who carried out observational studies in open structured schools that use team teaching, provided information on the manner in which teaching norms can vary in schools that are organized in unusual ways. In more regularly structured schools Greenberger and Sorensen (1970) demonstrated the influence of formal attributes such as departmental affiliation on teachers' informal interactions, and contrasted these influences on the group with the influence of teachers' personal attributes such as age.

Martin found that normally grade level taught, teaching experience and age promote teacher interaction and contribute to the informal lines of communication from the principal down. Where there is more than one class per grade and where grades form the major structural divisions in the school (as contrasted with departmental divisions) teachers of the same grade tend to form subgroups based on their common experience with the same age group of pupils, on shared beliefs concerning the kinds of problems that they are presented with and on shared program objectives for the school year.

Martin compared open structured and traditionally structured "closed" schools in terms of normative expectations governing teachers. In open structured

schools. children are grouped according to performance level or interest and teachers work in teams of two or more. Pupils, space and materials are shared. Members of the same teaching team must agree on specific instructional goals for their group. Teachers on the same teaching team were found to regard themselves as an in-group and interaction within these subgroups was cooperative. Primary loyalty was to this group rather than to the larger teacher group. Disagreements threatened the cohesion of the formally related subgroups and were taken very seriously.

In regular elementary schools the entire teacher group is comparable to a single team and is expected to be in agreement over general program goals. Loyalty is towards the entire group.

The role of the principal in a school that is organized into teaching teams is more diffuse than in regular schools. The principal becomes the manager of and major link between teams. The team members occupy a complex set of roles and teachers may experience a sense of divided loyalty between their team and the teacher group as a whole.

Formal organization theory and Martin's work, in particular, are relevant to a discussion of immersion schools because these schools are structured in such way that they exhibit features of regular schools and schools where team teaching is the norm. Immersion schools have some of the same characteristics as regular schools. They are public, open to all and have the same overriding organizational goals: to teach in an effective manner so that the pupils can proceed successfully from one grade to another. They are classified as English medium schools and do not constitute a formalized subsystem within the English school system in Montreal. Qualification for attendance is the same as entry to other schools under the terms of Bill 101. They are of average size and their location is not unusual in any way. Their physical structure is that of

the typical, traditional "closed" school, however., immersion schools differ from other schools in important ways.

The pattern of development of immersion programs, which has been similar in each immersion school, has affected the organization of those schools. Immersion schools are characterized by the presence of two teaching streams which are like teams: an immersion stream and an English taught stream. (In some schools parent demand for immersion has been so great over a number of years that the English stream has been eliminated at some grade levels.) Immersion stream classes are taught by francophone or bilingual teachers who may or may not be able to speak English while English stream classes are taught by anglophone teachers who may not be able to speak French. The teacher group of an immersion school is, therefore, an ethnolinguistically mixed group. Teachers' membership in one teaching stream or the other parallels their membership in groups in the larger society.

The immersion and English teaching streams do not share the same program objectives and in fact constitute de facto teaching teams that cut across grade level in a vertical manner. One stream is primarily concerned with bilingual education while the other possesses the same goals as regular, non-immersion schools. Teachers of the same grade level, therefore, do not share the same objectives, nor do they encounter the same kinds of problems in the classroom. However, both streams come under the authority of one principal and are subject to the same curriculum guidelines. Thus from an organizational point of view, the staff is regarded in the same manner as the staff of a regular school, as a team, subject to the regular norms of the teaching profession. Because teachers' roles as members of one stream or the other parallel their membership in subgroups within Quebec society, the stage is set in the immersion school for teachers to occupy conflicting roles, to experience role con-

flict and to recreate through their interactions the dominant features of the society with which they are most familiar.

Social Norms Governing Teachers

Teachers are governed by norms of harmony and cooperation. They are expected to share common perspectives with regard to program objectives and to present a united front to the outside world. The ideology of the teaching profession emphasizes the importance of close working relationships and feelings of group cohesion, despite the fact that teachers usually work in isolation from their colleagues and rewards are classroom centered. Teachers are expected to share ideas, supplies and chores. Time is an important issue to teachers. Their day is marked by frequent reminders of it, and free time in particular is to be shared equally. Discussions in teacher groups tend to be student centered, taking the form of anecdotal accounts of classroom events. Controversial issues are avoided (Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975).

In immersion schools, divergent attitudes towards the methods and objectives of the immersion programs may undermine the ideal of common perspectives, harmony and cooperation. Immersion and English stream teachers' perspectives on immersion programs were explored by Campbell, Taylor and Tucker (1973). Teachers' attitudes towards immersion programs were compared to their attitudes towards regular programs in which French is taught as a subject for about an hour per day. The study was carried out after immersion programs had become an accepted part of the English school system in Montreal. A questionnaire was administered to three groups of teachers: 19 francophone immersion stream teachers; 18 anglophone English stream teachers; and 17 anglophone teachers from regular English medium schools. All three groups agreed that an hour per day of French was inadequate for anglophone children living in Quebec. The francophone teachers believed that immersion

pupils acquired good French skills, mastered subject content, developed sensitivity to the values of French Canadians and suffered no harm to native language skills. In contrast, both groups of anglophone teachers disagreed with these views. All three groups expressed reservations about the development of sensitivity to French Canadian values in immersion pupils.

In the same study, Campbell et al. tried to explore the interaction of immersion and English stream teachers in immersion schools. Their findings again indicate that in immersion schools there is a departure from the general norms governing teacher groups. Both groups of teachers reported initiating contact with English speaking teachers but immersion teachers were found to initiate contact with other immersion teachers more than did English stream teachers. The determinants of teacher interaction were not explored by this study. For example, the authors did not ask if second language facility influenced teacher interaction, nor did they question the ways teachers managed their attitudinal differences with respect to immersion programs. Also omitted were the kinds of social arrangements that the teacher group agreed upon so that the school could continue to function towards the attainment of its various goals. Finally, the questionnaire used may have inadvertently elicited teachers' feelings about how they ought to interact.

Friendship patterns among teachers are likely to be based on personal attributes such as age or sex, or to stem from membership in the same formal subgroup, such as grade level taught or departmental affiliation (Greenberger & Sorensen, 1970). Older teachers in a school normally enjoy considerable status among their colleagues. Their opinions and advice are sought by younger teachers because of their longer teaching experience. However, in the case of the PSBGM, statistics show that as the immersion system grew, the older anglophone teacher

has been displaced by the recently graduated, younger, bilingual or francophone teacher. Thus, in this case the advice of older teachers would, at least, be irrelevant to the teaching needs of the younger immersion teacher. This shift in the status relationship in the immersion school between young and old teachers has inevitably lowered the status of the older anglophone teacher. The shift has its parallel in the society where francophones now occupy important positions formerly held by anglophones. As a consequence of these social changes, it is unlikely that immersion and English stream teachers have the same sense of security about their jobs and this may interfere with a sense of group collegueship.

Norms stating that teachers ought to work as a single harmonious group are likely to cause discomfort if characteristics of individual teachers in fact have a segregating effect. For example, if the native languages of the teachers differ, then they are more likely to choose to interact with those who share the same language (Homans, 1961). Similarly, decisions or events may affect the members of one teaching stream but not the other and result in further separate functioning of the group.

Teachers' management of conflict. Information on how teachers manage conflict is particularly important in the immersion school, where it is thought that teachers occupy conflicting roles, do not share the same program perspectives, and are known to differ in other important ways. In a study of conflict between teachers, Corwin (1965) found that the thrust of teacher interaction is in the direction of preserving or recreating harmony. He noted a number of interaction strategies employed by teachers to prevent interpersonal conflict from crystallizing and to recreate a sense of harmony when disagreement became overt. These strategies included bargaining, persuasion, fraudulent expressions of affect or denial that a problem existed.

Teacher interaction during disagreement and problem solving can also be analyzed using a negotiation framework (Martin, 1975). This approach emphasizes the content or subject of negotiation, the direction of negotiation (such as patterns of influence), and the intensity, duration and outcome of negotiation. The process of coming to agreement may include such strategies as impression management, ingratiation, and expressions of affect or solidarity. The stages of negotiation can be identified and may include defining the problem, stating the goals, redefining the problem in the light of conflicting goals, bargaining, reaching a working agreement, implementing the agreement. Negotiation may become fixed at any of these stages or end by not implementing a final decision. The outcome may be viewed variously by the participants in terms of winning, compromising or arriving at a new respect for what was previously seen as an opposing view. This model, intended for the study of teachers' management of conflict, raises questions as to the strategies used in teacher groups that are marked by a fundamental lack of cohesion due to societally-based ethnolinguistic or other differences. In all teacher groups, but particularly in those organized into team like situations where program goals are not shared by all, the principal is considered to play a pivotal role in teachers' management of conflict (Lortie, 1975).

The role of the principal. A complex set of norms governs the role of the principal. He/she plays a key role in the decision making process of the school and has an influence on the relationship of the teachers to the world outside the classroom. The principal also has an important role to play in teachers' management of conflict.

Teachers normally enjoy a high degree of privacy and autonomy in the classroom but as the room, the pupils and the supplies are "owned" by others,

real autonomy is tenuous. Teachers feel their role gives them the same rights as parents to be exempt from evaluation, but this view is mitigated by their recognition of the principal's authority to enter the classroom at any time. Teachers want the most autonomy they can get, but they also want as much help as possible. For this help, they look to the principal (Lortie, 1975), and in so doing, they give up some of their autonomy.

The principal is expected to deal with difficult pupils and with teachers who fail to do their share of the school's chores. Although the principal is accorded the authority to enter the classroom at any time, teachers have particular ideas about the amount and ways principals should supervise their work. Any behavior on the part of the principal that can be construed as authoritarian meets with strong resistance and acts to unify the teacher group (Martin, 1978). Lortie (1975) observed that if the principal by-passes the teacher and deals directly with pupils, this is acceptable to teachers as it allows unsatisfactory work to be identified with the child's performance rather than with the teacher's. In this way, the principal exerts authority over classroom matters by giving "help" to the teacher.

Teachers and principals have been found to differ in their perceptions of the desirable level of teacher participation in the decision making process (Martin, 1978). Teachers see their role in the classroom as more important than the decision making role of formal staff groups, the role of the principal or of program consultants. They prefer to have the staff as a whole or the principal make decisions regarding school organization or the programs of instruction; at the same time, however, strict democratic or anti-authoritarian norms govern this process. Teachers want to be consulted. They accept the authority of the principal but hold definite ideas about how it is to be used. Above all, teachers view that authority as

being in the service of their needs (Martin, 1978).

One acceptable way for a principal to exercise authority is in consultation with a formal staff council. Formal staff groups are a familiar part of the organization of schools in general, and consist of a voluntary committee of teachers who represent the entire staff. One teacher is voted head of the staff council, and this position normally goes to a teacher with seniority. The position is largely a ceremonial one, as it is the principal who presides over staff council meetings.

The function of the staff council is to discuss the implementation of school board policy changes with regard to program(s) of instruction, and to raise and discuss issues of concern to the entire staff, such as persistent discipline problems encountered outside the classroom. The primary function of the staff council is, however, to provide the principal with a way of exerting authority in accordance with democratic norms. In council meetings, his/her wishes are made known, negotiation takes place, agreement is reached and the entire staff is "consulted" about the decision.

The principal is expected to protect teachers, and to act as a buffer between them and the world outside the school--parents, school board demands, the effects of social change. The authority and power of the principal lies in the tacit agreement between teachers and principals that, in return for protection from outside influences, the principal is to receive the loyalty and respect of the teachers as well as team-like cooperation from the teaching staff (Bell & Stub, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Martin, 1978). The question here is how does an anglophone principal mobilize authority over an ethnolinguistically mixed teacher group that may be organizationally and otherwise divided in the ways suggested so far?

Organization Goals

The goals of immersion schools reflect the dual nature of the school's formal organization. At one level, immersion schools are subject to the organizational goals of regular schools. For example, all pupils in the school take standardized achievement tests at regular intervals. At another level, immersion schools differ from regular schools.

Different program objectives are associated with the immersion and English streams, however, immersion program objectives exist in addition to, rather than in place of, regular schooling goals. The objectives of immersion programs of instruction are the primary interest here. Statements expressing the objectives of immersion programs vary, but certain common elements are found in most. In particular, statements about immersion program goals tend to combine pedagogical with social objectives:

Immersion programs ...seem clearly formulated to foster equal facility in both languages with a concomitant development of appreciation for the values and traditions of both ethnolinguistic groups.... A successful bilingual education program...must not be paid for by deficits...in important skills or content subjects. Unless it can be reliably demonstrated...pupils equivalent to or significantly ahead of their traditionally instructed counterparts...the program should be terminated (Tucker, 1977, pp. 6-8).

The objectives of immersion programs as defined in a 1977 PSBGM report (Note 6) are stated as follows:

- (a) to develop a superior proficiency in the use of the French language;
- (b) to develop sensitivity to and an understanding of the French Canadian culture; and

(c) to develop positive attitudes towards the French Canadian language and culture as a result of extensive interaction with members of the French community.

Both statements place considerable emphasis on the social objectives of immersion programs by coupling them with or tying them directly to pedagogical objectives. As stated earlier, most of the empirical data available about immersion programs pertain to pedagogical outcomes and very little research has directly focused on social outcomes. Moreover, descriptions of the immersion method of instruction imply that the desired social outcomes are related to instructional methods or to curriculum content, if only because of the absence of specific directives for achieving social objectives. The tendency has been for researchers to draw conclusions about social outcomes from the results of pedagogical evaluations. Few data exist on the processes that lead to social outcomes.

The pedagogical objectives of immersion are explicit and clearly related to the methods of instruction. They are described in the next section. Social objectives are not as explicit and appear to be of two types. One is to inculcate positive attitudes towards French speakers and towards the use of French so that ultimately French and English people will interact more easily. This can be called an "integrative" attitude or an attitude that internalizes the idea that groups are ethnolinguistically mixed and bilingual. The other social objective is more complex. Its identification is based on an analysis of statements that insist that bilingual education not be "paid for" through any kind of deficit to native language skills. Although at one level this is a pedagogically sound concern, its persistence, in the light of solid evidence that immersion programs do no harm, suggests that there may be present an anxious and powerful preoccupation with native language and cultural

maintenance. It is evident that immersion program goals contain inherent contradictions.

It is suggested that English language maintenance constitutes an important though latent social **purpose** of immersion programs and is reflective of the current socio-historical processes which presently see the power position of the anglophone in Quebec society dwindling to that of a social minority as well as a numerical minority. This view is supported by several observations and will be documented further by the present study. One observation is that the pedagogical evaluations of immersion programs were characterized for many years by a preoccupation with the English skills of immersion pupils, long after there was a conclusive body of evidence to show that these skills suffered no ill effects. Another observation is that the English language component of immersion programs was, from the beginning, a major one and continued thus, despite objective criteria to suggest that neither the English language nor culture was, in reality, at risk or in need of so much school-based attention. In addition, despite more than 15 years of proven success and continued expansion, immersion programs of instruction have served from time to time as a focal point of public and school board criticism whenever it appeared that the anglophone culture of Quebec was in jeopardy. This suggests that the success of immersion programs is sometimes perceived as a source of potential disequilibrium and that consensus over the stated integrative goals does not exist.

Means of Goal Attainment

The methods of instruction used by immersion teachers in their classrooms are to be found in many publications and are described here in order to illustrate further a "typical" immersion school (Genesee, 1978; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain, 1978). The immersion method of instruction is sometimes referred to as a "natural" method of teaching subject content through the French medium.

The instructional aim in the first three grades (kindergarten, grades one and two) is to provide pupils with a working knowledge of spoken French and to teach the regular curriculum through the use of French. A primary feature of the method is the exclusive use of French by the teacher in the classroom with pupils who begin school with no facility at all in French. The kindergarten teacher uses every means possible to communicate meaning to pupils. She/he does not use any English but does communicate to the pupils that she/he understands them. Songs, plays, word games, gestures are some of the ways used to build the vocabulary of the pupils. The half day of instruction is marked by several short periods of direct instruction during which the teacher speaks slowly and in simple phrases. At these times, the use of any language at all between the pupils is suppressed, but the use of English between students during informal play in the classroom is not suppressed. Thus the needs of the children at this age to interact with their peers are respected.

The same method of instruction is followed in grade one, with the teacher using short simple phrases. However, now the school day is a full one, and by the second half of the year the students have acquired enough facility in French for the teacher to insist on its use by the pupils at all times in the classroom. The use of English between pupils is then suppressed. The use of French by the teacher in grade one and then in grade two becomes increasingly complex as the pupil's ability to understand and use French becomes more sophisticated. Reading readiness exercises are purposely prolonged with reading not actually taught until grade two. Then it is taught in French.

The immersion method emphasizes the necessity to encourage pupils to build first an ability to communicate in the second language. Thus their efforts to use French, even if ungrammatical, are not interrupted. Rather, the teacher supplies the necessary vocabulary when a child is at a loss, or rephrases the

child's sentence once he/she has finished. Then the teacher supplies the correct vocabulary and grammar.

By grade three, immersion pupils have acquired good fluency in French and can read French at grade level. Acquisition of writing skills in French has also begun. The immersion pupil is introduced to instruction in English for the first time for about 40 percent of the day. Grades four, five and six follow much the same format, but by grade six instruction in English takes place for the greater part of the day (60%). At these grade levels the immersion half of the day is taught by one teacher, and the English part of the day is taught by another. The purpose of this procedure is to keep the languages separated so that the pupils are discouraged from using English with immersion teachers.

Pedagogical outcomes. As already noted, the pedagogical objectives of immersion programs are well defined, and the outcomes are thoroughly documented. Immersion pupils are expected to master the basic skills and subject content in French without loss to the development of the same skills in their native language. They are expected to perform as well as (or better than) their English taught peers in all academic areas. There are now over 15 years of evaluative research reports that show consistent and successful pedagogical results from the "St. Lambert Project", in the PBSGM and other school boards in Montreal as well as in other parts of Canada (Genesee, 1978; Swain, 1978; Tucker, 1977).

Standardized achievement tests, as well as tests especially developed for use with immersion pupils, were used to assess listening, reading and writing skills. In general, there has been no evidence to suggest detrimental effects to children who remain in immersion programs. They have been found to perform as well as or better than children taught in the regular English stream. In

most evaluations English and French speaking control groups have been used.

Immersion pupils were found to perform better than their English taught peers in French listening comprehension tests, and as well as French speaking children on auditory decoding tasks (Barik & Swain, 1975; Bruck et al., 1974; Genesee, Morin & Allister, Note 7; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain, 1974). The evaluation of immersion pupils' reading skills in French and in English showed that by the end of elementary school they scored above grade level on all sections of the Metropolitan Achievement Test and as well as French controls on the Test de Rendement en Francais (Bruck et al., 1974; Tucker, 1975). Some investigators focused on the possibility of detrimental effects caused by the introduction of English language arts as late as grade four. They found no adverse effects to this practice and reported that immersion pupils frequently transfer reading skills to their native language spontaneously (Cameron, Feider & Gray, Note 8; Czico, 1976; Swain, 1974).

The assessment of immersion pupils' writing skills has been hampered by the lack of appropriate standardized tests. However, using a number of innovative procedures immersion and English controls' compositions were evaluated for spelling, punctuation, grammar and originality (Bruck et al., 1974; Genesee, Note 9; Swain, 1975). None of the assessments of writing skills confirmed the anecdotal reports of some English language arts teachers that the English writing skills of immersion pupils were invariably impaired. However, as Tucker (1977) noted, writing skill assessment was not done until immersion pupils reached grade five and teachers' opinions may have been formed on the basis of pupils' performance prior to this time when transitory deficits may have been present.

The assessment of immersion pupils' speaking skills has been complex because of the variety of research questions posed. Their English-speaking skills have consistently been found to be indistinguishable from those of their English taught counterparts (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Lambert et al., 1973). With regard to French speaking skills, the research focus has been on communicative performance (Bruck et al., 1974) although some researchers have investigated grammatical and pronunciation error patterns at different grade levels (Hamayan, Note 10; Spilka, 1976). Although linguistically immature in comparison to native French speakers, immersion pupils participated with ease in a debate with francophone pupils at the grade seven level.

In the first few years after immersion programs began, the major concern of the evaluative studies was to insure that there were no native language cognitive or other detrimental effects to the participants. The focus of research interest was as much on English language maintenance as it was on French language acquisition, and the success of immersion programs was often defined in terms of the extent to which English language skills were maintained.

Once the general pedagogical success of immersion was established, a few researchers turned their attention to the reasons for success and the applicability of this method of instruction to different types of learners. Genesee (Note 11) examined the importance of certain learner characteristics and found that neither socio-economic background nor intelligence were of any greater importance in the immersion classroom than in the regular English taught classroom. Bruck, Rabinovitch and Oates (1975) and Bruck (Note 12) explored the performance of learning disabled children in immersion classrooms and reported similar styles of learning there as would be expected in an English taught classroom; they did not feel that learning disabled children were hampered

by the immersion experience. Frasure-Smith, Lambert and Taylor (1975) stressed that parents who opt for immersion schooling for their children are likely to be strongly motivated to have their children become bilingual and to pass this motivation on to their children. The implication here is that there is a voluntary selection factor regarding the composition of immersion classes despite the fact that there are no school determined selection procedures. The immersion programs are open to all.

Cohen (1975a; 1975b), who developed a Spanish immersion program in California that was modelled after the St. Lambert project, identified ten conditions necessary for the success of this type of program. Three of these conditions are most relevant to the Quebec social context. First, the immersion method allows spoken fluency and understanding of the second language to occur before reading instruction begins. Second, English language instruction is delayed until grade three, giving time for French skills to become firm. Third, the languages are kept separate by teacher so that children develop linguistically consistent relationships with teachers. Perhaps most important to the overall success of these programs is the wide societal support that the participants' native language, English, receives (See Note 12). Together these conditions may account for the fact that immersion pupils do not suffer the detrimental effects that minority speaking children experience when they are "submerged" in English taught classrooms without regard to their need to be taught in special ways.

Social outcomes. In recent years, a few researchers have turned their attention to the social outcomes of immersion programs of instruction. Interest has been in the development of "integrative" attitudes among immersion pupils as compared to the development of such attitudes in English taught controls. Integrative attitudes are defined as positive attitudes towards the use of French

and towards francophones. Such attitudes are taken as indicators that interaction between anglophones and francophones and bilingualism--linguistic integration--would be welcomed (Gardner & Lambert, 1972).

A certain vagueness marks the purposes of some studies that explored the social outcomes of immersion programs, and thus the findings were sometimes contradictory and inconclusive. On the one hand, it was hoped to demonstrate that the social (integrative) objectives of immersion programs were being achieved. To this end, identification of the development of integrative attitude differences between immersion and English taught pupils was interpreted as a positive program result or social outcome. For example, Lambert et al. (1973) examined pupils' views of English Canadians, French Canadians, European French and of self. The students were asked to rate each group on a scale of adjectives such as intelligent-stupid, good-looking-ugly; happy-sad. The investigators found that grade five immersion pupils' views of French Canadians were more favorable than those of English taught controls, and concluded that these views represented "as important a byproduct of the program as the development of language and cognitive skills" (p. 159).

On the other hand, it was also important for researchers to be able to demonstrate that immersion programs did not affect the cultural identity of the participants. Though not explicit in written statements concerning immersion objectives, it can be concluded from some of the research statements as well as from public pronouncements that the idea of disruption or change in immersion pupils' cultural identity was included under the general heading of "harmful effects". Thus, any difference in the immersion pupils' attitudes from those of their English taught counterparts could be interpreted as a shift in cultural identity and, hence, as a harmful effect. Using similar

exploratory procedures as the study mentioned above, Bruck, Lambert and Tucker (1976) found that the attitudes of immersion pupils and their English taught peers were similar and concluded that:

The experimental children show no symptoms of personal maladjustment or a sense of not belonging to the English Canadian culture (p. 31).

The studies mentioned so far did not use methods that could explore directly groups of interacting variables that are now considered to account for the kinds of complex qualitative social outcomes that these authors were interested in. Factors relating to the sociolinguistic environment of the school, such as, teacher interaction, teachers' use of language and bilingual role modeling--that is, process data--could only be alluded to in assertions about social outcomes based on pedagogical outcome data. Research on social outcomes was more successful in obtaining data that was reflective of processes following Paulston's critique of bilingual education research (1977b) and the theoretical-methodological suggestions put forth by Mehan (1977; 1978).

In a series of collaborative studies Genesee and Bourhis (see Note 1) and Genesee (1978; 1978/1979) take account of the cumulative immersion experience and avoid making conclusions about social outcomes from pedagogical data. These authors examined older immersion pupils' attitudes to the French language and to French people. They explored students' feelings about speaking French, the frequency of use of French outside of school, the students' motivation for learning French, their perceptions of their own competence in French and their attitudes towards the immersion programs in which they had participated. It was found that immersion pupils did not use French more often than did their English taught

peers. Immersion pupils were more willing to use French if the situation arose, but they were inhibited about initiating conversations in French and about seeking out situations in which French could be used. The subjects gave instrumental as opposed to integrative reasons for learning French. That is, rather than stating that they hoped eventually to live in a linguistically integrated society they said that they learned French in order to be able to find jobs. They did not perceive their facility in French as enough of a tool to permit social integration with francophones.

Genesee and Bourhis also investigated immersion pupils' perceptions of the rules that govern language use between anglophones and francophones in Quebec. To do so, the researchers solicited immersion, francophone and English taught students' reactions to tape recorded conversations between a salesman and a customer in which French and English were used. In one recording, the salesman used French exclusively to an anglophone customer, while in another he was heard to use accented English in response to the customer's use of English. In another situation, the customer used French but with an English accent.

The findings of this group of studies have led to the conclusion that traditional rather than new social norms governing the use of language are still influencing immersion students' attitudes despite the immersion experience of several years duration. Genesee suggests that patterns of language use may change when broader social norms have undergone change, when more francophones are in positions of control and when immersion graduates work in positions that bring them into more frequent contact with francophones.

The assertion that, as second language facility develops, attitudes towards the speakers of the other group become more favorable (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) has recently been questioned by Lambert himself (Note 13). In the first place, know-

ledge of how attitudes are formed is still incomplete. In addition, it is questionable how English and French speaking Canadians can learn to think in terms of living in an linguistically integrated society when the very schools they attend are segregated along religious and linguistic lines. Lambert suggests that the separateness of society is not only replicated in the dual school system but also within the immersion school itself. The rules of the immersion method dictate that the languages are to be kept separate by subject and by teacher, and these rules prevent the teachers from using both languages in front of pupils and from acting as bilingual role models. Through such processes, immersion schools may not only perpetuate the traditional norms of language use, but may ultimately function to reinforce and maintain the social status quo between francophones and anglophones. These observations add further support to Paulston's position that immersion programs function, in part, to maintain the social status quo.

The social outcomes described above implicitly pertain to the interactional context of the school, which is seen to reflect the larger social context. There is already some evidence that the interactional context of the school is important for the kinds of perceptions that pupils come to hold about their society. Specifically, it has been found that schools with integrated staffs in which Blacks hold high positions have influenced pupils' perceptions of power and the roles of Blacks in the society at large (E. Cohen, 1979). There is reason to believe that models of interaction between speakers of different languages, though more subtle, may be similarly important to pupils' perceptions of the role of language in their society.

The Role of Language in Interaction

In the immersion school, the subject of language use itself may be an emotionally charged issue. Language differences are responsible for the formal organization of the school into two teaching streams and language differences

characterize the teacher group. The relationship between the principal and the teacher group, the decision-making process and the interactions between the teachers may be colored by social norms pertaining to the use of language between francophones and anglophones as well as by differences in teachers' abilities to use each language. As it is known that immersion and English stream teachers tend to disagree about the benefits of immersion programs, language of instruction is likely to present a controversial subject to the teacher group. For these reasons, the role of language in teacher interaction in the immersion school is considered the most salient aspect of a consideration of the influence of the interactional context of the school on students' learning experiences and ultimately on the social outcomes of immersion.

In contrast, in regular schools language use, per se, is not an issue beyond ordinary pedagogical considerations of proper grammatical use, of standard second language teaching, or social studies curriculum content that addresses cultural or linguistic differences. Pupils and teachers normally come from the same ethnolinguistic backgrounds, the teacher group is linguistically homogenous, and the relationship of the principal to the teachers is a clearly defined one of authority and status, in line with the regular norms of the teaching profession.

The importance of the interactional context and its role as an intervening variable between program objectives and achievement results was demonstrated empirically by several sociological studies conducted in the 1960's and early 1970's (Boocock, 1973; H.S. Coleman, 1961). In the present study a sociological perspective and the methodology

of ethnography permit the analysis of the rules and patterns of language use at the highly detailed psycholinguistic level or at the level of social life itself. The present study explored language use in the social life (interactional context) of the immersion school. Identification of language use patterns was considered important, but so was their function for the participants, their impact on the "climate" of the school and their possible influence on students.

Several researchers have contributed to our understanding of the role that language plays in bilingual situations in communicating attitudes, beliefs, differences of opinion or friendship patterns. Hymes (1964; 1972) regards the study of language in bilingual education as one case in the study of language in the social context. He asks if the use of language in a bilingual school is dictated by social norms governing the relationship of the speakers in the society at large, or, if the use of a language in a particular school setting is governed by policy making its use obligatory. For example, the use of French by the teacher in the immersion classroom is an obligatory element of the program of instruction. In contrast, in other types of bilingual schools, the use of language in the classroom between teachers with different native languages may be subject to choice or unconscious preference. Hymes asks to what extent communicative competence in each language determines which members of a group interact. He stresses primarily that the interpretation of the meaning of language use lies beyond use in the narrow sense, that is in situation, tone, gesture, or refusal to use a language.

The choice of a specific pattern of language use is also determined by many factors such as where the speakers are, the relative status of the speakers and the topic of conversation (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Whether one speaks

and in what language are elements of choice as are silence, speaking out of turn, and dominating conversation. These are language behaviors that communicate the participants' attitudes and beliefs about each other and about their agreements and disagreements. In the immersion school an important question pertains to the interface between societal norms regarding language use which state the "rules" of language use between French and English speakers and the norms of the teaching profession which stress the importance of harmony and cooperation in the teacher group. Do these norms conflict in the immersion school and if so, how is this conflict managed? Most important is what is conveyed to pupils by the ways teachers act as language use role models and by the attitudes that they communicate about each other through the subtleties of their interactions.

The work of Genesee and Bourhis referred to earlier increases our understanding of the strength of traditional norms of language use and, by implication, their influence in the immersion school. These authors demonstrated the values that immersion and non-immersion students attached to different examples of language use. The finding that immersion and non-immersion students reactions to the recorded verbal samples differed little attests to the prevalence and dominance of traditional language use norms and perhaps to the resistance people feel to the disruption of established patterns. According to Hymes (1972)

Much of our communicative conduct is regular in such respects, and disruption of these accustomed regularities can affect our well-being, from momentary annoyance to avoidance of persons or situations as disturbing or disturbed (p. xvi).

The influence of teachers' language dominance on language use and on instructional outcomes was explored in a study of the influence of in-class lan-

guage use on two grade one children in a Spanish-English bilingual classroom (Bruck & Shultz, 1977). The focus of the study was on the teacher variable, and in particular on the question of teachers' language dominance, language proficiency and use of language in affecting instructional outcomes. Video-tape recordings were used to capture the totality of interaction during three class periods in a year. At the same time, large scale observations assessed the linguistic atmosphere of the classroom as revealed, for example, by each teacher's language use in formal versus informal contexts. Unfortunately, Bruck and Shultz did not include observations of teachers' language use with pupils outside the classroom or during transitional times when children were entering the class. Information about teachers' use of language with each other in front of pupils was not provided either.

Background data gathered by Bruck and Shultz on the teachers prior to their study indicated that one teacher was Spanish-dominant and spoke English with a heavy accent, while the other teacher was English-dominant but fluent in Spanish. The classroom aide was Spanish-dominant. These investigators found that a teacher's language dominance was important in determining choice of language in formal versus informal contexts. Teachers' language dominance seems also to have affected the amount of each language used by pupils in the classroom. The English-dominant teacher's use of language was tied more closely to instructional purposes than that of the Spanish-dominant teacher, and these patterns were reflected in the pupils' performance on language tests. The pupils of the Spanish-dominant teacher performed better on Spanish language tests than the pupils of the English-dominant teacher. These findings confirm the importance of such data for determining the extent to which a program complies with stated instructional methods. More importantly, they point to the critical role of informal patterns of language use between teachers and pupils

in the attainment of program objectives. Moreover, there is no reason why these observations may not be as important for teacher-pupil interactions outside of the classroom, too.

Several authors have noted the importance of bilingual role modeling, but the findings on this subject are not well documented yet, nor is it clear which program objectives are thought to be positively influenced by bilingual role modeling. For instance, the findings of Bruck and Shultz (1977) indicate that when a teacher uses both languages in front of pupils, there are negative effects for instructional outcomes. Moreover, closer examination of a teacher's use of language and choice of language under various circumstances would no doubt show that the choice of language used for various purposes conveys attitudes about the importance of each language, and, by implication, its speakers. Such matters require careful consideration in the light of the stated social objectives of immersion programs, notably the development of integrative attitudes.

The complexity and importance of the subject of role modeling can be deduced from further reference to E. Cohen's work on mixed race schools (1979). Pupils' perceptions of which racial group has power and status apparently depend on the extent to which minority group members occupy important positions in the organization of the school. These perceptions are not simply influenced by the presence of a mixed pupil population. Cohen links this finding to interactional process in the classroom and to instructional outcomes in the following way. In pupils' simple judgments of their peers' reading abilities higher status was accorded to better readers. However, as reading ability is related to social class, which in a mixed setting often corresponds to minority group status, children's perceptions of ability were linked to their perceptions of power. Attempts are now being made by Cohen and her colleagues to

experimentally vary the proportions of Black adults in power positions in public schools in an effort to influence the social and other outcomes of desegregated schooling. Similar, though less obvious, processes may exist in immersion schools that purport to promote bilingualism and the development of integrative attitudes. Important positions (the principal) are occupied normally by anglophones and the system segregates francophones from anglophones and separates the use of French from the use of English.

The literature on program and sociolinguistic environmental factors that are thought to account for success in immersion programs contains contradictions that bring to light the question of bilingual role modeling in particular, and the sociology of immersion schools in general. A. Cohen (1975) states that teachers must act as bilingual role models if children are to receive the message that bilingualism is desirable. This suggests that teachers should speak both languages in the classroom and when interacting with each other outside the classroom where they can be observed by pupils. If this were to occur, children in both the immersion and English streams would be exposed to models of integrated interaction as well as to the bilingualism of their teachers. However, as described earlier, immersion teaching methods are designed for maximum pedagogical success. They dictate that, in order to maximize the pupils' exposure to the target language, languages are to be kept strictly separate by teacher and by subject, and that consistent French speaking relationships between teachers and pupils are to be encouraged. Adherence to such practices thus might promote the linguistic success of the program but thwart the development of integrative attitudes.

Although immersion educators do not believe that it is good for immersion pupils to witness their teachers talking in English, board officials refuse to create policy dealing with the question of teachers' language use outside the

classroom. According to the principal in the present study, immersion school principals do not believe it is in their realm of authority to try to control teachers' use of language with each other. Moreover, it is not possible to provide integrative goal support by integrating native French speaking pupils into immersion programs, because the schooling laws of Quebec restrict the access of francophones and others to English schools. Thus it is left to the voluntary efforts of teachers to use French with pupils outside the classroom, and to extend the practice to their pupils in subsequent years. The absence of policy regarding language use outside the classroom leaves the way open for teacher interaction to be governed by: the society's traditional language use norms; teachers' ethnolinguistic group membership; teaching stream affiliation; teachers' language dominance; attitudes to immersion programs, and position in the hierarchy of the school. If the norms of the society determine the patterns of interaction in the teacher group, then the English language and culture may predominate there, adding support to what has previously been suggested as a latent English language maintenance purpose to immersion programs.

Students' perceptions of language use. There has been little doubt since the sociological studies of the 1960's that the interactional context (or "climate") of the school affects a number of educational outcomes (Boocock, 1973; H.S. Coleman, 1961). Children are known to learn many things outside of the formal curriculum, in the classroom as well as outside the classroom. What is learned from teacher attitudes and expectations, from contradictions between pedagogical and social educational goals or from discrepancies between the rhetoric and reality of school life is communicated in interaction and is sometimes referred to as the "hidden curriculum" (MacDonald, 1975).

Much of the available literature on children's perceptions of the interactional context is indirect and is based on conclusions drawn from repeated observations in different school settings. Case studies that have compared the academic performance of pupils in one school climate as opposed to another, succeed in making an association between climate and educational results. However, these studies suffer the constraints of the case study approach in that their findings are of limited generalizability (Halpin & Croft, 1963). More pertinent information comes from studies carried out in non-regular school environments such as desegregated schools or bilingual schools.

Several studies focus on the relationship between teachers' expectations and attitudes and pupils' academic performance (Conn, Edwards, Rosenthal & Crowne, 1968). Notable among such studies are those that explore differences in Black and White teachers' views of Black and White pupils' capabilities and the relationship of these views to pupils' academic performance (Gottlieb, 1964). The assumption underlying these studies is that children are sensitive to and react to implicit or unstated teachers' views, for example. In attempts to explain how pupils are thus influenced some authors have suggested that the psychological processes involved in children's acceptance of teachers as role models and their consequent imitation of those models may be the mechanism through which the interactional context intervenes between teaching practices on the one hand and educational results on the other (Gerard & Miller, 1975). However, with the exception of E. Cohen's work summarized earlier, few researchers have done more than theorize from educational results and actually focused their studies on these processes.

In the field of bilingual education, a few recent studies have examined the influence of process variables on educational outcomes and have, again,

assumed that the children's perceptions of these processes are the factors accounting for their influence. As noted earlier, Bruck and Shultz (1977) established that children's performance is influenced by patterns of language use in the classroom as these patterns reflect teachers' language dominance. Children perceive which language is more important by the amount of use each receives and by the relative importance of the situations each language is used in. Unfortunately, these authors did not directly assess the children's views of the situational use of language nor the children's tendency, if any, to generalize from their classroom experience to out-of-class or out-of-school situations. Similarly, the studies referred to earlier by Genesee and Bourhis (See Note 1) on pupils' reactions to verbal samples representing emerging versus traditional language use norms provide, by implication, information about children's perceptions of the use of language in the interactional context of the school. Apart from considerations of the influence of the immersion program itself on pupils' attitudes, it can be inferred that patterns of language use in the immersion school did not differ sufficiently from the society's traditional patterns of use to affect immersion pupils' attitudes in an integrative way. That is, interaction in the immersion school can not be considered reflective of a microscopic model society of the future where linguistic integration has already occurred.

Whereas desegregated schools offer an opportunity to explore (and change) children's perceptions of power, for example, the immersion school offers an opportunity to examine the ways societal processes are replicated in the school, and how these processes influence the stated social aims of a program of instruction. Specifically, the immersion school allows a detailed assessment of differences between immersion and English stream children's perceptions of the use of language and an examination of grade level differences in this

regard, too. Moreover, it is also possible to explore pupils' generalizations about language use from their schooling experience to the broader social context outside the school.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

General Statement

A model of conflict is considered the most adequate for describing the salient features of teacher interaction in the immersion school. On the one hand, teacher interaction is expected to reflect current social trends in Quebec which exhibit social conflict. On the other hand, teacher interaction is also expected to reflect the traditional norms of a politically more stable time in Quebec when the relationship between anglophones and francophones was clearly defined. Although social change is occurring in Quebec, suggesting new rules for interaction between the groups, there are, as yet, no new institutionalized norms for guiding the interactions of an ethnolinguistically mixed group.

Teachers in an immersion school, as in regular schools, are subject to professional norms dictating the manner in which the group should interact. In order to maintain a degree of harmonious functioning in the group, social change, which would see teachers interacting bilingually, will be resisted, with interaction reflecting primarily the traditional patterns of interaction between the groups. However, a tendency for interaction to reflect the present social upheaval of Quebec will also exist. In either case, teacher interaction will not manifest the stated objectives of the school which promote social change by bringing about bilingualism.

The primary function of teacher interaction will be to manage conflict arising from the fact that teachers occupy conflicting roles and are subject to conflicting sets of norms. It is expected that as a major aspect of teachers' management of conflict that there will be a tacit agreement among

teachers to allow the English language and culture to predominate in the interactional context of the school. This agreement will be part of a more general resistance to social change and will provide normative clarity to the many formal and informal situations in which the teachers interact.

Teachers' role conflict. It is expected that teachers will be found to experience role conflict. Role conflict will stem mainly from an absence of agreement between immersion and English stream teachers about immersion goals and results and from conflicting norms associated with teachers' ethnolinguistic group membership and with their professional roles. The presence of considerable role conflict will also give rise to a high potential for intergroup conflict in the teacher group. Observation and formal and informal interviews will provide the data for this question.

Teachers' interactions in the formal context. It is expected that teachers' role conflict will necessitate conflict management efforts and these interactions will influence the functioning of the group in the formal context of the school. Specifically, it is expected that the teacher group will function in a divided way, reflecting ethnolinguistic, teaching stream and attitudinal differences. An examination of teachers' interactions as a group during formal meetings when teachers are confronted with a number of controversial issues whose source is outside the school, will provide data for this question.

Teachers' informal interactions. The third question will investigate whether teachers' role conflict and conflict management efforts are also reflected in their informal interactions. Specifically, it is expected that teachers will be found to form ethnolinguistically based subgroups and that interaction within and between the subgroups will primarily function

to manage conflict. To provide information about this question an examination of the informal structure of the teacher group will take place. In particular, focus will be on the manner in which teachers use language with each other and with pupils. Contrasts in teachers' language use in and out of the classroom are considered a salient source of information about the operation of linguistic norms in the school.

Students' language use perceptions. Finally the study will investigate the question of the influence of teacher interaction on students' attitudes about the use of language in and out of school. It is suggested that students perceive societal reflections in the interactions of the teachers and that these processes are communicated to students especially through teachers' use of language with each other and with pupils in, as contrasted with, out of the classroom. To explore this question an assessment will be made of grade and program differences in students' perceptions of the use of language in-the-classroom, out-of-the-classroom and away-from-school.

Methodology

General Statement

In the present study, an ethnographic approach was considered the most appropriate method for exploring teacher interaction as it relates to the broad social context of the school and to the social outcomes of bilingual education. The ethnographic method used is close to what Mehan (1977; 1978) refers to as "constitutive ethnography". Constitutive ethnography operates on the premise that social structures are interactional accomplishments: that objective social facts such as academic achievement or routine patterns of behavior are accomplished in the interaction between the participants. The ethnographic method is a way to proceed, and is not a system for cataloguing findings. Wolcott (1970) does not distinguish between ethnography

and field studies, as does Mehan, and defines the method as follows:

The ethnographer's task is the selective recording of human behavior in order to construct explanations of that behavior in cultural terms. The standard ethnography thus provides an account of the way of life of some special human process (Wolcott, 1970, p. 115).

Wolcott stresses that attention is to be focused on actual behavior, spoken or otherwise, and on real situations that influence professional or personal life. The assumption is that every aspect of what is observed has relevance. Mehan states, on the other hand, that the use of video-tape is necessary to capture the totality of interaction. This may be so in a micro-ethnographic study that uses time sampling (see Bruck & Shultz, 1977), but was not considered feasible in this study. The concern of this study was with large-scale, on-going interactional sequences, requiring several months of extensive observation before interpretations could be made.

Several procedures were used in this study to insure data retrievability, comprehensiveness of data treatment and convergence between the researcher's and the participants' views of events. All are considered necessary components of the ethnographic method. In-depth observational techniques and informal interviews were first used to obtain general impressions of patterns of teacher interaction, of norms influencing the teacher group and of teachers' attitudes towards organizational goals and other matters. In time, the repeated occurrence of similar events clarified the investigator's initial interpretations and provided validity to earlier observations. After several months, it was possible to narrow the scope of observation to focus on issues that had emerged as being particularly important in that setting. More highly structured observation was then combined with other data collection techniques.

Informal interviews continued to be held. Formal interviews were conducted with the teachers in order to elicit their personal views on issues that had emerged as important, on language-related matters and on socio-political events. A teacher background questionnaire was used near the end of the study in order to focus more precisely on sensitive issues and to gather important background information on each teacher. Information thus gathered and analyzed as the study proceeded helped to guide further observation so that comprehensive data was collected by the end of the school year when observations ceased.

In addition to the above mentioned methods of data collection, relevant documents such as office memoranda and meeting agendas were gathered. Finally, a projective-type instrument was developed by the investigator in order to obtain students' perceptions of the situational use of language in and out of school. All materials will be described in detail in the materials section.

The Role of the Investigator

The role of the investigator in an ethnographic study differs substantially from that of a researcher who, for example, investigates the academic performance of pupils in a particular program of instruction. The successful completion of an ethnographic study is closely tied to the manner in which the investigator carries out his/her role.

The ethnographic researcher in a school has to find ways to legitimize his/her presence, and to seize or create situations in which possible benefits of the study can be communicated. Ways must be found to help teachers, or to create some bargains (Bogdon & Taylor, 1975). The process is long-term because not only must entry to the field be gained, but the investigator must be permitted to remain for many months. He/she has to search continuously for ways to reduce the reactive effects of her presence. Teachers' fears of being

evaluated are heightened by the constant presence of an investigator in the school and their suspicions are intensified by the nature of the material gathered, especially if an air of secrecy surrounds the purposes of the study. It is necessary, therefore, to balance the ethical requirement to communicate information honestly with the need to gain the interest and cooperation of the participants without destroying the spontaneity of the interactions being observed.

In contrast, the investigator of program results can legitimize his/her presence in the school by communicating that the overall intention of the study is to make the job of teaching easier, to suggest ways to improve the program of instruction or to lend approval to the status quo. The nature of the material gathered is not as likely to be controversial or touch on sensitive attitudes or beliefs. Most importantly, the researcher of program results can usually offer the teacher time off while testing is taking place.

The role of the field researcher can be classified into three types: the participant as observer; the observer as non-participant, and the observer as limited participant (Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969). With the first type, the researcher has the advantage of group membership and full acceptance, but has the disadvantage of sharing the perspectives of the group too much and, hence, its biases. Moreover, the researcher in this position may experience difficulty with regard to personal loyalties and with regard to protecting the participants' anonymity.

With the second type of role the observer is completely outside the group, and control of access to events is entirely in the hands of the group. The risk of gathering incomplete and biased data is high because of the lack of opportunity to check observations and interpretations of interactional events against the views of the participants. In most studies where the researcher

began as a true outsider, he or she had to work hard to become a participant in the group or community being studied (Mead, 1977; Varenne, Note 14).

The third type, the role of a limited participant, was adopted for the present study. With this role, the observer retains the freedom to stand apart, to maintain some objectivity and distance from the group, and to be selective regarding which events are to be observed and when. The researcher is free to come and go and is not bound by the same professional norms that govern the participants. However, the disadvantage of this role is that acceptance by the group may be tenuous, and therefore, the investigator may not succeed in gaining full access to all activities of the group. Another disadvantage is that when the study itself causes concern among the participants, then the investigator can become a focus of interaction and thereby part of the interaction network. In this study, the investigator had the opportunity to develop the role of limited participant during the entry phase in the Spring of 1978 when the pilot study was being carried out.

Phases of the Study and Procedure

The phases of an ethnographic study overlap and create a dynamic process, with analysis of data in progress from the first day in the field. Several procedures may, therefore, be utilized simultaneously. However, in this section, the procedures are described in the order in which they were used and in reference to the specific kinds of data that they were intended to gather.

Phase one. The pilot phase of this study took place over a period of six weeks in May and June of 1978. Formal interviews were held with the principal to obtain demographic and background information about the school and teachers and to assess the possibility of carrying out the pilot phase of the study in the target school, hereafter referred to as "Park School". A meeting was held with the staff of the school, in order to explain the general nature of the

study. Field notes were taken during the interviews with the principal, but not during the meeting with the teachers. Rather, in the latter cases, notes were recorded afterwards, registering teachers' questions as well as choice of language during the meeting. These procedures were followed by three to five visits of several hour's duration to the school per week for five weeks. During these visits, observations were carried out in the staff room, informal conversations with the teachers were held, and the investigator familiarized herself with the rhythm of events of the school day. Attention at this time, focused on the role of the principal in the decision-making process, on general patterns of teacher interaction, such as apparent friendships, on topics of conversation, on language used, on the role of bilingual teachers in the interaction network and on expressions of attitudes towards events in Quebec or towards program-related matters in the school. Rapport was established with several teachers, and opportunities were found to conduct informal interviews with teachers who had expressed reservations about the researcher's presence in the school. This phase of the study ended with another meeting at the end of the school year, during which teachers were asked if the study itself could be carried out there. After questions were answered, permission was granted.

Phase two. The study proper began in September 1978 on the teachers' first working day. This phase of the study lasted four months, until the Christmas break. An average of four hours per day, five days a week, were spent in the school. During this phase of the study, the most important preliminary data on the normative and organizational structure of the school were obtained. Early evidence concerning the importance of the role of language use between teachers in formal decision-making situations was also obtained at this time.

Observation was broad in scope, and focused on teachers' statements that expressed attitudes towards events external to the school, and illustrated how socio-political, school-board or parent-related events affected them. Teachers' statements about the immersion or English stream programs of instruction were of particular interest. All staff planning meetings were attended, during which topics of discussion, episodes of disagreement and teachers' use of language were observed. Informal interviews were held with teachers to help confirm observational data, and to obtain their views of events. General impressions were formed concerning the norms governing this teacher group and the implications of formal organizational features of the school for their formal and informal interactions. Some issues, such as the role of the principal in discussions at meeting, emerged as very important and were identified as needing more precise exploration as the study progressed.

Following each observational session field notes were recorded, noting which teachers had been present, how small groups formed, how language was used, what topics were discussed or avoided. As in Phase one, informal interviews were held to obtain teachers' views of events, and in this way convergence between the investigator's views of events and those of the participants began to take place. Issues beginning to emerge as important were noted for follow-up through more precise observation and formal interviews. Attention gradually narrowed to focus on conflict regarding teachers' roles, norms, organizational goals, attitudinal differences, informal interaction and use of language.

Phase three. During the third phase, from January to March of 1979, the same procedures as described for Phase two were followed. However, less time was spent in the school, approximately three half-days per week. Observation was again focused primarily on the specific issues listed above. While general observations and informal interviews continued, the focus of inquiry shifted

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to the teachers' use of language with each other and with pupils in and out of the classroom. The specific purpose of these observations was related to the question of bilingual role modeling, language-use rules in and out of the classroom and possible grade and program differences in pupils' experience in the interactional context of the school. These data were important for the interpretation of the responses to the projective instrument which explored pupils' perceptions of language use in and out of the classroom.

Each immersion class from kindergarten through grade six was observed for approximately four hours each between January and March 1979. All English stream classes were observed twice during their French lesson with the French specialist. The investigator entered and left each class at the same time as the pupils so that language use and particularly language switching from the hallways to the classroom by teachers and pupils could be observed. Once in the classroom, the investigator took an unobtrusive position at the back. Information was gathered on the amount each language was used in the classroom at each grade level, for instructional as well as for informal purposes, the language of informal communication between pupils, and the extent to which their language use behavior conformed to teachers' implicitly or explicitly stated language use rules. The overall linguistic atmosphere of each class was observed to establish the dominant language in each.

The extent to which teachers' use of language with pupils corresponded to pupils' level of competence was examined with reference to the question of the way in which teachers' use of language supported pedagogical or social goals. For example, a grade one immersion teacher might use French with her pupils in and out of the classroom, despite their still limited facility to use French with her, whereas a grade six immersion teacher might use French for instructional purposes only despite her students' facility for complex informal in-

teraction. It was assumed that it is through such language choices that children learn about teachers' attitudes towards the importance and purpose of each language.

Additional data on the question of teachers' acting as bilingual role models were obtained by observing 25 teacher encounters in the hallways while class teachers led pupils to gym, to music, to French, to Art or to the library. Language used with pupils in the hallways was noted, as was language used by teachers in greeting or in conversing with each other while transferring pupils to the other teachers.

Analyses of language use between teachers who were known to be observed daily by particular classes of pupils were also considered important in order to understand responses to the projective instrument. Immersion pupils from grade three to six had the opportunity each day to observe interaction and language use between French, English or bilingual teachers who shared their classes. English-stream pupils could observe language use between teachers more generally, as well as specifically between the French specialist and their class teachers.

Phase four. During this phase, which lasted from March until June of 1979, further teacher interviews were held, the projective instrument was administered to pupils and teachers were asked to fill out a questionnaire on their background. These procedures came late in the study because the questions they explored represented issues that had emerged as sensitive. The investigator wanted to avoid raising the teachers' level of awareness of the importance for the study of the question of language use between the teachers themselves and between teachers and pupils. The aim was to protect the spontaneity of interaction and to minimize reactive effects.

Phase five. The final phase of the study was that of data analysis. Data analysis had been in progress from the beginning, but became more systematic after all procedures were completed and the school year ended. The only event during this phase that added more data was a briefing of teachers in the fall of 1979 concerning the findings of the study. The teachers had requested this briefing, and had been particularly interested in the responses to the projective instrument. The findings were presented to them.

The field notes were analyzed and summarized in terms of the main categories of data recorded. As noted earlier, these categories included information on norms influencing teacher interaction during meetings, expressions of teacher attitudes to several issues internal and external to the school, observations concerning the formal and informal organization of the teacher group, and the use of language in and out of the classroom. In the case of formal meetings, the notes sometimes recorded entire conversations; in informal gatherings, teachers' comments were sometimes memorized and recorded as soon as possible. At times, interaction was so complex and rapid that specific comments could not be heard. At these times, special attention was paid to the proportion of French and English used, and to the general tone and atmosphere of the gathering.

The responses to the projective instrument were coded and analyzed by computer during the summer and fall of 1979. Twelve of the original 23 pictures were selected for final analysis. Students' language use perceptions in three contexts--in-class, out-of-class and away-from-school--were analyzed with reference to grade and program differences.

Materials

Teacher interview. Formal interviews were used to gather information on,

teachers' professional backgrounds, their assessments of general schooling goals as well as of the pedagogical and social goals of immersion programs, their attitudes towards the results of immersion programs, their feelings about working in an immersion school and their sense of job security.

The interviews were held at the convenience of each teacher in the home-rooms. Each interview took about an hour to complete. In some interviews the guide (Appendix A) was adhered to closely. In other cases, the interviewee took the initiative and the desired information was provided spontaneously in expressed attitudes, opinions, complaints, fears and confidences. When this occurred, it was necessary to probe only for clarification or detail. In some cases, teachers offered additional information pertaining to their friendships with other teachers, while at the same time, mentioning their reasons for disliking a particular teacher. The interview guide contained 28 questions, not all of which were applicable to all teachers.

The first three questions of the interview were intended to gather English stream teachers' feelings about changes in Park School since the advent of the immersion program. Eleven questions (4-12, 14, 16) were designed to obtain data on teachers' views of the pedagogical goals and results of immersion programs while questions 17-20, 23 and 24 were meant to obtain their views of immersion social objectives. Questions also probed teachers' opinions of the general educational experience of immersion versus English stream pupils. Through such questions teachers' feelings about being on one teaching stream or the other found expression.

General attitudes towards language learning were explored in questions 27 and 28, which elicited teachers' feelings about the educational system in

Quebec and their attitudes towards the language of instruction for non-English and non-French people. Teachers' attitudes towards working with members of the other group were probed with ~~a number of~~ general, open-ended questions which at times elicited the desired information and at other times did not. The last question (28) was meant to gather attitudes towards the general atmosphere of the school as a working environment. This question often elicited comments about the principal.

Projective instrument. The projective instrument developed to assess students' perceptions of the use of language in and out of school consisted of 23 simple line drawings depicting everyday situations in three contexts: in-class; out-of-class; away-from-school (Appendix B). Twelve pictures were eventually used in the assessment (Appendix C).

Projective techniques are based on the assumption that an individual will ascribe to others experiences similar to his/her own or will interpret situations by generalizing from his/her own experience. According to Semeonoff (1976), projective instruments can serve different purposes. The stimulus, the desired kind of response and the underlying intention of the test can vary. In the present study, the test had a visual stimulus and was intended to elicit descriptions rather than diagnostic data of the kind associated with psychological projective tests. Students were shown the pictures one at a time, and were asked to describe what was happening in each picture and to state what language the people shown were using.

Previous studies have tended to rely on the use of attitudinal scales developed originally for use with older children or adults to assess a variety of affective outcomes of education (Bruck et al., 1974; Lambert et al., 1973). In the light of a persistent lack of knowledge about attitudinal development (see Note 13) such scales may be inappropriate.

ate tools to use with young children. Apart from the successful use of taped conversations to elicit language-use perceptions (Genesee & Bourhis, Note 1), little empirical work has been done to demonstrate how children perceive language use models at different ages. Nor has the concrete influence of role modeling on educational outcomes been adequately documented. Therefore, for this study, a projective instrument was developed by the investigator as a preliminary effort to explore such factors. The use of this instrument is not intended to provide an accurate statistical measure of any one process, nor is the population sampled determined to be statistically representative of immersion school students in Montreal. Mass testing of the instrument on a representative sample selected by proper sampling procedures would be necessary to validate this instrument.

One purpose of this part of the study, was to try to develop a test for demonstrating empirically the influence of educational processes on students' learning experiences.. Specifically, the intention was to show that children perceive patterns of language use and formulate ideas about their surroundings on the basis of their observations. To this end, grade and program differences in students' perceptions of the use of language in the three contexts listed above were examined. The ultimate purpose of the test was to throw light on the importance of the interactional context of the school on the formation of attitudes and therefore, for the attainment of the social goals of the program of instruction.

The projective instrument was pre-tested on a grade four immersion class in another school in January 1979. In the pre-test situation, children were asked to write their answers to the questions regarding what was happening in each picture and what language the people depicted were using. No suggestion was made to the children that they should choose English or French or both

languages. The question was left open, although by posing it at all, a choice was implied. Grade four students found the test too difficult to complete within an hour because of the amount of writing involved. It was decided, therefore, to administer the test individually to a sample of children in grade one through grade four, and on a group basis to pupils in grades five and six. The instrument was finally administered between March and May of 1979 to 176 pupils in grades one through six, in both the immersion and English streams of the school. The procedures that were used to select 12 pictures for final analysis, are found in Appendix C and details about the student sample and results are contained in the fourth section of Chapter 3.

Teacher Background questionnaire. The last instrument administered in the study was the Teachers' Background Information Questionnaire (Appendix D). The purpose of this questionnaire was to explore issues that had emerged as particularly sensitive during observation periods and during interviews with the teachers. It obtained background information on each teacher that the researcher felt might have prejudiced observation if gathered earlier in the study. Specific questions were asked about ethnolinguistic background, languages spoken at home while growing up, and age of first contact with speakers of the other group. Ethnolinguistic attitudes were probed through questions pertaining to preferred work setting or choice of type of schooling if the teachers had children of their own attending school in Quebec at the time of the study. A question was asked about job security, while another probed the teachers' feelings of cultural or linguistic threat. As well, teachers were asked to rate their facility in the second language generally, and specifically with regard to such areas as reading, speaking and writing. An open ended question was included at the end to elicit comments about the present study. Responses to this questionnaire verified and clarified a number of uncertain issues--such as teachers' actual

facility with their respective second language--that observational methods had not completely answered.

The Setting

Park School is located in a middle class residential suburb of Montreal. It is a brightly lit, one story building housing two classes for every grade from kindergarten to grade six. The entrance to the school is at the juncture of two wings that partially enclose a playground. The office is located to the right beyond the main entrance, the gymnasium is to the left and the staff room is directly opposite the entrance. Two large bulletin boards and a display case, along with a clock, adorn the walls.

Park School is considered typical of the 14 immersion schools in the PSBGM in terms of location, size, organization, program of instruction and academic performance of its pupils in both the immersion and English stream classes. The principal reported that there were no subject areas in which either immersion or English stream pupils scored below the PSBGM average on standardized achievement tests which had been administered in the spring of 1978. As in other immersion schools, immersion pupils were reported to be able to read in English, usually prior to formal instruction in their own language.

In 1978-79, the student population was 275, while the average size of immersion schools in the PSBGM was 269. Pupils enrolled in immersion classes constituted 75% of the school's population. The average enrollment in immersion classes in other immersion schools was 62%, a figure which includes schools that do not yet contain immersion classes at all grade levels. Park School had nine immersion and four English stream classes. Kindergarten, grades one and two were all immersion classes, whereas one immersion and one English taught class existed at each of the upper elementary grades, grades three to six.

The pattern of development of French immersion in Park School was typical of the development of French immersion programs in other PSBGM schools. By the time the first immersion class opened at Park School in 1971, immersion programs were an established part of the English school system of Montreal; thus Park School was not experimental in the way that the first years of immersion were in St. Lambert. After the first kindergarten class opened, the number of immersion classes increased each year, displacing English stream classes one-by-one. Eventually, parent demand for immersion made it impossible to maintain English stream classes in grades one and two at Park School.

The program of instruction followed at Park School was also representative of other immersion schools. The same curriculum guidelines were followed, and the same textbooks were used. In immersion classes, French was the language of instruction from kindergarten through grade two. English-language arts was introduced at grade three and offered for 40% of the school day. This was the usual immersion school procedure by 1978. The immersion method of instruction was followed in each immersion class. As in other immersion schools, Park School had no established policy governing the use of French outside the classroom by teachers or pupils.

The teacher group. Like other immersion schools, Park School was staffed by anglophone, francophone and bilingual teachers. Table 1A lists the class teachers and Table 1B the other staff. In addition to basic information concerning each teacher, Table 1 also provides data that represent teachers' self-reports regarding language background and present facility in French and English. These data were obtained from the Teachers' Background Questionnaire and confirmed in informal interviews and through observation. Teachers were asked to give their first language, to rate themselves on a bilingual self-rating scale devised by the investigator, and to state which language was their present dom-

inant language.

Park School had nine immersion teachers and four English stream teachers. Three immersion teachers (Regine, Jeanette, and Lynette) reported that French was their first language. Of these teachers, only one (Lynette) stated she had acquired equal fluency in French and English. The four English stream teachers (Margaret, Betty, Gertrude, and Clara) stated that English was their only first language. None of these teachers indicated any change in language dominance throughout their lives or that they had obtained equal facility in French. Five other immersion teachers (Lara, Gwen, Jane, Beth, and Mary) reported English and French as first languages, whereas the grade five immersion teacher (Micheline) stated that her first languages were French, Spanish and Italian. All of these immersion teachers except Micheline, reported that their dominant language had become English. Micheline's dominant language had become French.

The information contained in Table 1 shows that there were two linguistically "impossible" relationships among class teachers, as Jeanette and Micheline said they could not communicate in English, and Margaret said she could not use French. All others were, to a greater or lesser degree, able to use both languages, as the bilingual self-ratings show.

Eight of the other staff members reported English as their first language and as their present dominant language (Table 1B). The librarian gave English and Dutch as her first languages, but stated she had become dominant in English. The French specialist reported that she was nearly bilingual but still English dominant. The principal, the remedial reading teacher, the second gym teacher and the arts and crafts teachers all gave themselves a middle (3) rating with regard to their fluency in French. The music teacher, librarian and other gym teacher stated that they had almost no ability to use

French.

The teaching stream structure of Park School is illustrated in Table 2. At the time of the study, there were no classes taught in English until grade three. Grades one and two were taught morning and afternoon by the same teachers in French. One grade two (Jeanette's), was a partially split grade. That is, four pupils from grade three English were immersion pupils who joined Jeanette's class each afternoon. All immersion classes in grades three to six were taught a half day in French and a half day in English, in line with the usual method of immersion instruction which introduces English language Arts at grade three. Immersion grades three, four and five were taught by different teachers morning and afternoon. Mary taught the English half of immersion grade three and immersion grade four. Micheline taught the French half of immersion grade four and immersion grade five. Beth taught the English half of immersion grade five and the French half of immersion grade three. As a result, Mary and Beth, Micheline and Mary, and Beth and Micheline shared classes. The immersion "rule" that languages be kept separate by teacher was broken for immersion grade six and Lynette taught the same class in English in the morning and in French in the afternoon. The reason for this deviation from the norm was administrative because, otherwise, it would have been necessary to hire two part-time teachers.

English stream classes were taught mornings and afternoons in English and did not require teachers to share classes. Only the grade three English stream teacher, Margaret, was in any way involved in immersion, as four of her students were immersion pupils.

Table 1

Teachers' Linguistic Group Affiliation and
Second Language Facility^a

A. Class Teachers

Teacher	Grade & Stream	First Language	Bilingual Self-Rating	Present Dominant Language
Régine ^d	(K-F) ^{b,c}	F	2	F
Lara	(1-F)	F & E	1	E
Gwen	(1-F)	F & E	2	E
Jane	(2-F)	F & E	2	E
Jeanette	(2-F)	F	4	F
Beth	(3-F)	F & E	1	E
Margaret	(3-E)	E	5	E
Betty	(4-E)	E	1	E
Mary	(4-E)	F & E	1	E
Micheline	(5-F)	F (S, I)	4	F
Gertrude	(5-E)	E	3	E
Clara	(6-E)	E	3	E
Lynette	(6-F)	F	0	F & E

B. Other Staff

Principal	E	3	E
Remedial Teacher	E	3	E
French Specialist	E	1	E
Secretary	E	3	E
Music Teacher (PT)	E	4-5	E
Librarian (PT)	D & E	4	E
Gym Teacher (PT)	E	3	E
Gym Teacher (PT)	E	5	E
Arts and Crafts (PT)	E	3	E

^aThis data was obtained from informal interviews and the teacher background information questionnaire which contained a bilingual self-rating scale. Teachers were asked to place themselves on a scale as follows: French 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 English. They circled the side of the scale that they considered their strongest language. An "0" represented the presence of equal facility in French and English. A "5" on the English side of the scale indicated unilingualism in that language and no facility at all in French. A "4" indicated the presence of a very limited level of facility with the second language.

^bLanguage symbols: F: French; E: English; S: Spanish; I: Italian; D: Dutch.

^cThe numbers and letters in these brackets refer to the home room grade and language stream affiliation of each teacher.

^dDue to the scheduling of the kindergarten classes the kindergarten teacher could not be considered a member of the core teacher group.

Table 2
Teaching Stream-Structure at Park School

Grade	<u>Immersion Stream</u>		<u>English Stream</u>
	Morning Teacher--Language of Instruction	Afternoon Teacher--Language of Instruction	Morning & Afternoon Teacher-- Language of Instruction
1	Lara--French	Lara--French	-----
1	Gwen--French	Gwen--French	-----
2	Jane--French	Jane--French	-----
2/3 ^a	Jeanette--French	Jeanette--French	-----
3	Mary--English	Beth--French ^b	Margaret--English
4	Micheline--French	Mary--English ^b	Betty--English
5	Beth--English	Micheline--French ^b	Gertrude--English
6	Lynette--English ^b	Lynette--French	Clara--English

^aThis is a split-grade class in the afternoons when four of Margaret's grade three pupils, who are immersion stream pupils, join the class.

^bThese are the home room classes of these teachers.

CHAPTER THREE

PATTERNS OF TEACHER INTERACTION IN AN IMMERSION SCHOOL

The findings of this study are presented here in four sections. In the first, teachers' differing views of immersion programs and other language related attitudes illustrate how varied socio-historical backgrounds constitute a primary source of role conflict. In part two, teachers' conflicting roles are seen to be exacerbated by their positions in the formal context of the school and underlined when they have to deal as a group with the influence of outside events. Teachers' interactions are analyzed with particular reference to compliance with societal or teaching profession norms and to the ways they manage conflict. The role of the principal is seen to be central here. In the third section, a similar analysis of teachers' informal interactions is presented. In this third section, the salient aspect of interaction becomes their use of language. In the fourth and final section of the chapter, the subject of the influence of the interactional context of the school on the attainment of the social objectives of an immersion program is considered through the presentation of results of the examination of grade and program differences in students' perceptions of the use of language in and out of school.

Sources of Role Conflict Among Teachers: Teachers' Views of Immersion Programs and Other Language Attitudes

Observations as well as formal and informal teacher interviews provided data to illustrate that, at one level, English and immersion stream teachers shared certain perspectives towards immersion programs of instruction, while at another level, their opinions were sharply divided.

All teachers viewed the pedagogical objectives of immersion programs in essentially instrumental terms. They said that these programs were intended to give anglophone children the language facility to obtain jobs in Quebec. Teach-

ers in both streams defined the social objectives of immersion programs in the same ways. However, most teachers agreed that the programs were not successful in meeting the social objectives. Both groups of teachers also agreed that children in the English stream did not receive enough French instruction. Beyond these general levels of agreement English stream and immersion teachers' views of immersion programs differed greatly as did their other language related attitudes. These difference seriously affected the ways in which teachers interacted.

English Stream Teachers' Views Towards Immersion Programs

English stream pupils in grades three, four, five and six were taught by Margaret, Betty, Gertrude and Clara respectively (see Table 2). All four English stream teachers were in agreement that their pupils did not receive enough French instruction and each gave their classes an extra half hour per day of French. They were able to do this because all except Margaret knew French fairly well. Betty had taught French for 19 years (as a second language) and Gertrude had worked in French in another setting. Margaret used records to give her class more French. These actions suggested that these teachers held positive attitudes towards second language learning. However, when teachers were asked detailed questions about the purposes of immersion programs, it became clear that positive language learning attitudes must be distinguished from integrative attitudes. None of the English stream teachers believed that immersion programs promoted integrative attitudes or were otherwise successful in meeting social objectives. In fact, Clara, who taught grade six English stream (6E) thought they had the opposite effect. She noted that when an immersion school participated in an exchange with a French school, that it was the anglophone pupils who used French while the francophone students were not able yet to use any English. She said that the anglophone students resented this. Betty

(4E) did not think that immersion programs could affect children's attitudes in a positive way as long as the neighborhoods that they were brought up in were linguistically segregated. Margaret (3E) thought that a second language could best be learned in an integrated society, out of school. Gertrude (5E) also thought an informal setting, such as summer camp, was best for learning a second language. Further questioning revealed that these teachers' attitudes to immersion programs were quite negative.

Of the four English stream teachers only Clara (6E) stated that she would choose immersion education for her own children were they to start school today. She said that "the harm done to their English language skills would be worth the benefit of bilingualism". Margaret (3E) said she would send her children to a private school "for the discipline" and Gertrude (5E) and Betty (4E) said they would definitely not choose immersion schooling for their children. Betty stated that had her children attended immersion programs that "it would have been a disaster in her family". This remark went unexplained at the time it was made, but became more understandable later when she said that instruction in one's own language first is "necessary for good mental health".

Although the English stream teachers thought that their pupils did not receive enough French and took steps to change this situation, they clearly viewed immersion with suspicion. Apparently positive attitudes towards the idea of a linguistically integrated society seemed to mask otherwise quite negative views since none of these teachers noted the reality of Quebec--that entrenched traditions have allowed few opportunities for the two groups to meet and that when they have met, it has been the French who learned English. Nor did these teachers acknowledge the potential of immersion programs to rectify this situation. Certainly, they did not take the opportunity to interact with their fellow teachers in ways that would reflect integrative ideals.

The English stream teachers were not in a very good position to judge realistically either the pedagogical or social results of immersion programs. Except for Margaret (3E) who had four immersion pupils in her class, the day-to-day experience of these teachers was with English stream pupils and a few immersion students who had switched out of the immersion program into English taught classes. Although only two or three students made this change each year, the few who had seemed to provide "evidence" to substantiate some teachers' opinions that immersion programs were injurious to English language skill development. Teachers saw these children as at an increased disadvantage because they were viewed by their parents as failures. None of the English stream teachers thought that the change to an English taught class had helped these children with their difficulties nor did they consider the possibility that the abrupt transfer from one language of instruction to another might have caused some problems. It appeared that they thought children should not be in immersion to begin with. Unlike the others, Margaret (3E) did not think that immersion pupils' English skills suffered. In fact, she thought their English skills were superior to those of English stream pupils. She was the only English stream teacher in a position to judge as she had four immersion pupils in her class for half of each school day.

The English stream teachers viewed the results of immersion in subtractive terms. They acknowledged that immersion pupils learned French but they thought that this pedagogical success was achieved at a cost to the pupils' English language skills and to their sense of cultural identity. For example, Betty (4E) thought that there was a "danger in too much French too soon in life" and that children should "learn English well and enjoy their own literature first because mental health and cultural appreciation are of prime importance". She acknowledged that immersion programs were successful in teaching French, but insisted

that the participants "miss something" by not having English instruction before grade three.

Gertrude (5E) also conceded that immersion programs "fit children into Quebec society", but like Betty, she believed that "only a few" would be able to learn the English "that they missed" in the first few years of their schooling and that instruction should be in a child's native tongue first. Clara (6E) also saw immersion success in terms of cost to English language skills but thought the loss might be worth the benefit of bilingualism.

The English stream teachers saw their pupils as at a disadvantage in the immersion school, and ultimately unable to compete with their immersion taught peers for jobs in Quebec. Although they generally saw immersion programs as harmful, they did not deny their success in teaching French. They believed that most of the "resources" of the school went to the immersion stream, that money, supplies and official support were intended for the immersion pupils. The investigator observed that in reality, the English stream received a great deal of support. For example, English language instruction formed the subject of most staff meetings. Perhaps, the "resource" the teachers missed was that contained in the prestige attached to immersion programs. They saw their pupils as inferior to immersion pupils. As Clara said, her grade six class was "made to feel inferior because immersion kids get a superior attitude".

Immersion Teachers' Views of Immersion Programs

Immersion stream teachers' perspectives on immersion programs provided a dramatic contrast to those of the English stream teachers. With regard to the pedagogical objectives they agreed that immersion programs succeed in teaching anglophone children French and subject content, too. The teachers held that these successes are maintained as long as students continue at the high school level with some subjects taken in French. None of the immersion teachers be-

believed that the pupils' English language skills were harmed. Two teachers, Beth and Lynette, were in a good position to judge this aspect of the pupils' performance since they taught in both languages (See Table 2).

Immersion stream teachers thought that there were ways in which the program could be improved. They said that there was too little French and too much attention paid to the children's English language skills. They thought that English instruction came too early in grade three and could be delayed as late as grade six when concentration should then be on literature and writing skills. In support of the position that the immersion pupils' program included too much English, they cited the examples of gym, art and music, stating that these should be conducted in French. Another criticism they had of the half-day English format, pertained to the heavy homework demands made on pupils by teachers who shared classes and who did not always communicate with each other. Pupils were faced with two loads of homework and in their teachers' opinion were divided because of uncertainty as to which teacher had greater authority.

The immersion teachers were critical of the materials and textbooks they had to work with. They wanted more materials produced in French Canada and more French Canadian social studies content. In particular, they singled out the library and the librarian for criticism. They noted that there were too few French language books in the library and that pupils had to use English reference books for projects and then translate their materials. The librarian did not have information about the availability of French books and spoke no French at all. The immersion teacher, a substitute, who made this observation suggested that this was evidence that "the English school system was half-hearted about French immersion programs".

The immersion teachers attitudes towards the social objectives of immersion programs were also uniform. They did not feel that immersion programs, as they existed at the time of this study, could affect attitudes in an integrative manner. Jeanette (2F) cited the need for more cross-cultural contact, for more visits by pupils to French areas of the city, for more exposure to French Canadian plays, films and literature. She also said that the social studies curriculum should actively teach about Quebec history and the relationship of the different groups to each other. Micheline (4,5F) stated that she included such information in her teaching without waiting for it to become part of the curriculum.

The bilingual teachers did not feel as strongly about the need for French Canadian curriculum content as did Jeanette and Micheline but they agreed that more French was needed and better materials were needed. They did not view immersion programs, per se, as having very much potential for establishing a linguistically integrated society, but they did think the experience affected children's attitudes towards differences between the groups, giving them the facility to choose to remain in Quebec when they grew up. Thus, they saw the social goals of immersion programs in terms of long term effects. Over time, more anglophones would have the capacity to interact with francophones and would be able to do so without fear of embarrassment caused by speaking French badly. The teachers thought that eventually these factors would lead to better understanding between the groups.

With regard to general language learning attitudes, two teachers, Jeanette and Micheline, thought that anglophone children ought to be encouraged to integrate with francophones, but that francophone children should be protected from too much exposure to the English language and to anglophones for fear of losing their culture and language. These were the reasons they cited for stat-

ing that they would send their own children to French schools. They added that they would insist that their children learn English at a later stage of their education.

Two teachers suggested that the choice of language of schooling for one's children was related to one's political beliefs. Jeanette (2F) said that her choice in this area had to do with "personal beliefs" which later were found to favor political separation of Quebec. Jane (2F), on the other hand, stated that she would not send her children to French schools "because she did not want them indoctrinated by "Péquistes teachers". Two bilingual immersion teachers said they would send their children to French schools so that they would "really get their French" which suggested that they were not fully confident of the immersion system, while others said that immersion was the best instructional method to insure bilingualism and biliteracy.

Among the immersion teachers, there was one teacher whose views were totally at odds with the other immersion teachers, but also in total conformity with those held by the English stream teachers. Mary taught the English half of immersion grades three and four. Therefore, she was formally affiliated with the immersion stream but her concern was entirely with the teaching of English language skills. Although all her pupils were immersion students, she was the most adamant that immersion programs were harmful. She doubted that the pedagogical goals of immersion programs were "really" met. In addition, she felt that immersion programs were impoverished by the fact that the curriculum content left out moral and religious education and health education. She too felt that French would be better learned "in the street". Like the English stream teachers, she had no suggestions as to how this might come about in Quebec or why it had not occurred very often in the past.

Other Staff Members' Views of Immersion Programs

The views of the principal will be treated in the second section of this chapter because of the central importance of her role to the interactions of the teacher group and particularly to their management of conflict. The attitudes of the two full-time specialists and the part-time teachers are discussed briefly here.

The remedial teacher and the French specialist had contact each day with pupils in several grades and consequently they had contact with several class teachers. Their language related attitudes were important, but not central to the group because, without classes of their own, they were not seen by the class teachers as sharing the same kinds of problems or the same pedagogical concerns that they had.

The reading specialist gave remedial reading in English to students having difficulty learning to read. Many of her pupils were immersion pupils who had not yet had any instruction in English, but who were having difficulties in learning to read. Her views towards immersion programs were mixed. On the one hand, she stated that she was "amazed" at the extent to which immersion programs achieved their pedagogical aims. Unlike the immersion teachers, she thought that everything possible was done to achieve these goals. Like the English stream teachers, she said that the program of instruction was too heavy for some pupils. Despite her general approval of immersion programs, she believed it would be better to start children in their own language first "to avoid problems" and to use an immersion type of approach around the grade three or grade four level. Also, like the English stream teachers, she thought English stream pupils did not receive enough French and that they "did not get a fair shake".

The French specialist was in a curious position in the school. As the French teacher to the children in the English stream, she used the method of

instruction (French as a second language) that immersion programs were designed to replace. Therefore, she personified the criticism of that method of second language instruction. However, she saw her job as something of a "necessary evil" and generally favored the immersion method. When asked what her definition was of the main immersion goal, she said that it was to give students a choice of universities to attend. Like the reading specialist, her views were inconsistent. When asked if she thought there was enough French in the immersion program, or too much English, she commented that immersion pupils did not need to have gym, art, music or library in French since, "if they can do math in French, they could do these things in French if they had to". However, she made the observation that immersion pupils in grade two appeared more fluent in French than immersion pupils in grade six, but she did not attribute this apparent deterioration of speaking skills to the presence of a half day of English after grade two, which immersion teachers had viewed as "too much English".

The language related attitudes of the part-time teachers were varied. The music specialist held very positive attitudes to immersion programs and had enrolled her three children in such classes. The librarian, the arts and crafts teacher and one of the gym teachers were indifferent. Their attitudes conveyed the impression that immersion programs were no concern of theirs. Except for the music teacher, none of the other part-time teachers involved themselves with the teacher group. They existed on the periphery of the group and for these reasons only their general views are of interest so that their contribution to overall patterns of teacher interaction may be assessed. The main point was their lack of concern and lack of involvement. As previously mentioned, the librarian was singled out by immersion teachers for criticism for her lack of awareness of French language materials for the library.

Teachers' Perspectives Toward the Teacher Group

English and immersion teachers saw the teacher group as a divided one but differed greatly in the kinds of explanations they offered for the divisions they perceived to be present. The teachers' views of the group itself were closely tied to recent social changes in Quebec, and to the growth of immersion programs in particular. The question of job security pervaded the attitudes of the English stream teachers.

English stream teachers. The opinions that the English stream teachers held about immersion programs and about the status of their pupils in the immersion school reflect their assessment of their own positions in Quebec as anglophones and their positions as teachers within the school system. Despite seniority and despite a suggestion of new school board policy that would have lent greater job security to older English stream teachers than to immersion teachers who were recent graduates, these teachers still felt very insecure in their jobs. They had all experienced at Park School the transition from a regular English medium school to a French immersion school. With this change had come a reduction in the number of English stream classes. As the number of immersion classes and teachers increased, the English stream teachers came to form a numerical minority on the staff. In addition, they came to be associated with a less prestigious teaching stream in the school. If these changes had not occurred, this would have been a time during these teachers' careers when they would have enjoyed considerable status because of age and teaching experience. Instead, they suffered a loss of status. Moreover, these changes were paralleled by changes in the larger society which, over the same period of time, had seen a rise in the power and status of the French language and culture. Gertrude (5E) expressed the feelings of her colleagues when she commented that the English stream at Park School was being "strangulated".

The English stream should not be permitted to disappear in English schools. English taught classes should be kept at each grade level "for the transients" in the neighborhood. I am fourth generation in this province. The opportunities are dwindling. It's degrading. The English paid higher taxes than the French so they got better schools. We paid for all this (she gestured towards the classroom).

Betty (5E) and Clara (6E) felt that the English stream teachers were "on their way out", but "before their time". As before, Mary's views matched those of the English stream teachers and she felt that:

The English teachers who can't speak French are jeopardized.
It is too bad to push someone into retirement.

Although, the English stream teachers and Mary attributed divisions in the teacher group to the advent and growth of immersion at their school and were angry, they did not always express their anger directly. Clearly, they felt uncomfortable holding the attitudes that they did and tended to counter them with impersonal explanations of the situation. For example, age differences in the group were often cited as a reason for the lack of teacher group cohesion. As Betty (4E) said, the older teachers could be the mothers of the younger ones.

They are sweet girls. They call me Mrs. Respect is there.

But before there were so many young teachers, we did more socializing.

Here Betty made indirect reference to the start of immersion programs since with these programs came an influx of younger (immersion) teachers. She made a direct reference to the lack of communication between the two groups of teachers as the investigator was leaving her classroom at the end of the interview. The timing of her comment made it impossible to pursue then.

I can't answer for the French teachers. There just isn't that much interchange, eh?

Clara (6E) also chose to couch explanations for group division in terms of socially acceptable age differences.

It's a young-old thing. It has always been that way. It's not just the French.

After many months, it became evident that most of the "blame" was placed on the two francophone teachers who spoke very little English--Jeanette (2F) and Micheline (4,5F). As Clara (6E) said, there had been good rapport between the teachers when the immersion programs first began but now

Two-thirds of the staff are separatists now. We have rights, too. The change is due to politics. Before Jeanette came, everyone was bilingual and made a sincere effort to speak English. Micheline makes no effort. I'm bilingual up to a point--but! I always thought I wasn't petty. But the political situation is terrifying.

Jeanette was the third immersion teacher to join the staff. A francophone kindergarten teacher, who spoke some English came first, then a bilingual anglophone was hired to teach the first immersion grade one. The next year, Jeanette was hired to teach the first immersion grade two. Thus, the implication of Clara's statement is that prior to Jeanette's arrival, the first two immersion teachers used English with each other and with other staff members. Jeanette's arrival marked the beginning of the use of French in the teacher group. The bitter feelings expressed by Gertrude (5E) also confirmed the impression that the English stream teachers' roles in the school were reminders of their changing roles in the larger society where they were members of a declining majority.

The year that Jeanette came--she had nineteen in her class!

I had thirty-eight. Right next door! It's just not fair.

I have a sad feeling when I come in in the morning. I hear French when I walk in (to the staff room) and French when I leave. I'm on the defensive. So I don't talk French as much as I could. They don't go half way. They came in shy and now they are in control.

The loss of control and status was summed up well by the reading specialist.

The English teachers are threatened. The French teachers are flexing their muscles. There is division in this school. I am as guilty as the others. I talk to the teachers of the kids I teach, but I don't speak much to Jane, Jeanette or Micheline.

The inclusion of Jane here is interesting from the point of view of the factors that influenced teachers' perceptions of each other. Jane did not share the "separatist" political views of Jeanette as we saw earlier. She regarded French schools as a haven for political propaganda, which she strongly disapproved of. But it was this same viewpoint--that schools should be a-political--that at a later date caused her to join with Jeanette in stamping out the dissemination of anglophone political propaganda within the school. This episode (to be fully recounted in the following section), combined with her frequently expressed opinion that immersion pupils should receive remedial services in French, caused her to be seen by the remedial teacher, who offered remedial reading in English, as one of those who leaned towards separation. Of course, it was this remedial teacher that Jane thought should be replaced by a franco-phone.

The exceptional cases of Mary and Margaret require further attention. As noted earlier, Mary was formally affiliated with the immersion stream but taught

in English only. Thus, she did not share the same pedagogical objectives of the immersion teachers and in every way tried to appear affiliated with the English stream teachers. Her behavior may be evidence of the extreme role conflict that she seemed to experience. She went to considerable lengths to project a unilingual anglophone image and she was quite successful in this. In addition, she held very negative views of immersion programs, too. The interview with Mary did not elicit spontaneous expressions of attitudes in the same manner as it had with other teachers. However, it did offer information that permitted reinterpretation of observations that had taken place earlier. Mary did not welcome the opportunity to "open up" during the interview and gave short, precise answers to questions about curriculum and other concrete matters. Questions that were designed to elicit opinions about controversial issues met with answers such as "I don't know" or "I have never thought about it". Near the end of the interview, she was asked a general question about contact with francophones while growing up in Montreal (information that other teachers had offered spontaneously). She flushed, straightened in her chair, brought her fist up into the air and down hard on the desk and said emphatically:

My mother was French Protestant. I spoke French at home until
I went out into the street. We lived in an English neighborhood.
I am fully bilingual!

Mary had learned English "in the street". She had been brought up in an anglophone neighborhood and despite her bilingualism and French-English background, now she chose to project an anglophone image by speaking only English. Until this moment, the investigator had believed that Mary spoke no French at all. After this episode, she was observed to use French on two occasions, briefly but fluently.

Interpretation of Mary's behavior remains conjecture. However, she seems to represent an example of the manner in which sociological phenomena are sometimes exhibited at the personal level. Despite Mary's bilingualism and dual ethnic origins she was still, not a Quebec francophone and therefore, did not qualify for different status from the other anglophone older teachers. Regardless of her background, she too felt she was being "pushed out before her time" by the changes in the respective positions of the two ethnolinguistic groups within the social structure and in the school system. For her especially this seemed to be felt as a gross injustice.

Margaret's (3E) views of the teacher group were in line with her attitudes towards immersion programs and differed again from those held by the other anglophone teachers. She said that there had been "no change in the atmosphere of the school" since the immersion program began, except "when I come into the school, French is the majority language". Perhaps because she had been married to a francophone and was now widowed, Margaret felt set apart from the other English stream teachers and did not want to associate with their views, isolating herself accordingly. With regard to adapting to social change and the question of job security, she said she felt she was "struggling" but commented:

No one minds getting along with a different culture. My children and husband had to. My husband was French Canadian and my daughter is a nurse and she has to. If there is no more English schooling then there is no job, regardless of seniority. But the school board should have told the older teachers to retire early. The younger ones need the jobs to get experience. The older ones are not bilingual and can't help with the immersion. They should shift.

Although, the secretary was not a member of the teacher group, she was an important member of the entire staff group, because of the strategic role she played in the interactional context of the school. First, her role was that of spokesperson for the principal and second, she was a source of information to teachers and pupils about school events, meetings and the availability of the principal. Her office was located in such a way that she could observe most of the activity in the school and this, plus her job role, permitted her to have frequent contact with all teachers and many pupils. She often joined the English stream teachers at lunch and in this way, formed part of the total group in the study.

The secretary stated that she was very much in favor of immersion as a method of instruction for young children and that she herself had taken numerous "immersion" courses for secretaries. These stated opinions did not reflect her feelings about the need to use French. Again, the question of job security was raised. She said she took the courses to improve her job security.

You need to be bilingual to achieve in Quebec. It's going to be dog eat dog. You need everything you can get these days.

Not that I've learned much. You have to use it every day for that.

It did not occur to her that her job provided her with the opportunity to use French every day or to consider her potential importance as a bilingual role model. Apparently, she did not see her job as related to immersion programs in any way. Nor did she view herself as part of a social change movement.

Immersion teachers. The immersion stream teachers also saw the teacher group as lacking in cohesion but, with two exceptions, their explanations were less emotionally charged than those offered by the English stream teachers.

Neither Jeanette nor Micheline seemed fully aware of the extent of the anglophone teachers' negative feelings towards them. They perceived the division between the teachers to be due to a general lack of second language facility in the teacher group. Jeanette said that when she first came to Park School, the only person she could speak to was the kindergarten teacher. She did not seem to know that Mary, Betty and Gertrude were fluent in French and she did not mention the bilingual grade one immersion teacher who was on the staff then, but who was now retired. Now she felt there was a growing division between the teachers.

It was like being alone on an island. Now there is a growing barrier between those who teach only English and the others and the atmosphere is getting worse.

Micheline, who spoke more English than did Jeanette but was inhibited about doing so, seemed more aware of the true feelings of the English stream teachers.

The English teachers seem to have to make an effort to speak to me in French. There is a language barrier here. When I speak with the principal, I speak in French very slowly. She is very patient and helpful to me. I can follow and understand English during meetings. Otherwise, the atmosphere is good here.

Micheline noted that the principal did not use French with her, but was "patient and helpful". In return, Micheline took care in the manner in which she spoke French with the principal, to be sure that she could understand her. However, Micheline, a francophone, did not switch to English while talking with her superior, the principal.

Jeanette's attitudes towards the way the group might interact were expressed by an episode that occurred during the year prior to the one in which

this study was carried out. The episode was recounted to the investigator by the principal. Jeanette suggested that the teachers use French for one half and English for the other half of each lunch hour. She thought this would be "fun" and would help everyone to improve their respective second languages. According to the principal, this suggestion was met with some embarrassed compliance and was tried for a few days, then dropped. In the long run, it seemed that this event only served to reaffirm the opinion of some teachers that Jeanette's beliefs were too radical. Jeanette was in fact suggesting that the society's traditional rules of language use pertaining to anglophones and francophones be abandoned in favor of linguistic integration. Thus, both Micheline and Jeanette broke the "old" rules. Micheline used French--albeit with politeness and deference--with an anglophone superior, and Jeanette made it clear that she thought both languages should be used equally in an anglophone institution in Quebec.

The attitudes of the bilingual immersion teachers towards the teacher group as a whole (with the exception of Beth) were less emotional. In particular, Lara and Gwen seemed to enjoy a sense of security about their situation and seemed oblivious to politicized innuendos. They used English and French easily as each situation arose giving the impression that for them language use, per se, was a non-issue. Similarly, their attitudes towards the question of job security were more rational than those held by the English stream teachers. In the words of Lara (1F):

The position of the teacher today is very difficult. If you are bilingual--O.K.--but if I stop work to raise a family, will I ever be able to come back? The English teachers must find it very difficult.

Although Beth and Lynette both taught in French and in English, only Beth was very troubled by her perception of the teacher group as a divided one. She felt the conflict between her roles acutely. She felt it was part of her obligation as an extension of her role in the larger society to try to play a mediating role in the interaction network of the teacher group. She viewed the lack of cohesion between the teachers as a miniaturized version of the situation outside the school. A member of her family was involved in federal politics and she was very involved in political questions pertaining to the future of Quebec. More than others, she viewed the lack of cohesion in the teacher group as an unnecessary tragedy and worked hard to bring the two groups together--mainly through the ways in which she interacted informally with teachers of both streams.

The views of the other staff members towards the teacher group as a whole are less important than their views towards immersion programs or their use of language. Except for the two full-time specialists, they were peripheral members of the teacher group and rarely were all part-time teachers present in the school at once. When they were all there, their use of language was an influence on the patterns of interaction of the group and this will be explored in the third section of this chapter.

In summary, the English stream teachers, and Mary, held negative attitudes towards immersion programs as well as depressed feelings about the position of the English stream pupils in the school. Margaret was an exception in this. These views reflected their feelings about their positions as teachers. They saw too much French in the program of immersion instruction and too much support for immersion programs generally. Immersion teachers on the other hand saw too much English language instruction in immersion programs and too little support for them.

With the exception of Margaret, the English stream teachers and Mary seemed to feel like a threatened minority. They noted changes in the atmosphere of the school since the immersion programs had begun and stressed the amount of French that they heard each day. Clara's comment that the staff group was bilingual when immersion programs began because then everyone spoke English pointed to the teachers acute sensitivity to the changes that had taken place outside and inside the school. "Now they don't go half-way" and "Now they are in control" sum up their attitudes best.

The French speaking teachers and one of the bilingual immersion teachers were viewed as being in a process of assuming a new and stronger position in the society as well as in the school. The francophone teachers showed little inclination to use their halting English in the mixed group. Rather than do so, they used French (with deference and politeness when called for) and even suggested that everyone "ought" to try to be bilingual. In the eyes of the English stream teachers, the old rules of the society were being broken right in the school that "their taxes had paid for". They felt put down, pushed out and offended.

Differences in teachers' socio-historical backgrounds and recent changes in the relationship between anglophones and francophones in Quebec seem to be reflected in the attitudes of the teachers in the immersion school. Social change, seemingly mirrored in the behavior of the two francophone teachers, was clearly not being accepted with equanimity by some of the anglophone teachers. With the exception of Beth, the bilingual teachers appeared the most comfortable with the situation. However, there was acute awareness by all, expressed either directly or indirectly, of deep divisions in the group. These divisions placed the teachers in a position of considerable role conflict--conflict between their roles as anglophones or francophones, as members of one teaching stream or an-

other and their roles as members of a single elementary school teacher group.

The manner in which they managed role conflict will be explored in the following two sections.

Teacher Interaction in the Formal Context

The conflicting roles held by teachers were particularly evident within the formal context of the school. An understanding of the nature and function of teacher interaction was obtained through observation of staff and other formal meetings as well as with supporting data obtained in previously described ways. All the staff were present during meetings which were usually led by the principal. Teachers gathered at these times, as a single staff group, however, the manner in which subjects were raised for discussion illustrated that teachers were viewed as being present in their capacities as English stream teachers or as immersion teachers. In one episode described below, they were clearly seen as representatives of their respective ethnolinguistic communities. Basic attitudinal differences between teachers were thus repeatedly pointed out and it became clear that these differences as well as formalized divisions between them, created by the presence of two teaching streams, formed a major problem for the principal in her efforts to administer the school. This was most apparent when issues external to the school formed the subject of discussion and when outside officials conducted the meetings. Then teachers' ethnolinguistic and other differences were underlined.

The principal was found to play a central role in the teachers' management of conflict and, therefore, she played a central part in the patterns of interaction in the formal context. The authority of the principal rested on the fact that she acted as a mediator for the teachers regarding their roles in the school and between the school and outside agents. She was largely responsible for managing whatever emerged as outside influences that disrupted the precarious har-

mony of the group.

First, this section describes the manner in which the principal played her role. The ways in which she sought and maintained the loyalty of the teachers are stressed. Then a number of interactional sequences will be described to illustrate the patterns of interaction that occurred in the formal context when the group was faced with an interplay between societal norms and teacher group norms--when ethnolinguistic and other differences were brought to the forefront.

Observations carried out during the first planning meetings of the school year provided some of the most important data for the entire study. Because entry to the field had been gained during the pilot phase of the study, it was possible to attend the meetings as a limited participant from the beginning and to carry out observation on the basis of some previous knowledge of the situation.

The Principal

The principal played the role of interpreter of and mediator between outside events and events occurring within the school. She defined the norms of expected behavior for the teachers and suggested the kinds of attitudes she thought they ought to adopt towards outside events. She would interpret external influences in ways that tried to promote a common perspective in the teacher group and in so doing, she tried to defuse the otherwise divisive nature of these events. In these ways, the principal protected the teachers from inherent tensions and potential intergroup conflict between themselves and was, therefore, responsible for the preservation of a degree of harmony in the group. That is, her task was primarily one of conflict management.

The major problem for the principal was to reconcile the particular case of the immersion school, which was divided into two teaching streams and staffed by members of different ethnolinguistic groups who did not share the same perspectives towards immersion programs. She tried to implement regular school

norms that see teachers working together as a single team, under the friendly guidance of the principal. In order to perform her role and to maintain her authority with the whole group, she had to strike a delicate balance between furthering the traditional norms of the larger society and protecting the school from further organizational and social change. By her very example as an anglophone in a position of authority in a school that came under the auspices of an English school board, she implicitly represented the traditional, dominant position of anglophones in Quebec society. However, she was charged with the task of promoting bilingual education in that context. It is suggested that to achieve these ends without causing open conflict among the teachers, she had no choice but to protect the status quo. A degree of change had taken place in the school since immersion programs began, over the previous eight years, but there it would stop. The principal could not take deliberate steps to further the immersion program, nor could she try to increase the size of the English stream. To give increased support to the English stream would have negated the objectives of immersion programs. She could allow the immersion stream to grow "naturally", through the increased demands of parents but she could not go so far as to insist, for example, that a bilingual librarian be found or that remedial reading be offered in French. Nor could she regard the language of use outside the immersion classroom as within her domain of control.

There was one way in which the principal was able to achieve a degree of cohesive functioning of the teacher group and this was through control of the teachers' perceptions of her. In this regard, English and immersion stream teachers shared the same positive views. The principal was skillful in obtaining and keeping the teachers' loyalty and in so doing, she maintained her authority over the teacher group and minimized conflict between them, so that the school could continue to function. She used several measures to obtain the

good opinions and loyalty of the group.

The principal fostered harmony through her use of French. Her facility in French was not good and this placed her in a favorable light with the English stream teachers who saw her as like themselves. However, unlike the English stream teachers, the principal was able to laugh at herself and did use French to communicate from time-to-time. This endeared her to the francophone and bilingual teachers. She was the first to admit that her French was not good and she also said that this was a "bad thing". She said it set a bad example for the pupils and as a result, she said she went out of her way to avoid putting a bilingual or francophone teacher in the position of speaking English to her in front of immersion pupils. In this way, she expressed a strong commitment to the immersion program goals and let her views be known as to how language ought to be used in the school. She seems to have succeeded in communicating to francophone teachers that, despite her position of authority, they did not have to follow the traditional language use rules and speak English with her. However, her position as an anglophone in a position of control was symbolized by the fact that she did not use French during formal meetings. Initially, her use of English in meetings was thought to be a concession to (what then appeared to be) inability of the English stream teachers to understand French. As it later turned out, only Margaret could not use French, while Jeanette and Micheline had difficulty with spoken English, but could understand it. Thus, English was used when the principal was formally carrying out her role as the leader of the teacher group.

Another means used by the principal to foster harmony and to obtain the approval of the teachers, was through the professed use of democratic principles in running the school. The principal said that she could get the teachers to do anything she wanted as long as they believed that they had a say in things.

For example, the principal wanted this study carried out in the school, but the teachers were consulted at every step of the decision-making process.

In all decisions made that were observed by the investigator, the principal let her opinion be known at the outset and by doing so permitted the teachers to fulfill their part of an implicit agreement. That is, in return for her role in managing the tensions between them and the influence of external issues on the group, they gave their agreement to her wishes.

The importance of the dynamics of the relationship between the principal and teachers cannot be stressed enough. Not only did the principal deal with external influences on the teacher group, but by constantly addressing the divisions between the two teaching streams, she dealt with the divisions of the larger society that were reflected in the structure of the school. The divisions within the school could not be avoided by the teachers, but they could be made more acceptable through reliance on the principal's ministrings.

The principal used other measures to obtain and keep the loyalty of her teachers. She went out of her way to show them that she was on their side, not on the side of the school board or union officials who made up rules. Whenever the opportunity arose, she would bend the regulations a little in order to give the teachers a few minutes more free time than their contracts allowed. For example, she would allow the pupils to leave a few minutes early following an assembly, giving the teachers a slightly longer lunch hour. In return for these supportive gestures, the principal was able to ask favors of the teachers that they would not ask of each other. Yard duty was a hated chore, but she met no resistance at all when she asked a teacher to take the job for the day because the presence of the yard duty teacher was needed at a meeting.

The teachers perceived the principal to be in control and responsible for the "good atmosphere" of the school. In speaking of the principal, they often

used phrases that showed that she was an idealized figure to them, that under her influence, nothing could go wrong. They would take the occasion while speaking of her, to deny the presence of any friction or disagreement in the teacher group.

The principal is at the helm. Many times something little could be a mountain. She is the key. If there is a sense of humor, there are no problems. (Betty, 4E)

This is a very special school. The principal makes the atmosphere better than at other schools. She is very patient (with Jeanette's halting English). She is very helpful and flexible. She lets me experiment with different teaching methods in the classroom. She keeps things running well.

(Jeanette, 2F)

This is a good school to work in. Nobody sticks too much to the rules (of contract). If I want to stay after three o'clock for a few minutes to do extra work, no one will complain. (Mary, 3,4,"F")

This is the most comfortable school I have worked in. The principal is wonderful. Even with the French and English there is no problem (Part-time Music teacher).

A number of episodes that illustrate patterns of teacher interaction are described below. More often than not, interactions surrounding a single issue took place over a period of weeks or months as subjects were raised more than once during Staff meetings. It was only after repeated observations of teacher interaction on a particular issue that a full interpretation could be made.

External Influences on the Teacher Group

Episode 1: Birthrate decline. The first planning meeting of the year took place in the library. The entire staff was present. The general air of this first day back to work was one of excitement and the jovial mood of the principal seemed to set the tone. The principal sat at the head of a number of tables joined to create one long table. The teachers sat around the table in no apparent order.

The principal began with mention of various chores that required attention: a social committee was needed to collect money for coffee and an audiovisual coordinator was called for. These items on the agenda, that were addressed to the group as a whole, were dealt with quickly, in a way that suggested they were not very important. Then an immediate problem was defined by the principal.

The principal explained that the birthrate in the neighborhood of Park School had declined, as elsewhere in North America. Additionally, she pointed out that the English schools were feeling the effects of an additional decline in the local anglophone population caused by people leaving the Province in reaction to Bill 101. As a consequence of this population decline, a nearby school would close immediately and the remaining children would probably be sent to Park School. The immediate concern was uncertainty over the size of the enrollment in Park School three days hence--the first day of school. The following exchange took place between the principal and Mary, who taught the English half of immersion grades three and four.

Principal: I would like to explain some of the complications of working in a school (laugh)...this is serious. There is the possibility of split classes (resulting from the influx of pupils from the school that closed). I think it is better for the children to stay in one place and for the teachers to do the

moving about.

Mary: I am not going to change homerooms.

Principal: Because of these problems, the key word for the school has got to be flexibility (With a nervous

laugh, she turned to Mary) Keep smiling!...This is the bombshell. The people at _____ School will probably all show up here, but if they want an English kindergarten or grade one, they can forget it because I don't have one and I am not going to make one at this late date. It would change the whole school. Some lady called with four kids and needs an English grade two. They'll just have to be bused somewhere else. That is why I say this year the key thing is flexibility. This could end up changing the structure of the school, but the ratio (teacher-pupil) is inflexible and the walls cannot be moved.

This interchange demonstrated a number of points. First, it illuminated some of the practical administrative concerns in running an immersion school with two teaching streams. Primarily, though, it showed the ways in which the principal communicated normative expectations to the teacher group and indicated to them that she had control over the degree to which they could be affected by outside influences. The principal told them that they should adopt flexible attitudes towards a degree of structural change (split classes) but that in return, she would protect the status quo this time by not permitting more English stream classes to be opened. Mary's resistance to being physically moved from her homeroom illustrated how important a sense of ownership over the classroom space was to some teachers, but also suggested that maintenance of the status quo was preferable to any disruption including an influx of more

English stream pupils to the school.

The subject of a declining population surfaced another time. In this case, the source of the outside pressure on the school was a shift in school board policy concerning the criteria for deciding teachers' eligibility for surplus status in the case of lay-offs. This raised the issue of job security. The school board announced a decision to designate all teachers with less than five years experience as eligible for surplus status. The alternative would have been to lower the age of retirement. This decision raised questions about the extent of school board commitment to immersion programs. In fact, later in the year, the board proposed, unsuccessfully, that early immersion programs be eliminated in favor of a later immersion system that would not take jobs away from anglophone teachers. On the surface, it was the immersion teachers who might have felt threatened, because they were French speaking or bilingual, but they were not dependent on jobs in English schools as were the anglophone teachers. The situation offered the principal another chance to reiterate her commitment to the status quo and to protect the teacher group as it was.

One immersion teacher dropped would mean an essential change in the structure of the school. I hope the call (to give the school board the names of teachers with less than five years experience) never comes.

Again, the principal was able to express her commitment to immersion programs if she also showed a commitment toward her teachers as a group. The school board pronouncements offered the English stream teachers some continued security while the principal countered with protection of the situation as it was, thus preventing these events from disrupting the group.

Episode 2: The English language arts program. The English Language Arts program at the school was the most frequently discussed topic at staff meetings. In contrast, the objectives of immersion programs were never discussed at a staff meeting. Not only did this fact alone demonstrate the implicit importance of English in this immersion school, but the subject served as an excellent pivot to observe the role of the principal in the formal interaction network.

The school board was trying to implement a new English Language Arts program throughout the English school system. It was to be coordinated from one grade level to another and would be uniform from one school to another. No apparent distinction was made between regular and immersion schools. Nothing in the guidelines suggested awareness of the fact that immersion children received no English instruction at all until grade three or that there might be a difference in pedagogical concerns between English and immersion stream teachers. Rather, one had the impression that for practical purposes, the immersion stream simply did not exist as a factor to be taken into account in curriculum planning.

The major problem for the principal during these meetings, was to try to administer the group in the face of teachers' differing views of immersion programs. Earlier it was seen that immersion teachers thought that there was too much English instruction in the immersion program, while English stream teachers thought that there was not enough English in immersion programs. It was apparent that the principal thought the teacher group ought to work as a team on the subject, but the divisions caused by the presence of two teaching streams created a two-team like situation that served as a constant reminder that the teacher group was marked by a lack of cohesion.

The English stream teachers thought that the new English Language Arts guidelines would be difficult to carry out because of what they perceived to be as differences in immersion and English stream pupils' English skills at each

grade level. English stream teachers were certain that immersion pupils were "behind" English stream pupils in English language skill development. Immersion teachers remained quiet during this discussion instead of openly stating their views as they had privately to the investigator. By keeping quiet, they avoided open disagreement, but also permitted the anglophone view to prevail and to dominate. As they really believed that their students already received too much English instruction, they could easily have provoked a heated discussion. Their silence helped to maintain harmony, which was obviously important to them. The only immersion teacher who contributed to these discussions was Mary, who seemed to seize the situation to confirm her alliance with the English stream teachers.

The principal demonstrated her awareness of the teachers' differences of opinion in the way she conducted the meetings. She was evidently uncomfortable with the board policy in the face of a divided teacher group. At the first meeting on the subject of English Language Arts she asked for two committees to be formed to look into the question. She wanted one committee to represent the immersion teachers and another to represent the English stream teachers. She stated that this was necessary because of the "separate issues" for each group. Here she implied agreement with the views of the English stream teachers. However, she immediately followed these comments with another suggestion that two teachers from each committee attend the meetings of the other, so that information could be shared. In this way, she attempted to bring the two teaching teams together and to promote cooperation.

The suggestion that there be two committees with two overlapping members from each seemed an unduly complicated plan considering the size of the staff group. However, the principal did not suggest that an integrated single committee, made up of immersion and English stream teachers, explore the question.

She seemed vaguely aware that English and immersion teachers of the same grade level did not share the same views regarding pupils' needs for English instruction, because they were on different "teams". This realization resulted in more complex planning than might otherwise have been made had she better understood the nature of the problems confronting her. Her dilemma is expressed here.

Principal: The first objective is to define the terms and have everybody agree... If we are going to make decisions that affect everyone we should have everyone involved. We will post information on the special immersion bulletin board. Do you want a committee to carry out the changes or do it all together?

Remedial Teacher: We are small enough to do it together.

Principal: We should get one of the immersion teachers in on this, because they have to see to these things to follow the school board guidelines for writing, too. What do the French immersion teachers want? I don't hear anything from them.

Jeanette, Qu'est ce que tu penses? Tu es dans la comité l'année passée. (Jeanette, what do you think. You are in the committee last year.)

Jeanette: Sais pas. (Don't know.)

At a later date, this discussion continued.

Principal: All the English teachers have met on the English Language Arts thing so now we are putting together what is being done on the English side.

The principal's comments could be paraphrased: "How can we coordinate team effort and unified functioning of the teacher group when there are in reality two teams, one of which is only officially concerned with the teaching of

English Language Arts. How can we be a team when we do not all talk the same language or share the same perspectives? We should all work together but for the purposes of disseminating information effectively we work in separate groups and communicate by posting notices on a special immersion teachers' bulletin board."

The separate bulletin boards were an important symbol of the structure of the immersion school. In the staff room, there was a large bulletin board on one side of the room and a smaller second board on the other side. Over the smaller board, was a label "Le cours d'Immersion". Nothing was posted on this board until late November and then none of the information had to do with matters internal to the school. All internal information was on the "main" large bulletin board, in English. The immersion teachers' Board was there as a symbol of their presence, but they were expected to pay attention to the English language notices on the board which contained the official, English language news--both internal and external to the school.

The subject of the English Language Arts program had the same kind of divisive impact on the teacher group as other external issues. This issue did not pertain to all teachers equally and, therefore, could not serve a unifying function. Divisions between teaching streams were underlined as were differences in teachers' views of the program of instruction. The efforts of the principal to have the group work together were not successful and her suggestion that they share information so that common perspectives could prevail was feeble. The divisive influence of the issue was stronger than these efforts to create harmony and the anglophone perspective dominated interaction on this issue. The principal's efforts were intended to soften the divisiveness of the subject but it may have been the silence of the immersion teachers that more successfully maintained the peace.

Strictly speaking, from the point of view of language differences and language facility, the teacher group could have worked together. Only Margaret could not have participated at all in a mixed team approach. Although Jeanette and Micheline sometimes had difficulty understanding English, they often used Jane or Lynette as interpreters. Similarly, Betty, Gertrude and Mary all had the ability to perform the role of translator to English speaking teachers, had French been used. On the occasions when French was used (such as during the brief exchange between Jeanette and the principal), the effect was one of underlining differences. English was the official language, symbolized by the manner in which information was communicated on notice boards.

Episode 3: Politics and the teacher group. The teachers were found to be highly sensitive to socio-political issues as they had been affected in different ways by recent events in Quebec. The English stream teachers were apprehensive about their own and their pupils' futures in Quebec. They held exaggerated ideas regarding the political views of the immersion teachers. Among the immersion teachers, attitudes were generally positive towards the idea of a linguistically integrated society. In particular Jeanette and Beth, each in their own ways, seemed to feel a personal obligation to try to effect social change in the relationship between anglophones and francophones.

Since controversial issues threatened to expose teachers' differing political views, open concern with such issues violated the norms of the teaching profession. The teachers went out of their way to express a lack of interest in any kind of political involvement, and through such expressions they tried to minimize tensions in the group.

At a staff meeting, early in the year, the principal announced that a teachers' Union representative was needed to attend union meetings and to report back to the teachers at Park School. The announcement was met with groans and

no one volunteered for the job. Finally, Lynette (6F) agreed to be appointed for the first half of the year and Gwen (1F) agreed to take on the job for the second half of the year. Taking on this role clearly caused discomfort. As the meeting ended, the following exchange was overheard.

Lynette: The MTA (union) is a drag. It is just not my thing.

Clara (6E): I had it the year of the strike and it was such a headache. All these radicals are pushing you to this and that.

Lynette: (to the kindergarten teacher) J'ai beaucoup d'autres choses à faire de la politique. (I have better things to do besides politics.)

The implications of involvement in union matters for the teachers became clear during a visit to the school by an official from the teachers' union. The meeting was held during the lunch hour in the staff room and all the staff were present. The official, a woman, sat at one end of a group of three large tables that were placed together. The teacher's selected places around the table. The principal took an unobtrusive position so that her presence did not appear to differentiate her from the teachers.

The union official began by stating that she would speak in English, but could answer questions in French and understood French for those who preferred to speak it. Immediately, the situation was defined as one in which the official language was English. The first teacher to raise an issue for discussion was Jeanette (2F) who spoke in French, but interspersed her comments with the occasional word in English. She thought the union should take up an issue that was of concern to her and to other francophone teachers in the English system. She said that the school board holidays were unfair to French Catholic

teachers. She pointed out that Jewish teachers received three extra paid days off for their religious holidays and that Catholic teachers should receive the same. In particular, she singled out the day after New Years' Day as important since in the French Canadian culture this was an important cultural and family event that took people far into the countryside to meet with relatives. Because of the distances involved it was impossible to return to the city to teach the following day. The manner in which she presented her comments was pleasant, not overly aggressive or hostile.

Jeanette's remarks were met with silence. No one made a motion to indicate support of her view. Her use of French had been a challenge to the official's definition of the situation as one in which the English language (and culture) was to predominate. The silence of the group projected an appearance of a unified group to a representative of the outside world. It was important for the teachers not to expose to an outsider the divisions that existed among themselves in order to maintain an appearance of some harmony or cohesion in the group. To accomplish this they had to keep quiet and this gave tacit approval to the official's language use definition of the situation.

The union official first replied politely that she would look into the matter. Her response to Jeanette came later when she continued to discuss the possibility of future strike action. She advised the teachers not to go against the advice of the union. She then stressed that it was important for Catholic and Protestant teachers to "stick together". She reminded the group that "the Catholic teachers who did not before (during the previous strike) are now paying the consequences." She implied that among those consequences was the "unfair" treatment of Catholic teachers that Jeanette raised for discussion.

The union official had brought ethnolinguistic differences to the forefront with her opening comments about the use of English. Jeanette's response confronted the group with the polarization of views that typified the larger society in which they all lived. Interaction was in line with traditional language use norms of the society and in line with the dominant norms of the teaching profession. Although the union official admonished Catholic and Protestant teachers to stick together, it was clear that she was not advocating compliance with new social norms, otherwise she would have used French and treated the situation as a bilingual one.

Although the principal remained quiet throughout this episode, her very presence may have lent authority, control and, therefore, harmony to the group. Since she was a primary source of cohesion, it is impossible to say what might have ensued had she not been present at this meeting.

Episode 4: Open dissension in the group. By the second half of the school year, the question of political separation of Quebec from Canada was more a daily topic in the newspapers. At this time, Gwen (LF) held the job of union representative and claimed, as had Lynette, that such matters did not interest her, but that "someone has to do it". At one of the first meetings she attended, an anglophone union member distributed a petition titled: People to People Petition for Canadian Unity. The union meeting was used to disseminate pro-Canada, anti-separatist propaganda. All school representatives were asked to post the petition in their schools and to encourage teachers to sign it. Perhaps in ignorance of the disruption this could cause (but implicitly accepting the anglo-dominant approach of the union), Gwen posted the petition on the main information board in the staff room, without first consulting with the principal. It read:

In the spirit of understanding and to better meet the ongoing needs and hopes of all our peoples, we, the undersigned, from British Columbia to Newfoundland invite Quebecois members of our Canadian Family to remain Canadian and to continue building with us this magnificent Canada.

The four English stream teachers and Mary, two bilingual immersion stream teachers (Lara and Gwen), two part-time anglophone specialists and one substitute teacher (bilingual) signed the petition. When Jeanette (2F) saw the document, she became very upset, consulted with Jane (2F) and Micheline (4,5F). The next day, they posted their own notice on the same board and also lodged a complaint with the principal (who had been out of the school the previous day). Their notice read:

We believe that schools are not areas for political propaganda, therefore, we refuse to announce our beliefs by either signing or abstaining from signing this petition or any similar document.

The petition and this notice had disappeared by the next day, on orders from the principal.

Like the previous event, the petition episode threatened to expose very real differences in the teachers' political beliefs and to bring inter-group conflict to the surface. For a few hours, in fact, all appearances of harmony vanished and tension was very high. During interviews with the teachers, it emerged that this event acted to crystallize stereotyped ideas that the English stream teachers held about the francophone teachers. It was at this point, that Jane was assumed to be a separatist, and it was after this event, that Clara said that "two-thirds of the staff are separatists". (About two-thirds of the

staff were immersion stream teachers.) Interestingly, it was the "separatist trio" who were most responsible for restoring harmony to the group and of the three, only Jeanette could have been said to hold separatist views. It should be made clear, that holding such political views did not necessarily connote anti-anglophone or dangerous views. She felt that the French Canadian language and culture needed protection and territorial definition. As we saw earlier, her position included the belief that anglophones should integrate into the Quebec society, not the other way around. The other reality of this situation was that Jane was hotly anti-separatist, and Micheline, perhaps because of her European origin, did not identify closely with the issue. Despite the success of these three teachers in dealing with this event, the myth persisted that it was their actions that were divisive. Not once was mention heard of the original notice, that it came from the union, and was posted by an immersion teacher.

Episode 5: A glimpse of change. A visit to the school by the French consultant from the school board, provided an opportunity to observe expression of the stated intentions of immersion programs. This event gave an indication of the manner in which new language use norms might come into play in Quebec.

The consultant was a bilingual anglophone. She met with the teachers in the staff room during a lunch break. She began by speaking in French, asking if everyone understood her. No one responded, so she continued in French. She spoke in an enthusiastic way about the school board position regarding early immersion programs, that position by this time, being a hopeful one for the survival of early immersion. All attention was focused on her. She switched to English once, to ask for the term for "new business". The principal remarked, with an edge of humor, that with all the meetings the consultant attended, she ought to know that word by now.

Jeanette provided the term and the consultant changed back to the use of French. She joked and everyone laughed. The group appeared unified.

The consultant gave a linguistic definition to the situation that stated that French was to be used because this was an immersion school. She let it be known that she expected everyone to understand her. Her use of language could be interpreted as a message to the teachers that the language use rules of Quebec had changed, that in a mixed situation, it is now the English who must speak French. She let her status as an anglophone be known when she switched to English (and her name gave away her ethnic affiliation as well). By doing so, she accorded superior ability to a francophone teacher to give her the required vocabulary. She symbolically relinquished the dominant position of the anglophone when she relinquished the exclusive use of English in a formal situation in an anglophone institution. Her behavior as much as said: "This is an immersion school and it is my job to be a model of the kind of person that immersion programs purport to produce and to behave in a way that respects the new language use norms of this society". A contradictory message was contained in this episode though. Her formal position and use of language suggested that bilingual anglophones are in charge, that the status relationship of French and English speakers may be in the process of shifting, but through bilingualism anglophones can stay in positions of authority and control.

Differences in teachers' ethnolinguistic background, formalized divisions and the absence of shared perspectives towards immersion programs were all intensified by the influence of pressures coming from outside the school. There was, in fact, very little real cohesion in the group, most of what was there stemming from the authority of the principal and her skill in obtaining a common perspective among the teachers toward her. As long as differences were not

brought to the surface an appearance of unity could be maintained. When the fragile cohesion was temporarily broken the teachers did not argue or openly accept their differences. Rather, each disruptive event was met with a quick response (often silence) that buried dissension and brought a fast return to a semblance of harmony.

From the outside, the school was treated as a regular school. The school board made no reference to differences in immersion and regular schools regarding the English Language Arts program and a union official chose to use English, despite the fact that more than half the teachers were immersion teachers. The principal had to carry out her role with reference to the only available norms-- those pertaining to regular schools and those which saw separation between anglophones and francophones as mediated by anglophones occupying positions of authority. The teachers were dependent on the principal to manage the consequences of conflicting societal, teacher group and immersion school norms which were attached to the various roles that they occupied.

The teacher interactions described above can be interpreted to suggest that the overall function of teacher interaction was to avoid conflict and to maintain harmony. The patterns of interaction observed suggested that the teachers had come to a tacit agreement to allow the English language and culture to predominate in the school. The consequence of this way of managing conflict was to undermine any efforts or ideas that would promote bilingual interaction. Thus, with the exception of the final episode, the consequences of teacher interaction in the formal context resulted in a lack of support for the social objectives of immersion programs.

Teachers' Informal Interactions

Teacher interaction in the informal context exhibited similar patterns as in the formal context and served the same conflict management purposes. Not only

did informal interactions reinforce divisions stemming from the formal organization of the school, but they served to further define the boundaries between French and English teachers.

Teachers' informal subgroups provided a kind of legitimacy to the presence of other differences between teachers. Interaction within and between these subgroups was guided by the traditional norms of the larger society. As long as informal divisions were firmly maintained, the norms of interaction were clearly defined, particularly with regard to the norms of language use. The maintenance of informal divisions thus helped to define the situation and brought relative freedom from role conflict to the group by keeping English and French teachers apart. This was most evident when the teachers were gathered in the staff room. However, when immersion and English stream teachers met accidentally in the hallways or had to interact in front of immersion pupils or further, when bilingual teachers who normally used English with each other met in the presence of immersion pupils, the situation became undefined and this was reflected in the ways that teachers used language at these times. Immersion teachers, in particular, seemed to experience conflict between their roles in and out of the classroom. The rules of language use in the classroom were clearly defined, but were at odds with the norms governing language use between anglophone and francophone teachers outside the classroom. It was here that the consequences of an inherent contradiction between the integrative social objectives and the English language maintenance purposes of immersion could be observed. In the absence of internalized new norms to govern the interactions of a mixed group, the available, traditional norms were adhered to with the result that teacher interaction failed to reflect the stated aims of the school.

Subgroup Structure of the Teacher Group

Ethnolinguistic group membership and the personal attribute of age deter-

mined teachers' membership in informal subgroups. Teachers' formal affiliation with one teaching stream or the other was not sufficient to result in membership in the first subgroup--made up of the older anglophone teachers or the second subgroup--made up of the younger immersion teachers. For example, Mary was an immersion stream teacher, but in all other ways was affiliated with the older anglophone teachers. Facility in the second language did not provide membership in both groups nor was it sufficient to bridge the gap between them. Rather, the manner in which language was used served as a marker of subgroup membership. A facade of unilingualism was maintained by the older anglophone group and this effectively controlled the use of language between the groups.

In order to gather data on the subject of teacher subgroups, the investigator recorded teachers' friendship patterns. These patterns included with whom they chose to sit at lunch and recess while in the staff room, with whom they interacted, under what circumstances, about what topics and in which language.

There were two main teacher subgroups. Group 1 was made up of Betty (4E), Gertrude (5E), Clara (6E) and Mary (3,4F). As Margaret did not join any of the other teachers at lunch or recess, but went home or stayed in her classroom, she is considered an isolate. Attitudinal differences may have played a part in her isolation since she did not share these teachers' views towards immersion program or other issues. When she did join the teacher group for meetings, it was usually Clara that she chose to sit next to. However, Clara, too, liked to be alone as she said, "to think".

Group 2, was made up of Jeanette (2F), Micheline (5,4F), Jane (2F), Lynette (6F), Lara (1F), Gwen (1F) and Beth (3,5F). A third subgroup formed from time-to-time when three of the part-time teachers were present (one gym teacher, the music teacher and the librarian). They often joined Lara, Gwen

and Beth in conversation, which left Jeanette, Micheline, Jane and Lynette as the core of the second subgroup. Neither the arts and crafts teacher, nor the second gym teacher joined with the others enough to be considered even temporary members of either group. They simply came to the school, did their jobs and left (Note 15).

The subgroup divisions also reflected background differences of the teachers. The four teachers in Group 1 all lived in the neighborhood of the school and had known each other many years. In Group 2, Jeanette, Micheline and Lynette came from francophone homes. Jeanette and Micheline were married to francophones. Lynette was unmarried and lived at home with her mother. Jane, Lara, Gwen and Beth were all married to anglophones.

The staff room was arranged so that three large tables were grouped in the center to form a square around which it was possible to seat about 12 people. The other end of the room was arranged with three groups of comfortable chairs placed around coffee tables. Most typically, Group 1 teachers selected places at one end of the large table. Jeanette, Micheline, Jane and Lynette typically formed the second group at the other end and side of the table, separated by several chairs from the anglophone Group 1 teachers. Jeanette, Micheline, Jane and Lynette were usually joined by Lara, Gwen and Beth.

The positions occupied by the two full-time specialists--the reading teacher and the French specialist--affected their subgroup membership. The remedial teacher shared the characteristics of ethnolinguistic group membership and age with Group 1. The French specialist was young and taught in French as did the immersion group of teachers. But these similarities were insufficient to give them subgroup membership and both teachers remained on the periphery of their respective groups.

The remedial teacher had been an elementary school principal and had chosen to return to direct pupil contact as a remedial reading teacher. Consequently, she may have been looked up to by all the teachers in somewhat the same way that the principal was, lending her both a degree of superiority and social distance from the other anglophone teachers. Moreover, her work brought her into contact with teachers in both streams as there was no French remedial teacher to help immersion pupils who were having difficulty learning to read. Thus, her contacts cut across grade and program lines in a manner unlike any other teacher. Like the principal too, she did use French from time-to-time, although she was not fluent.

The French specialist was in an anomalous position in the formal context and this was reflected in her position in the informal interaction context. Since she symbolized a program of instruction that immersion teachers were there to replace, she was in an awkward position with them. Either by virtue of conscious design or personality, she held herself apart from the other young teachers and maintained a professional but impersonal stance. She said she was not the type to get "chummy" and just liked to do her job.

Use of Language In and Between Subgroups

Subgroup membership determined the way language was used. Topic of conversation in the informal context did not influence the choice of language. Conversations between teachers did not differ in any way from what would be expected in a regular school. Teacher talk was seemingly about superficial matters although teachers who were close friends discussed personal matters. Cooking, sewing, holidays, family illnesses were typical topics of conversation. Anecdotes about children's classroom behavior were sometimes recounted to the whole group and seemed to be one of the few topics about which the teachers could interact as a group. They rarely discussed curriculum or teaching methods

and were never heard to discuss educational philosophy. Except when external issues intruded on the group, controversial social issues were never raised. Rather, they were avoided. The presence of an English language newspaper on the table in the staff room each day (brought by Jane) did not serve to generate conversation about current events.

Grade level affiliation did not result in interaction between teachers who shared the same grade unless they were members of the same subgroup. For example, Jeanette had four of Margaret's pupils in the afternoons but these two teachers were never observed to share information about these pupils. Although a lack of facility with each other's language may have been a factor, it was certainly possible for them to use one of the bilingual teachers as interpreter. Similarly, Mary, Beth and Micheline shared immersion grades three, four and five in a way that created daily opportunities for interaction. But interaction between Mary and Micheline rarely occurred despite the fact that the language facility was there. Instead, Beth acted as an intermediary, providing the necessary informational links between Mary and Micheline.

Group 1 teachers, who were often joined at lunch by the secretary, always spoke English amongst themselves. They were never heard to use French for any purpose--fun, emphasis, to show off their skill or, like the principal, to poke fun at themselves. Similarly, French was used, but less exclusively, by Group 2 teachers, especially when they were interacting as a group with Jeanette, Micheline and Lynette present. On a one-to-one basis, the bilingual teachers tended to use English, then switched to French when their conversation became part of the larger group. The most typical pattern of language use is illustrated here.

Gertrude (5E), Mary (3,4F) and the secretary were sitting at

one end of the table talking about bread-making. Lynette (6F) and Gwen (1F) were seated at the other side of the table and were talking in English. Jeannette (2F) entered the room and joined them. As she did so, they immediately switched to French. From this moment on, there were two separate conversations taking place, one in English, the other in French. There was a sense of sharp division between the two groups. Lara (1F) entered and sat close to the French speaking group. First, she recounted to all, in English, a classroom anecdote. For a moment, all attention was on her, then both groups resumed their conversations in their respective languages and Lara (1F) joined the French speaking group.

The formation of the third subgroup was observed when the part-time teachers were present. Then the pattern of language use most often consisted of Lara (1F) and Gwen (1F) and sometimes Beth (3,5F) switching to English for conversation in this temporary but third group. As the amount of English increased as an increasing number of these teachers joined the others, the impression one had was that Jeanette, Micheline, Jane and Lynette formed a solid, but now outnumbered, French speaking group.

Jeanette (2F), Lynette (6F), Gwen (1F) and Jane (2F) were chatting in French about holidays, sick pay, and the need to bring a physician's note after taking a day of sick leave. The secretary entered the staff room and interrupted with a question to Gwen, in English.. Gwen responded in English then resumed her conversation in French. The secretary then sat down next to Gwen, who was on the edge

of the group. Lara joined them and she, Gwen and the secretary talked in English. Jeanette, Lynette and Jane were still conversing in French. The librarian and the music specialist joined the English speaking group. Jeanette, Lynette and Jane could no longer be heard as the use of English had swept over the entire group drowning out their use of French.

It was rare for members of the two subgroups to interact verbally. When interaction did take place the pattern of language use tended to deviate from the pattern of use within each subgroup. Several episodes demonstrated that when interaction did take place, the traditional norms of the society regarding the use of language between anglophones and francophones prevailed and the use of English predominated.

Early in the year, Jeanette used English to ask Mary a question. This confirmed the observer's impression that Mary spoke no French at all since Jeanette's facility in English was poor. Although Mary was considerably older than Jeanette and Jeanette may have used English out of "respect for one's elders", it is now thought more likely that Jeanette knew of Mary's resistance to using French and used English for the sake of preserving harmony. It is also possible that Jeanette's use of English with Mary was a subtle "put down". Her use of English was like a pretense of playing by the old language use rules. By opting to use English, she demonstrated flexibility and pointed out Mary's inflexibility.

In another case that occurred late in the year, discussion was between the principal, Mary and Micheline. Micheline and Mary shared the grade four immersion class. The principal brought a child's report card to them in the staff room, because there were some comments in the margin that she could not read.

(Immersion pupils' report cards are made out by both teachers with one side for English taught subjects and the other for French taught subjects.) Micheline spoke in English, haltingly. This was the first (and only) time that Micheline was observed to use English. Mary responded in English. Mary then switched briefly to fluent French, then back to English, saying that the comments on the card could not possibly be hers because she "never touched the French side of the reports". From a purely practical point of view, this exchange would have been simpler had it taken place in French. The use of English in such situations served to confirm the impression that English was the dominant language in the school, that bilingual interaction was not part of the informal agenda.

There were instances in which the use of English in mixed situations was even less discreet, when it was used aggressively and rudely.

Jeanette and a francophone substitute teacher, who was taking Micheline's place, were seated on opposite sides of the table in the staff room. The librarian was seated nearby, but did not appear to be listening to them. Gertrude (5E) entered and addressed the librarian very loudly, in English. Jeanette and the substitute teacher paused with the interruption and then continued on. The two languages criss-crossed. The substitute teacher then left the staff room and Jeanette carried on in French with the French specialist who had just entered. Throughout, Gertrude continued to speak in English much louder than necessary, making any other conversation very difficult.

Beth played a mediating role between the subgroups and her behavior demonstrated the range of choice open to a bilingual person in a mixed situation. As stated earlier, she taught in French and in English and shared classes with Mary

and Micheline. Not only did she link these two teachers, but by doing so, provided a link between the cultural and linguistic extremes that they represented. The distance between Mary and Micheline was symbolic of the distance between anglophones and francophones in the larger society, especially if Mary's facility in French is taken into consideration. In several informal interviews, Beth said she felt obliged to try to ease the tensions between the groups. An episode took place in March which crystallized the informal divisions between the teachers and put Beth in an even more marked marginal position. In March, the teachers had a luncheon and in order to arrange the food, it was felt necessary to separate the three large tables in the staff room into two sections. One table was placed at the end of the room and two were left to form a square in the middle. After the luncheon, the tables were never returned to their original positions. Subsequently, Group 1 teachers chose to sit at the single table at the end of the room, while Group 2 teachers and the part-time teachers selected places around the now square central table. The result was a physical separation of the subgroups that underlined their existence. Interaction was blocked by the fact that some teachers now sat with their backs to each other. Previously, some interaction across the table and between subgroups had been possible and did occur sporadically as brief exchanges. Moreover, the previous arrangement of the tables had permitted Beth to play a mediating role between the groups primarily through her use of both languages and by the way she positioned herself to be able to speak to members of both groups. This was no longer possible.

Beth remarked to the investigator that whenever she entered the staff room she did not know where to sit anymore (now that the tables were apart). She said that she had to "make some kind of choice and hated the arrangement". She was often observed to sit with the Group 1 teachers although her age, immersion

stream affiliation and bilingualism clearly affiliated her with the second subgroup.

One day, the investigator entered the staff room and found Beth and Mary alone, seated at the large central table. The bell rang for recess. Mary got up, moved her books and other belongings to the single table at the end of the room as if to wait for her friends and to avoid contact with those she knew would choose to sit at the central table. She left Beth alone. It was apparent that Beth felt she had been forced to make a choice to move or to stay where she was. Aware of her dilemma, she looked over to the investigator, "who was seated on the other side of the room and made a gesture that said: "What can I do?" Her face took on a defeated but concerned expression and she stayed where she was.

The last episode in the previous section, which described the visit of the French consultant to the school, suggested the presence of changing language use norms. Similarly, Beth's behavior and use of language indicated that at least for some, the recent social changes in Quebec have had an effect and conscious efforts are being made by some to interact according to norms that promote linguistic integration. Beth was not entirely alone in her awareness. The following section on teachers' use of language in the classroom, illustrates that several teachers tried to use French with their pupils in a way that would give them the message that French is to be used elsewhere, besides the classroom, and between speakers of different languages.

Use of Language In and Out of the Classroom

The manner in which language use norms operated in the classroom is contrasted in this section with the manner in which language use norms operated outside the classroom. The previous section described the patterns of language use that occurred between teachers when they were isolated from pupils. Here

teachers' use of language in the presence of pupils is examined.

In the classroom.² Observation of each immersion class at kindergarten, grade one and grade two showed that teachers' use of language conformed very closely to descriptions of the immersion method of instruction. Both the pedagogical and social objectives of immersion programs were consistently supported by these teachers through their teaching methods, use of language and in their manner of interacting with the pupils.

All six classes in kindergarten, grade one and grade two were marked by an atmosphere of relaxation and ease in the use of French in the classroom. At kindergarten, the teacher suppressed the use of any language during periods of instruction ("Ce n'est pas le temps de parler." Trans: It is not the time for talk) but she showed that she recognized the children's need for informal interaction in their own language by permitting its use during free play. While teaching, she used short, simple phrases, gestures and materials to communicate meaning. The emphasis was on building the children's capacity to understand and on giving them the vocabulary they would need for future use in the classroom.

The major difference between the grade one and grade two classes was in the amount and complexity of French used by the children. Typically, grade one children would insert an English word for an unknown French word in the middle of a sentence and then carry on. Their efforts to communicate were not interrupted by the teacher, but instead she would repeat back or paraphrase their sentence in correct French when they were finished. Informal interaction between teachers and pupils was in French at all times. Neither the teacher, nor the grade one pupils lapsed into English even during one emergency--when a child returned from recess with a bleeding nose. The grade one teachers were not observed to state the language use rules explicitly.

Both grade two classes were marked by an atmosphere that was controlled and happy. Jane and Jeanette were observed to apply language use norms in an active way. Any use of English was met with strong expressions of disapproval and the pupils appeared well aware of the rules. One child slipped into English momentarily and corrected himself with an exaggerated gesture, covering his mouth with his hand. In another instance, Jeanette asked for the name of a type of dog shown in a picture. A child responded with "C'est une poodle" (It's a poodle). Jeanette replied: "On ne donne pas les explications comme ça." (One does not give the explanations like that.) She then described the physical characteristics of a poodle, in French, and gave the correct term for it.

There was little feeling that a second language was being taught in the grade two classes. The emphasis was on lesson content material. The classroom chatter was in French and the children used French as they came and went from the room. As they were putting on their snowsuits they appeared totally unaware of the fact that they were not speaking in English. Similarly, as they went outside and started to play, they appeared totally unaware when they switched over to English.

Both grade two teachers said that they tried to carry the "immersion environment" outside the classroom. Jane and Jeanette felt that for immersion to be truly successful, that the children's use of language outside the classroom should be controlled and the use of French enforced.

The consistency with which the pedagogical and social objectives of immersion programs were promoted in the early grades was lost at grade three. At this time, instruction in English was introduced for about forty percent of each day. When this amount of English instruction was added to the English language instruction of non-academic subjects (gym, Art, Music, Library), the

result was about a half day of teaching in each language. Subject matter and teachers became separated by language at this grade level. With the exception of grade six, immersion pupils had a different teacher for each half of the day. Since it was at grade three that the school became divided into streams and English was taught for half the day, the new rule implicitly given to the pupils was: English language maintenance is as important a concern as are the pedagogical and social goals of immersion programs. This was a dramatic change from the rules that governed the use of language in the classroom through the end of grade two.

From grade three on, support of the pedagogical goals of immersion programs was restricted to in-class activity for about one half of each school day. Support of the social objectives was left to the voluntary efforts of individual teachers and, in effect, surrendered to the interactional context of the school and to chance. Activity that was directed purposefully towards the achievement of immersion social objectives, was sporadic and token-like. For example, once a year, immersion grade five and six took part in an exchange day with pupils from a French school. For the most part, the emphasis of the school in the upper grades shifted to English language and cultural maintenance.

Grade three immersion, taught by Beth, was marked by an atmosphere similar to that of Jeanette's grade two. French was used consistently between the teacher and pupils. Beth used an inquiry method of instruction, participation was high, as was interest, and the general tone of the class was one of excitement on everyone's part. The classes taught by Beth provided a contrast to those taught by Micheline.

Micheline taught the French half of immersion grade four and five. The atmosphere of both classes was tense. Micheline spent much of her time maintaining control and stating and restating the language use rules. Continuous

talking in English at the back of the room, made it almost impossible for her to be heard unless she shouted. Comments such as "Je ne veux pas parler quand tu parles" (I do not wish to speak when you are talking). "Je suis fâchée!" (I am mad) were frequent. When she asked for a definition of "Une affiche" a pupil offered the English translation. Micheline replied: "La traduction en anglais ne m'intéresse pas. Vous faites ça avec les autres professeurs. Je donne les explications en français". (The English translation does not interest me. You do that with your other teachers. I give explanations in French.)

Micheline was hardly able to get past defining the rules of language use to the class to teach content. In order to retain the interest of the class, she changed pace every ten minutes. As the attention of the class slipped away, she would again change to another matter. In contrast, Jeanette had been able to hold the attention of grade two pupils for more than twenty minutes at a time. In Micheline's class, it was evident that the pupils seized the opportunity to thwart her efforts to teach. They broke the language use rules continually to do so.

Several factors may have contributed to the difficulties that Micheline had with her class. First, she was trained in France where there is great emphasis on the proper form of French. In Quebec, there is not only pride in the use of a non-standard form of French, but Micheline had to deal with pupils who were speaking French incorrectly. Their use of French clearly annoyed her and she corrected their grammar and interrupted them often. Although the pupils did not seem embarrassed at these times, it may be that they retaliated instead by an overall attempt to sabotage her efforts to teach, as she sabotaged their efforts to communicate.

Earlier, it was reported, that Micheline supplemented the social studies content of her classes with information about Quebec. She thought if French immersion was to be relevant that it should include such subject matter. These efforts, clearly in accordance with the social objectives of immersion programs, were at odds with her constant correction of pupils' speech which could not have been better designed to inculcate negative attitudes towards using French. This same class was observed while being taught by Beth in English during which the energy levels of the pupils were also high, but there was no attempt to undermine Beth's efforts to teach.

Grade six immersion was taught by Lynette in English in the mornings and in French in the afternoons. The immersion method rule that subject matter and language be separated by different teachers was not followed in this case as it would have necessitated hiring two half-time class teachers. Lynette was popular with the upper elementary pupils and was one of the few teachers to involve herself in extra curricular activities. She took charge of the school play and organized the skits at Christmas. She spoke of her pupils in a way that showed she knew them well and that they considered her to be a friendly adviser as well as a teacher. Lynette had stated a preference for using English and this was demonstrated in her language use with her pupils.

Lynette used English with her class at all times, except during that time in class specified as immersion class time. During the morning, there was no use of French at all, either before or during class. The atmosphere was indistinguishable from that of a regular English stream class. Prior to the French-taught afternoon session, the pupils were observed talking with Lynette in English as they approached the classroom. English was used as they entered the class and until instruction began. Then Lynette switched into French and after a few moments, during which the pupils were settling down and both lan-

guages could be heard, the use of French took over until the end of class time. Although Lynette had reported that her pupils much preferred their English half of the day, they did not thwart her efforts to teach and obeyed the language use rules by using French amongst themselves when working in small groups on art projects. At no time did Lynette have to reinforce the rules. They were evidently known and at some previous time, she had succeeded in obtaining the pupils' full cooperation.

Although the rules of the immersion program were not adhered to for Lynette's class, it did not appear that this procedure undermined the program. Because Lynette taught the same class in French and in English, these pupils were provided with a bilingual role model on a day-to-day basis. All other immersion classes were exposed to the separate use of language by teachers as well as by subject area, with the teachers generally trying to project a unilingual model to their pupils in order to promote the use of French outside the classroom.

French as a second language classes. The regular French as a second language classes, held by the French specialist were marked by an entirely different atmosphere and teaching method than that of the immersion classes.

The teacher, the French specialist, had a different group every hour. She arranged the classroom in traditional rows. The method of teaching emphasized grammar, verb drill, phrase repetition. Although the teacher spoke to the children in French, she used direct translation. This was in sharp contrast to the immersion method which ruled against the use of direct translation. The highly structured and fast pace of each lesson was broken by the use of recorded stories that were followed by question and answer periods to train for comprehension. There was no interaction between pupils during class time except, for example, when several pupils were asked to act out part of a story. There

was no informal use of French between the teacher and pupils except with a few pupils who had been in immersion at one time. It appeared that the English stream children in grade five and six did not yet possess enough facility to use French for informal communicative purposes. However, there were no attempts to involve these students in informal conversations that would demonstrate their French speaking facility in a natural way.

Out of the classroom. Language use in the immersion classroom contrasted sharply with language use outside the classroom which was governed by the language use rules of the society. The language use rules in the immersion classroom (and of course, in the English stream classroom) were clearly defined. In immersion classes, French was dominant and used by anglophones (pupils) to communicate with francophones (teachers) and while in the classroom, with each other. A few teachers tried to extend the use of French beyond the classroom by maintaining monolingual French language relationships with their pupils outside the class and even after they had gone on to higher grades. In order to do this, some teachers placed constraints on their use of language with other teachers in front of pupils and these were conscious efforts to reinforce the pedagogical and social objectives of immersion. However, the interactional consequence of these intentions was contradictory. What became observable to pupils in both streams was that some teachers spoke only French, some spoke only English and francophone and anglophone teachers did not speak to each other. Even teachers whom students knew to be bilingual were observed to avoid the use of language altogether outside the classroom.

Several factors combined to result in English predominating outside the classroom. Conscious efforts to create a "francophone atmosphere" were hampered by the prevalence of language use rules that governed the interactions of the anglophone and francophone teachers. These rules were clearly defined when

the teacher group was in the staff room and divided into subgroups. At these times, they were not observed by pupils. Outside the classroom and outside the staffroom, the situation lost such clarity of definition. Moreover, the language of authority of the school was English and even pupils in the earliest grades were subject to situational language shifts as they went to gym, music or library and were exposed at these times to the interactions that took place between their class teachers and the specialists.

The exclusivity of the "French only" language use rule of immersion classrooms broke down if a teacher had to relinquish control of the class to the principal. The following account illustrates this point and as well, shows the kind of language use avoidance pattern that typified the interaction of francophones and anglophones when they encountered each other in the presence of pupils.

The principal had been collecting the pupils' English Composition books for several weeks in order to look them over and select the best ones for display on a notice board in the hallway of the school. During the time that Micheline was instructing her class, the principal entered without warning. The class became quiet instantly. There was no verbal or non-verbal greeting between the principal and the teacher. Nor did the principal apologize for intruding. Her manner indicated that she felt she was fully within her rights to enter the class unannounced and the response of the teacher was one that indicated she had no say in such matters. Micheline simply stood off to the side of the classroom giving temporary command to the principal. The principal spoke in English announcing that she was not happy with the composition work of that class. She said that their work was the worst in the school. She singled

out a few children for particular mention. She was at once stern, serious, but ultimately friendly as she lightly cuffed one or two children on the side of the head. She departed, again without a word to the teacher. The teacher proceeded with the lesson as if the interruption had not taken place.

Several points should be taken into account in analyzing this event. First, it was an example of the authority that the principal held over classroom matters, an example of the fact that the principal holds the right to violate the classroom autonomy of a teacher. But in this context, it was much more. The intrusion served as an example of the official dominance of English in the school, that the voice of authority is English regardless of norms governing use of language during instructional time. The use of the official language, English, took precedence over both pedagogical and social immersion goals.

The principal's total lack of communication with the teacher may be viewed in the light of the principal's support of the social goals of immersion programs. The principal believed that her inability to speak fluent French posed a bad example to immersion pupils. She had stated that she went out of her way not to put an immersion teacher in a position of speaking English in front of pupils as she believed it was very important for teachers to project a consistent language use image to pupils. Consequently, her lack of communication with the teacher may have been intended to be supportive of immersion goals but the result was to give the impression that speakers of the two languages do not communicate at all. The pupils were aware that the principal was not very fluent in French but the investigator felt that a greeting in French to the teacher would have expressed her position better. The sum of the message conveyed was that in a bilingual context English is used by important people for important

reasons. Moreover, in the case here, the insistence was that English language skills improve.

There are no official rules in immersion schools governing the use of language outside the classroom between teachers or between teachers and pupils. The principal reported that the question of language use out of class had been raised at meetings of immersion school principals but that none were willing to tell teachers what language to use with each other. They felt their authority over teachers extended only to classroom matters. Therefore, out-of-class support of the social objectives of immersion programs was highly dependent on individual teachers' attitudes towards immersion programs and their degree of commitment to social goals as well as to pedagogical goals. For example, Jane and Jeanette thought that immersion teachers should use French with all pupils when in the school. They saw the use of French outside the classroom with immersion pupils as a way of supplementing in-class exposure and of promoting informal use of the language. By suggesting that French be used with all pupils, their purposes were two-fold: to project a consistent image so that all children would feel obliged to use French with them and to affect the language environment of the school so that English stream children would benefit more from attending an immersion school.

Jane reported that she tried to maintain a French language relationship with her pupils after they left her grade but that she was disappointed in the results. She said that by grade three the pupils knew that most teachers could speak English. It was Jane's opinion that the half day in English at grade three "told" the children that they did not have to use French in the school any more.

Beth tried to use French with her immersion pupils at all times. While going from the staff room to her class, she was observed to switch to French as soon as it was apparent that her pupils might overhear her using English. She, too, reported that it was difficult to maintain these French relationships. The pupils were aware that she taught in English, too. Thus, despite her good intentions, her conscious efforts and her attitudes that were fully supportive of immersion objectives it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for her to carry out her role in the way she thought best. Although she taught grade five in English, she always used French with Micheline (with whom she shared the class) so to this class, Beth acted as a bilingual role model.

The situation with Mary, whose class Beth also shared, was very different. Mary projected a unilingual anglophone image and was the teacher towards whom Beth directed most of her attempts to smooth over tensions between the teacher subgroups. In front of immersion pupils, Beth avoided the use of any language with Mary, but at the same time tried to maintain a friendly manner. However, the avoidance of any language use contradicted Beth's wish to see a breakdown of boundaries between speakers of the two languages. If she had spoken to Mary in English, she would have violated the immersion language use rules she fought so hard in other ways to support. If she had used French, she would have risked raising Mary's ire and exacerbating tensions. So the teacher most committed to promoting the social objectives of immersion programs seemed to experience the most intense role conflict and the most difficulty in achieving her aims.

In order to provide more specific data on the situational use of language and on the ways in which language use between teachers contributed to the overall attainment of immersion objectives, structured observation was carried out that focused on teachers' use of language in front of pupils in the hallways of the school, during pupil transfers to non-academic classes and during extracurricu-

lar activities.

A pattern of teacher interaction emerged from observations of 25 episodes of teacher contact in the hallways of the school. A typical episode is described here.

Lara led her class down the hall to the gym. As she did so, she walked backwards, facing the double line of grade one pupils. As they moved down the corridor, she led them in a French song. As they arrived at the gym door where the gym teacher was waiting, no interaction took place at all between the teachers as Lara turned to pass the group over to the other teacher. Lara's attention remained focused on the class. The gym teacher greeted the pupils in English, made certain that their lines were straight and told them to go into the gymnasium.

This pattern was observed so frequently that it assumed the features of a ritual. First, the immersion teacher used French with the pupils outside the classroom. This served several functions: it helped to maintain order by focusing the children's attention on singing and on the teacher. It suppressed their use of English outside the classroom. It undoubtedly blocked their ability to overhear any English spoken as they passed by other classrooms. All that ceased as soon as the two teachers met, at which time, the situation became an English language situation. No verbal or other form of communication took place between the teachers. There was nothing to indicate that they were, in fact, quite friendly. The fact that they always used English with each other in the staff room may have affected their interactions in this context. However, the gym teacher was able to speak French. Perhaps, if there had been a policy to guide them, these teachers would have used French in such instances.

Their lack of communication may have been intended to support immersion program social goals but it is difficult to see how this could have been communicated to the pupils.

This pattern of language use avoidance was rarely broken. Departures were rare, sometimes inexplicable. On one occasion, a child had forgotten his gym shoes and Gwen (1F) had a few very quiet words in English with the teacher about that. The fact that they were so quiet suggested that they were aware that pupils ought not to observe their teachers using English, but this was not enough to prompt the gym teacher to use French, which she could have done. Perhaps the gym teacher's use of language is explained simply by the fact that immersion goals were not her goals. Regardless, English won out.

On another occasion, when the kindergarten group was leaving the gym, the children were observed to be in some disarray as they disappeared down the hall with their teacher. The gym teacher called after her: "C'est ma faute, madame!" (It's my fault!). This departure from the usual pattern remained unexplained.

Extracurricular Activities

The manner in which extracurricular activities were carried out in the school provides a summary view of the climate of the school, and shows how interaction in the informal context impinged on the organization of the school. These activities played a small role in the school. However, their relationship to the attainment of immersion goals was an intriguing one. Extracurricular events could have been contained within the formal structure of the school as part of a policy directed towards the attainment of immersion social goals. The extent to which they did not do so deserves brief mention here.

The fact of the two teaching streams appeared to have greater consequences for participation in extracurricular events than would have been the case if

the social goals of immersion programs had enjoyed wider acceptance, and had the maintenance of English not assumed such importance. The formal divisions in the school dictated participation in several events which could have served to integrate the school as a functioning whole and which could have provided English stream pupils with more exposure to the French language than they received. For example, a French theatre group visited the school and the event was designated for immersion stream pupils only. The reason for this decision was first assumed to be the inadequate size of the gymnasium. However, the gymnasium was found to be large enough to hold both groups of pupils. In addition, the performance was largely pantomime, and what French was used was so explicit that very little French would have been needed to comprehend and enjoy the performance. Thus, the exclusion of English stream pupils from this event indicated that the goals of immersion programs were specific to immersion pupils and were not intended to carry over to the whole school. It is suggested that such a carry-over would have threatened the position of the English language and culture in the overall context of the school. Events such as this served to emphasize the divisions in the school. Although the English stream teachers felt that their pupils did not get enough French instruction, they did not seize such opportunities to suggest policy changes in the way the school operated. Gertrude and Mary were in the staff room and were overheard to say: "I guess we are not in on that theater stuff, eh? Just the immersion kids."

Superficially, this event was designed to promote contact between cultures, specifically between immersion pupils and French Canadian culture. The intention of the extracurricular event was to support the social goals of the program. In effect, it drew attention to the tradition that anglophones do not make cultural contacts with francophones, and that separation of the two groups is still the norm.

In contrast to the theatre performance held for immersion stream pupils, another event was held for both streams. In this case, an English movie was shown and everyone gathered quite easily in the gymnasium. Thus, when an event was in English, it was for the whole school. English predominated in the culture of the school as a whole. French was specific to immersion stream pupils.

The findings of this section reinforce earlier conclusions. In the immersion classroom the pedagogical objectives were well supported through the use of the immersion method of instruction and because the norms of language use were clearly defined there. Immersion social goals were not supported despite the positive attitudes and efforts of some teachers to create a francophone environment in the school. These efforts could only be extended to their own pupils and then with partial success since the children soon learned that most teachers spoke English. The teachers thought that this knowledge affected the children's willingness to speak French in any other context besides the immersion classroom.

When teacher interaction occurred in front of pupils, the norms of the society, which had been so clearly reflected in the teachers' interactions in the staff room, again came into play. In the face of role conflict, which was particularly evident when pupils were present, the teachers resorted to various conflict management strategies such as avoidance of language use or silence. Although these behaviors may have been consciously intended to support the social goals of immersion, the message they conveyed--that English is the dominant language and prevails in the culture of the school--was in fact the opposite, thereby undermining immersion program goals.

Students' Perceptions of the Use of Language

In and Out of School

This section reports the findings of the assessment of grade and program differences in students' perceptions of the use of language in three contexts: (a) in-the-classroom; (b) out-of-the-classroom; and (c) away-from-school.

The investigation rests on the premise that by observing teacher interaction and by being part of the interaction process themselves, pupils adopt teachers as language role models. As a consequence of this process, students' views of the ways in which language is used in a variety of situations in and out of school, are thought to be affected.

Both immersion and English stream pupils are included in this investigation since all students in the immersion school are exposed to the interactions of the teachers as a group and to their use of language outside the classroom. However, it was expected that immersion pupils' perceptions of the situational use of language would differ from those of their English taught peers because of the immersion pupils' exposure to the exclusive use of French in the classroom over a number of years. The major variables of language use perceptions for each of the three contexts were, thus, grade and program. However, two other variables are contained within grade for immersion pupils. First, immersion pupils are exposed to French all day in grades one and two and to instruction in French half days in grades three to six. Secondly, it is possible that students' perceptions of linguistic norms are associated with the cumulative experience of immersion over a number of years. No comparable variation exists for English stream pupils, however they too are exposed over a six year period to the interactional context of the immersion school.

Subjects

One-hundred and seventy-six pupils or 64% of all pupils in grades one through six in both the immersion and English streams of Park School participated in the investigation. There were considerable differences in size of the sample groups at each grade and between the two programs. However one-half of each immersion and one-half of each English stream class in grades one through four were given the test. To this end, every second name was selected from alphabetical class lists. It was possible to include larger numbers in grades five and six since classes at these grade levels were tested as a group with the students writing their responses to the questions posed. The absence of any English stream classes for grades one and two explains the significant difference in numbers of children tested in each stream. Girls outnumbered boys in the immersion grade by 22% while there was 10% fewer girls than boys in the English stream. In the total sample of 176, 44.8% were boys and 55.2% were girls. Table 3 shows the number of pupils in each grade and stream as well as the totals for each group who took the test.

Table 3

Student Sample Population for the Projective Test

Grade	Immersion Stream	English Stream	Totals
1	19	--	19
2	16	--	16
3	15	10	25
4	10	10	20
5	27	14	41
6	25	30	55
Totals	112	64	176

Materials and Procedures

The projective instrument that was administered to pupils consisted of 23 simple line drawings depicting situations in and out of school. The pictures were arranged in random order and presented one-by-one to each pupil. Pupils in grades one through four were tested individually while pupils in grades five and six were tested on a group basis. Individual testing was done in an empty classroom while group testing was done in the homerooms of each class. An assistant was used during all phases of the testing. French and English were used by the investigator and the assistant during the beginning of each testing session. An effort was made to be casual in the use of both languages without defining the situation clearly as being English, French or bilingual. The attempt was to approximate fairly closely the general pattern of language use in the school without drawing attention to language use as an issue. If a child lapsed into French during testing, he was responded to in French. However, this occurred only in one or two instances.

The test took about twenty minutes to complete with individual pupils while group testing took about one hour. Most pupils seemed to enjoy the task. They were asked two questions for each picture: "What is happening here?" and "What language do you think is being used?". The subjects were not instructed to choose English or French or both. It was thought that such a directive approach would result in doubtful responses falling into the "either/or" category. When a pupil asked if such a choice existed, the answer was affirmative. They were asked to give their reasons for their answers. Pupils' use of French, their expressions of doubt or confusion or certainty, their explicit qualifications of answers and all other pertinent information was recorded.

Analysis of grade and program differences in students' language use perceptions was performed on 12 of the original 23 pictures. The procedures used

to select these 12 were important with regard to the validity of the results obtained and are described in Appendix C.

Results

The results are presented here of grade and program differences in students' perceptions of the use of language in three contexts: in-the-classroom, out-of-the-classroom and away-from-school. Graphs are used to illustrate language use perceptions so that overall trends from one context to another, one grade to another and one program to the other can be ascertained. The data are best viewed in terms of patterns of response, keeping in mind that graphed percentages give the impression of larger differences than raw numbers would suggest. The statistical procedures were of course carried out on raw frequencies. Analysis of responses (using The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) to each picture included examination for significant sex differences. As sex differences did not influence the results this subject is excluded from subsequent discussion.

Figure 1 summarizes the language use perceptions by grade for each context and Figure 2 shows how these data break down by program. The results in these tables represent averages of language use perceptions for all four pictures in each context. Figures 3 to 15 present the results in detail with each figure giving grade and program differences in language use perceptions for each of the 12 pictures. A summary of statistical procedures performed on the data is found in Table 4 on page 161.

Overall results: Figures 1 and 2. The major finding to be discussed in detail is that out-of-class situations were overwhelmingly perceived by both immersion and English stream pupils as English language use situations. Figures 1 and 2 show the frequency with which pupils in each grade and program perceived the three contexts as French in language use. A majority of pupils

Figure 1

Percentage of Students to Perceive French
as the Language of Use in Three Contexts by Grade

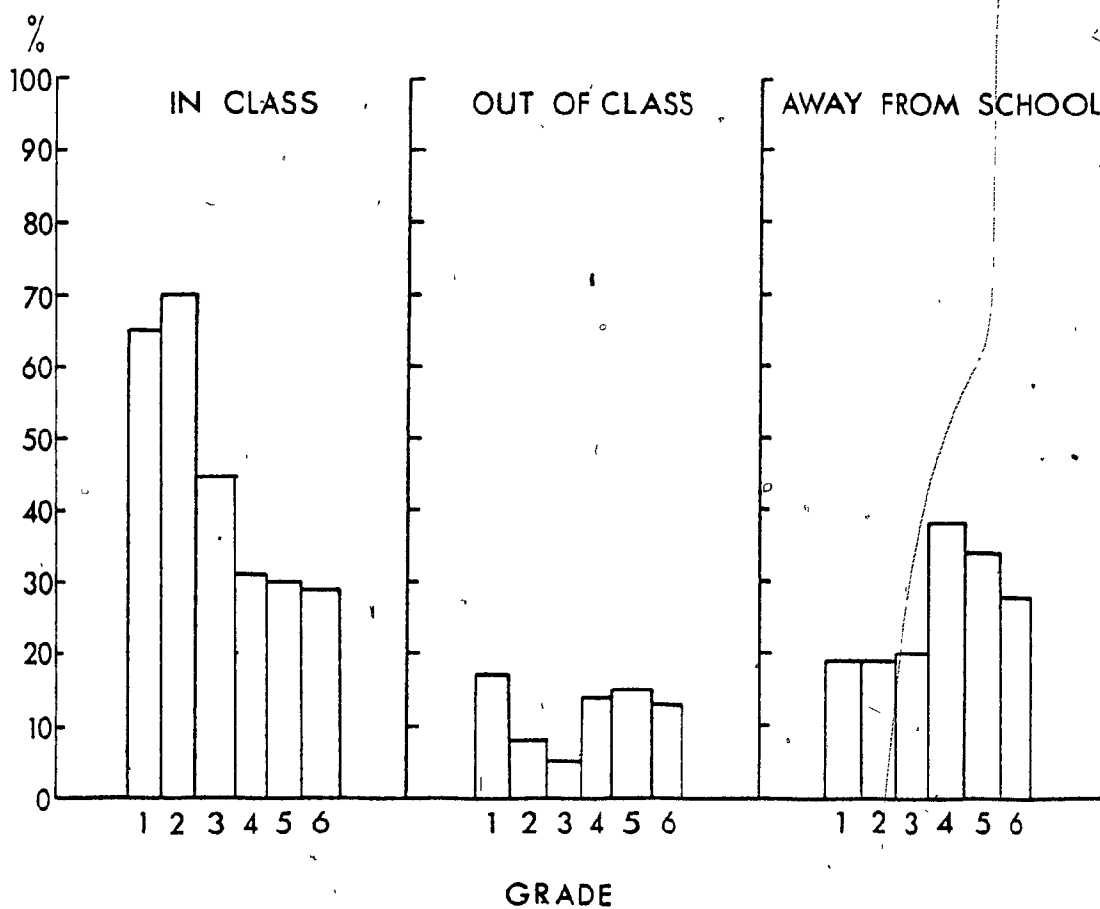
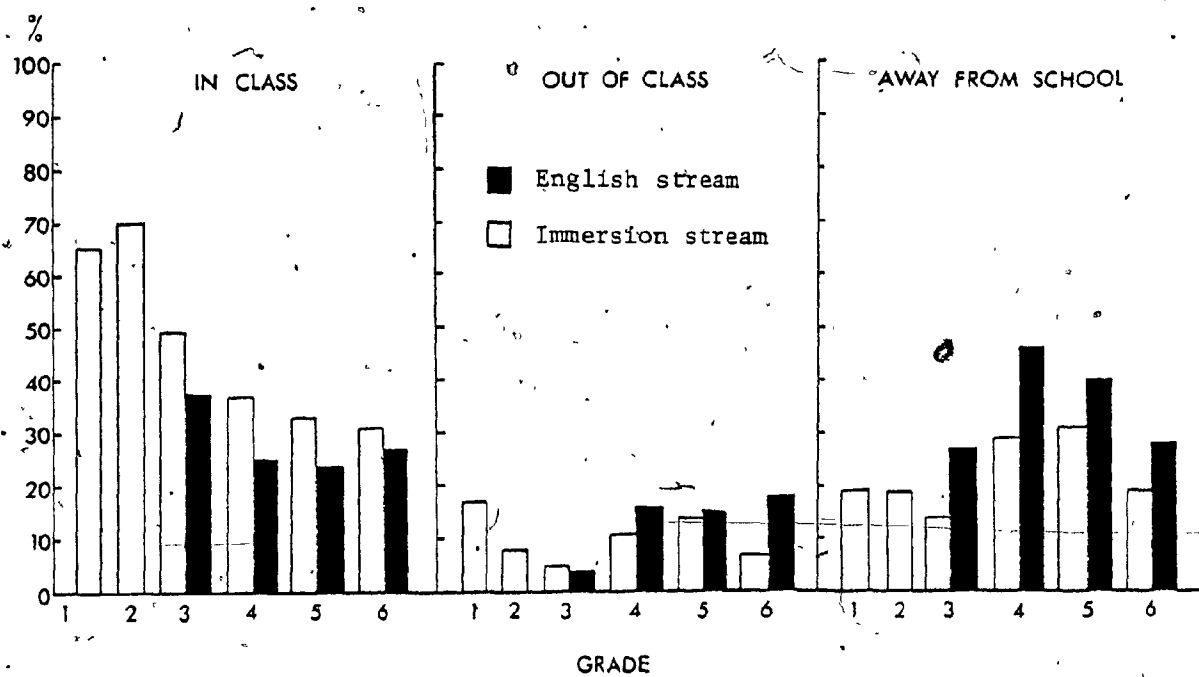


Figure 2

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Three Contexts by Grade and by Program



in grades one to three and about one-third of pupils in the higher grades perceived in-class situations as French. An average of 45% of all pupils in grades one to six perceived these situations as French. Immersion pupils generally perceived these situations as French more often than did English stream pupils. One percent of the sample thought that in-class situations would be marked by the use of English and/or French. The balance of language use perceptions are English.

In contrast to the results obtained for the first context, out-of-class situations were perceived as French in language use by 12% of the sample. There was little grade or program variation in pupils' language use perceptions for this context. Although only 2% of the sample thought that any of these situations would be marked by the use of both languages one picture stood out as an exception in this regard and will be discussed in more detail below (Figures 12 and 13).

With regard to language use perceptions in the third context--away-from-school--more pupils in the higher grades than in the lower grades thought that French would be used. Also, pupils in the English stream tended to perceive these situations as French more often than did pupils in immersion. In all grades combined, 26% stated that French would be used in this context. Seven percent of the sample perceived these situations as marked by the use of French and/or English.

In-class context. Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6 present grade and program differences in students' language use perceptions in each of the four situations representing this context. The findings for each picture reinforce the general pattern of results discussed in reference to Figures 1 and 2. Pupils in grades one and two perceive French to be used in in-class situations about twice as

Figure 3

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 1 by Grade and by Program

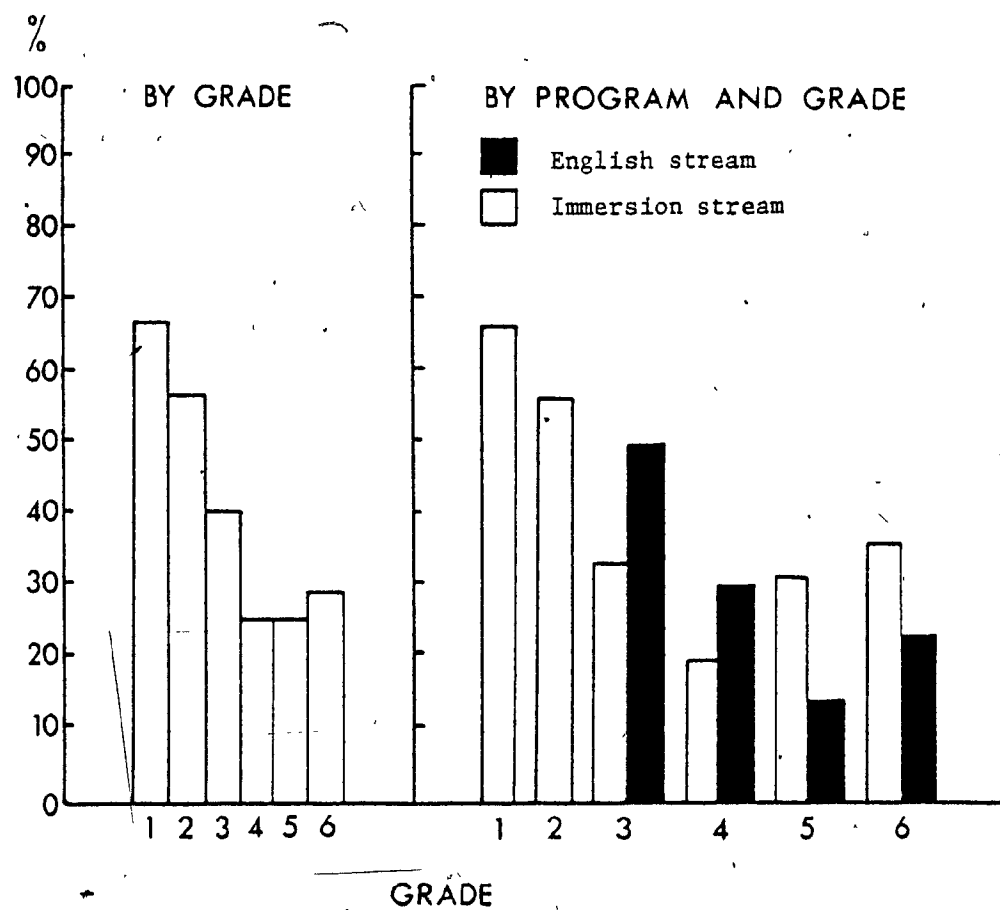
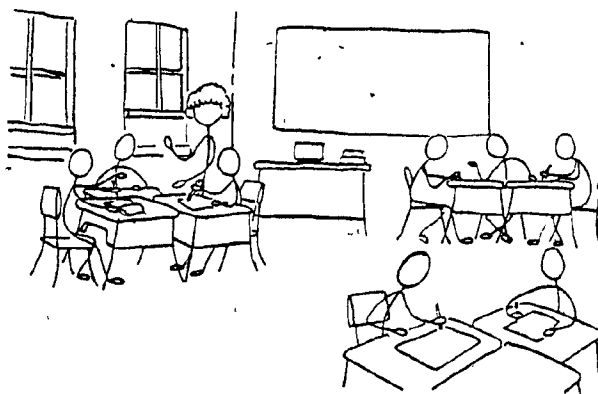


Figure 4

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 2 by Grade and by Program

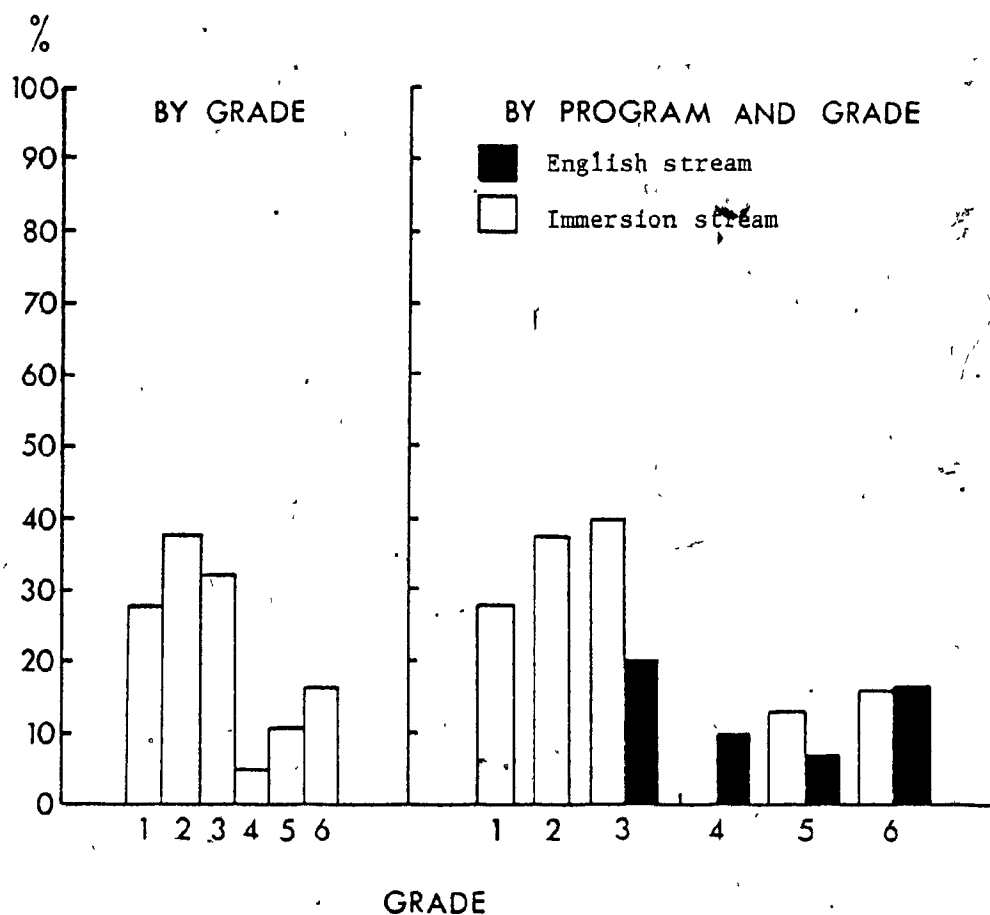
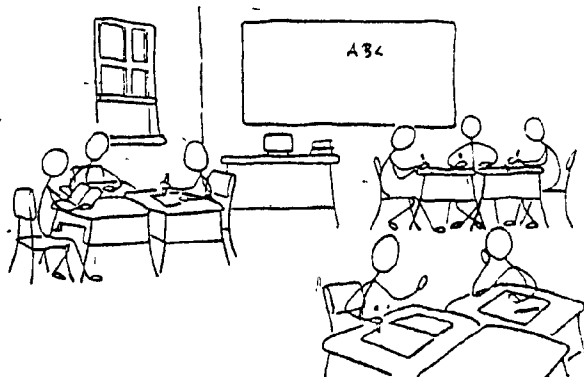


Figure 5

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 3 by Grade and by Program

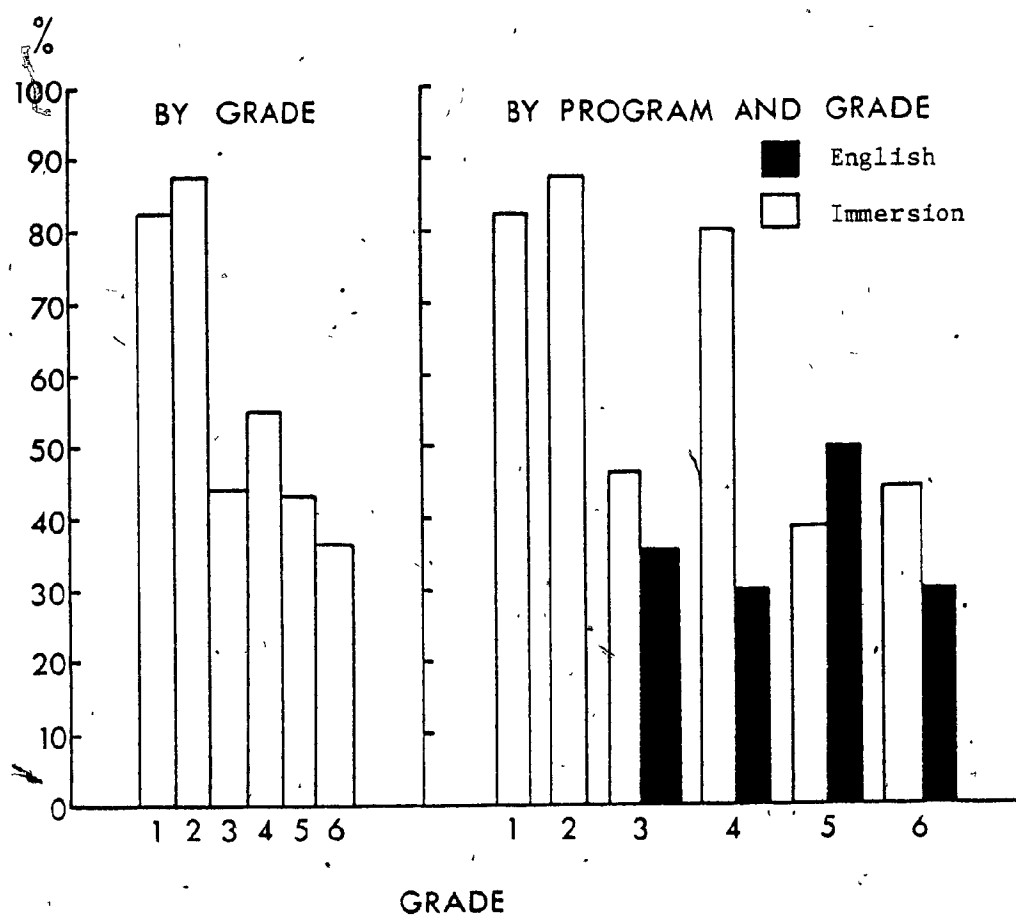


Figure 6

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 4, by Grade and by Program

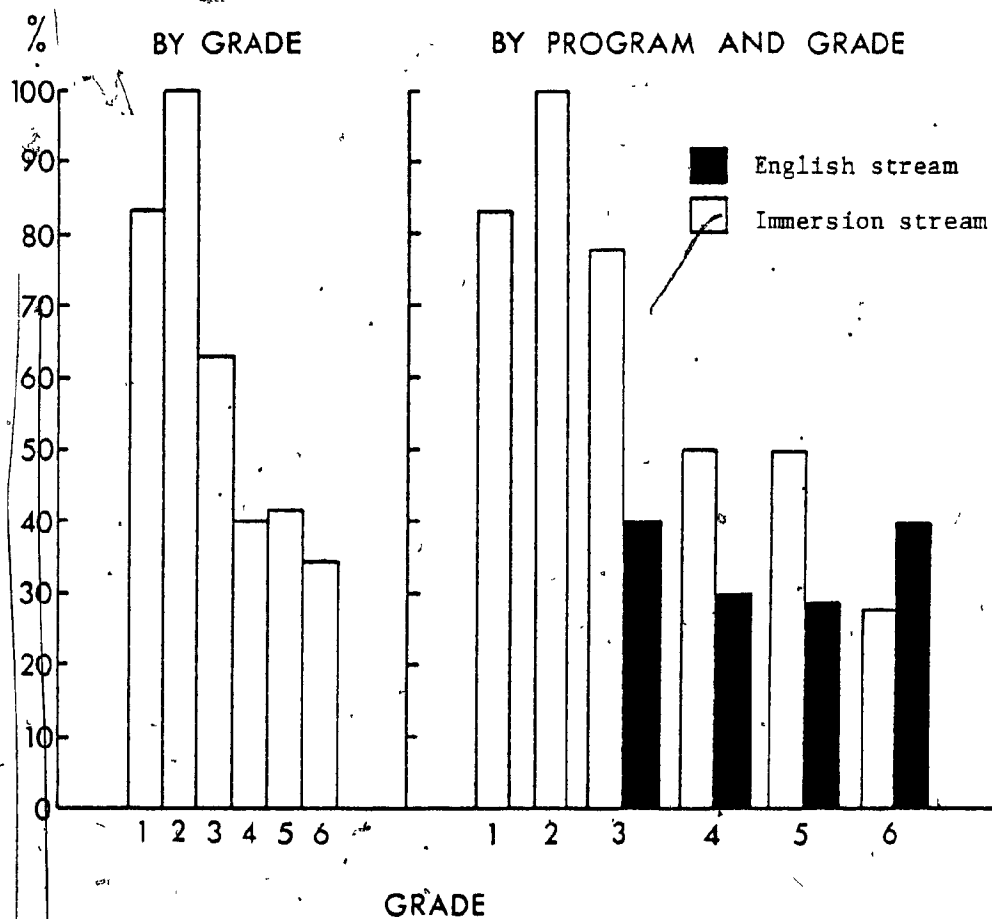
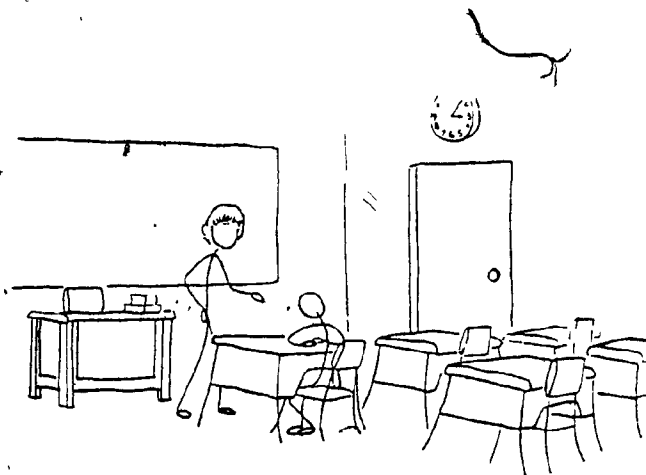


Table 4
 Chisquare Values for Grade and Program Differences
 in Language Use Perceptions

Context	Figure	<u>Grade</u>		<u>Program</u>	
		X ²	df	X ²	df
In-Class	3	21.7**	10	5.2	2
	4	17.2	10	2.1	2
	5	21.4**	10	8.8**	2
	6	35.3***	10	12.8**	2
Out-of-Class	7	13.6	10	2.7	2
	8	32.8***	10	1.6	2
	9	11.3	10	8.5*	2
	10	14.4	10	.28	2
Away-from-School	11	9.2	10	8.7*	2
	12/13	11.1	10	11.6**	2
	14	33.5***	10	22.3***	2
	15	17.8	10	2.4	2

Note:

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

often as do children in grades 4, 5 and 6. The greatest drop in the perceptions of French language use occurs between grade two and grade three in Figures 5 and 6. A similar drop in French language use perceptions occurs between grades three and four in Figures 3 and 4. Grade level differences were significant for Figures 3, 5 and 6 (see Table 4). The frequency with which the situation in which the teacher was out of the room (Figure 4) was viewed as one in which French would be used was 24% below that obtained for the picture showing the teacher in the classroom (Figure 3). During testing, many pupils said that English would be spoken because the teacher was out of the room.

Figures 5 and 6 were meant to depict one-to-one in-class situations as contrasted with the group situations of Figures 3 and 4. More pupils saw the one-to-one situations as marked by the use of French; **however**, grade differences were similar to those obtained in response to the pictures showing the class as a whole.

Program differences for each in-class situation were not as consistent as were grade level differences although significant program differences were found in the responses to Figures 5 and 6 (See Table 4). Immersion pupils generally perceived these two situations as French more than did English stream pupils. However this was not the case in grade five for Figure 5 and for grade six for Figure 6 where English stream pupils viewed these situations as French more often than did immersion pupils.

Out-of-class context. Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 present grade and program differences in students' perceptions of the use of language in situations depicting out-of-class, but at school, situations. Twelve percent of all pupils thought French would be used in this context and this overall finding is reflected in Figures 7, 9 and 10. The responses to the picture which showed two

Figure 7

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 5 by Grade and by Program

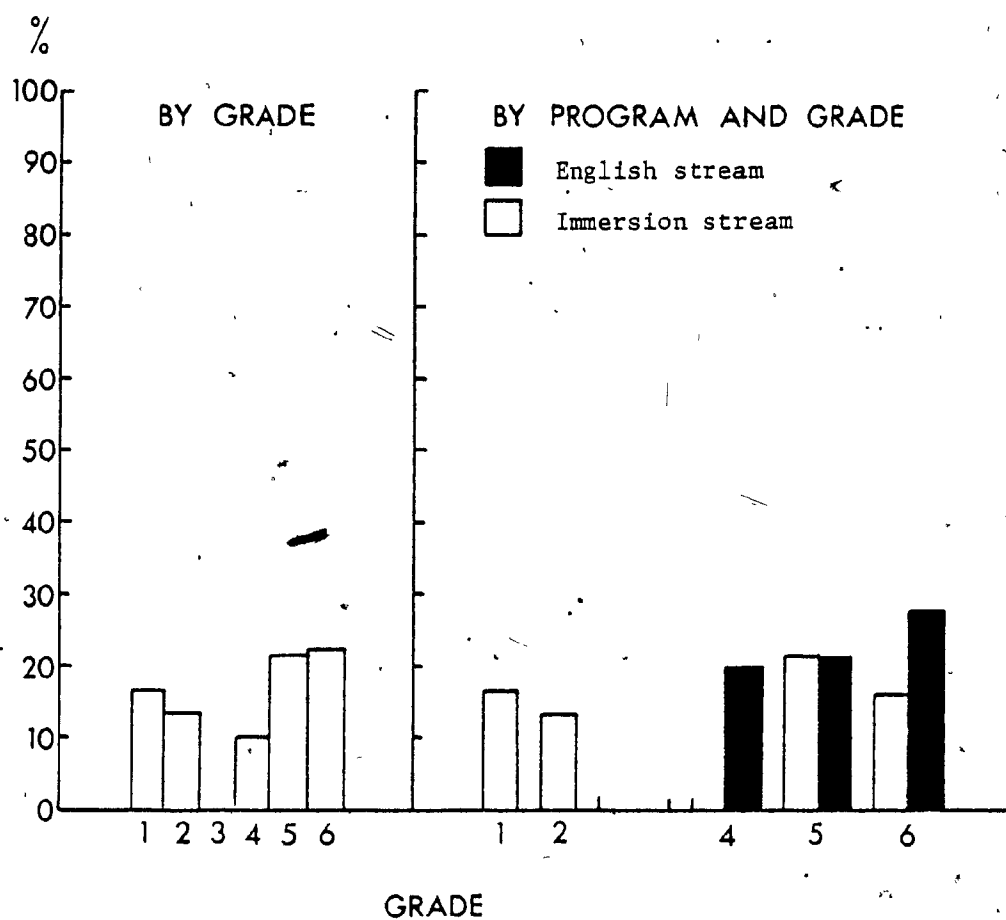
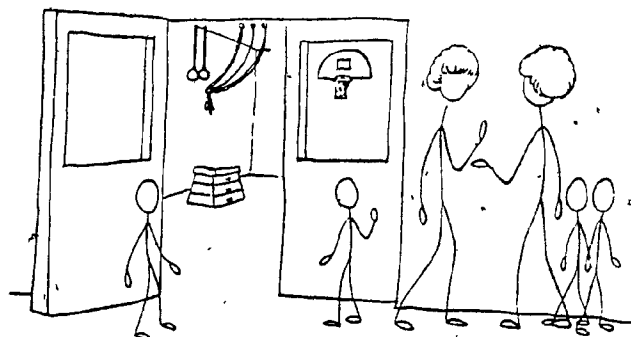


Figure 8

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 6 by Grade and by Program

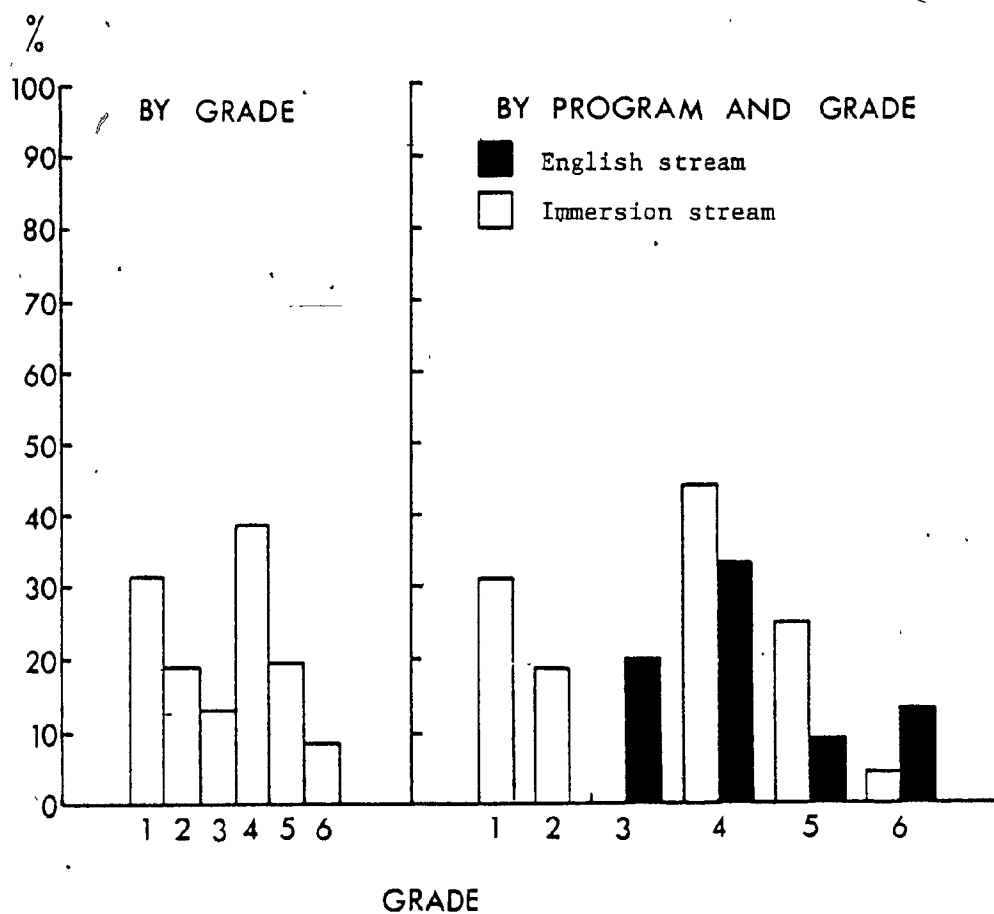
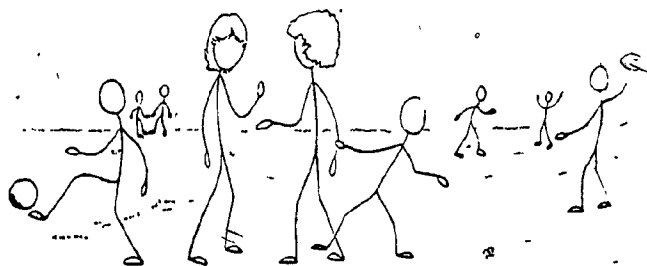


Figure 9

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 7 by Grade and by Program

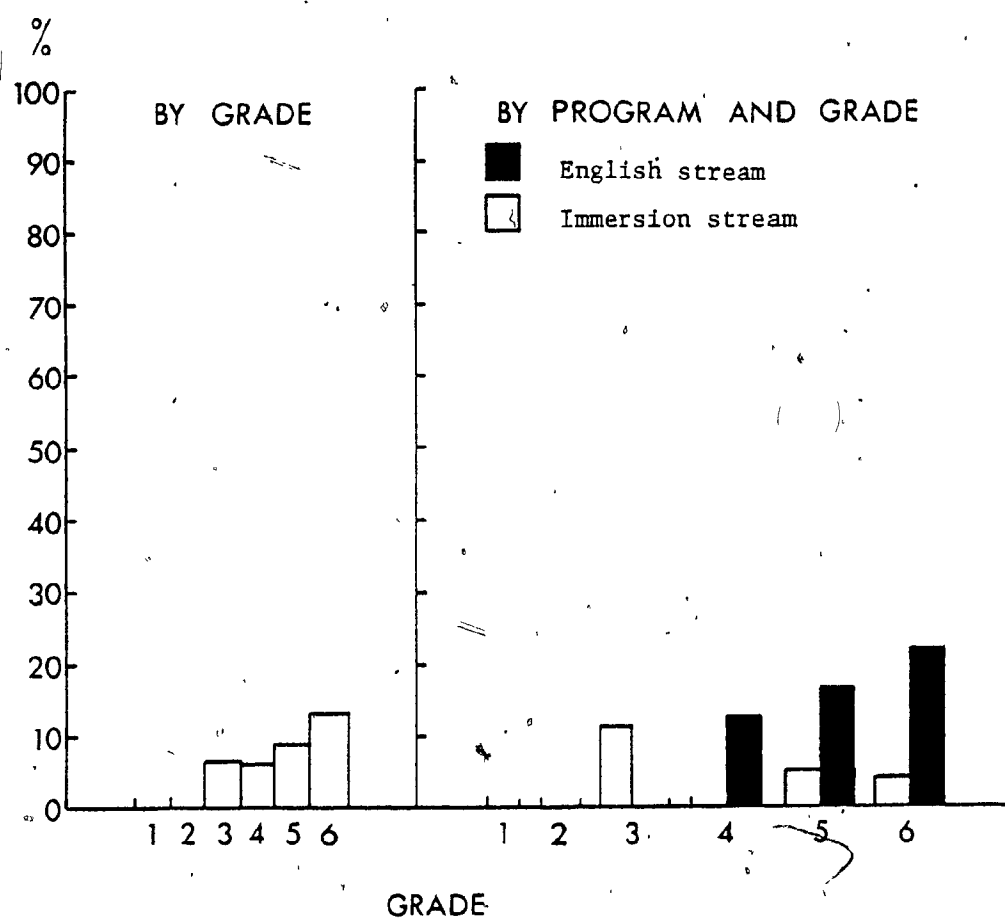
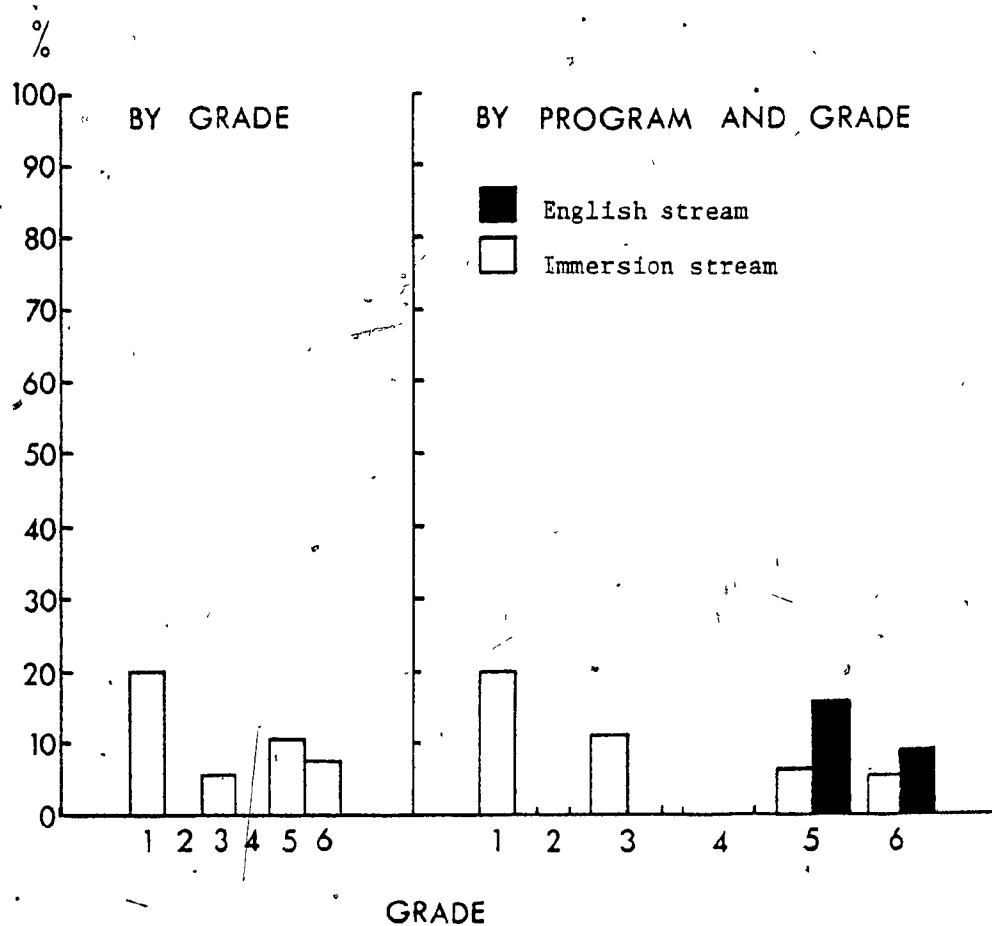


Figure 10

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 8 by Grade and by Program



teachers talking while on yard duty (Figure 8) deviated from the others in that about 21% of students said that French would be spoken here. Significant differences were present for grade with 8% of grade three subjects saying French would be used by the teachers and 39% of subjects in grade four giving this response (see Table 4). However, program differences were not significant, although more immersion pupils than English stream pupils in grade four said that the two teachers would be speaking French.

Figures 9 and 10 suggest that there is a slight tendency for English stream pupils to perceive these as French language situations more often than immersion pupils. These differences are significant only for Figure 9 however.

Very few subjects saw any of these situations as marked by the use of English and/or French. Figure 8 elicited the highest number of such responses (4.6% giving it as compared to 2.4% or less for the other pictures in this context).

Away-from-school context. Figures 11, 12 and 13, 14 and 15 present the grade and program language use perceptions for each away-from-school situation. Since it was not possible to develop a set of pictures that could be considered representative of the total social context away-from-school, each picture represents a different out-of-school context--the home, a community recreation center, contact with the law on the street, the adult, male, world of work. Each subcontext elicited a different pattern of language use perceptions.

There was very little grade level difference in the number of subjects who said that French would be used in the home situation (Figure 11). However, program differences were significant with English stream pupils in grades 3, 4, 5 and 6 seeing this as a French situation more often than their immersion taught peers (see Table 4). However, this finding was reduced with

Figure 11

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 9 by Grade and by Program

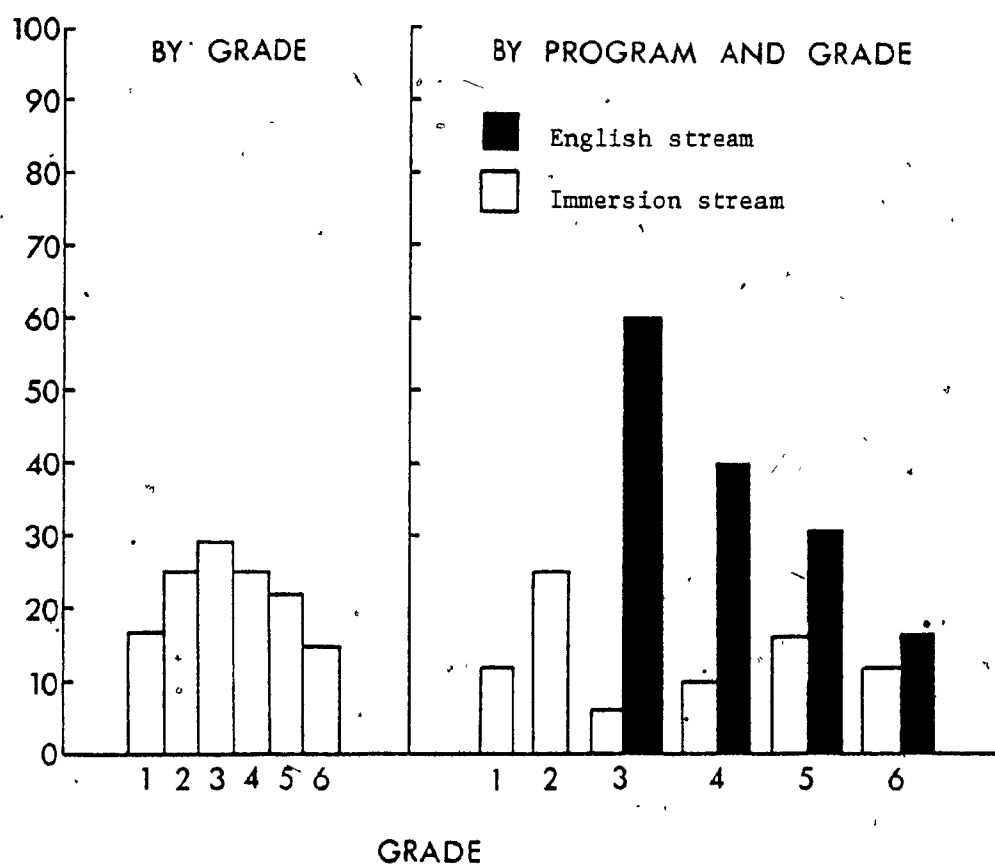
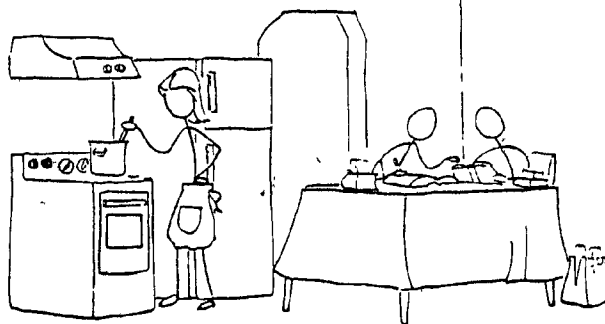


Figure 12

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 10 by Grade and by Program

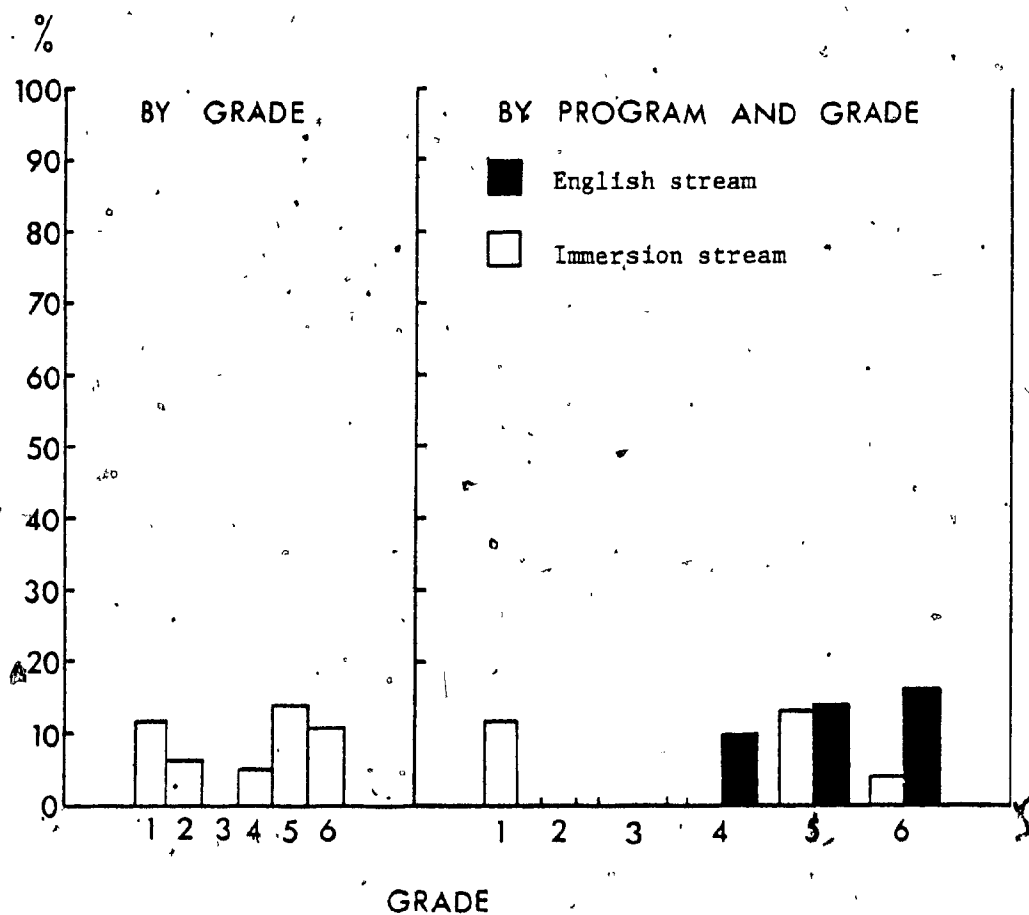
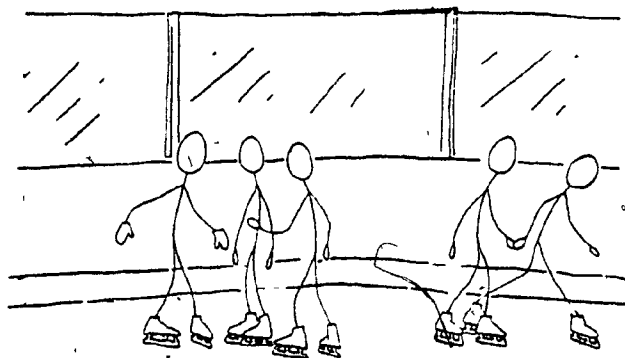
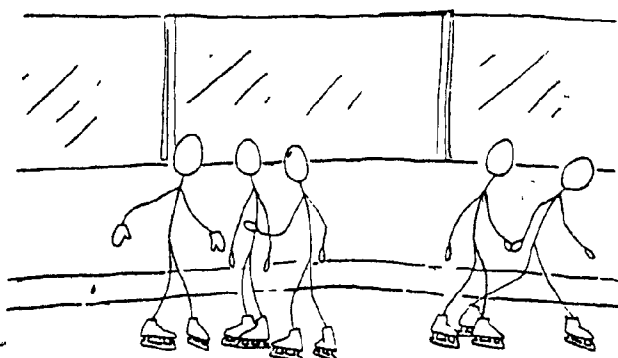


Figure 13

Percentage of Students to Perceive French and/or English
as the Language of Use in Picture 10 by Program and Grade



BY PROGRAM AND GRADE

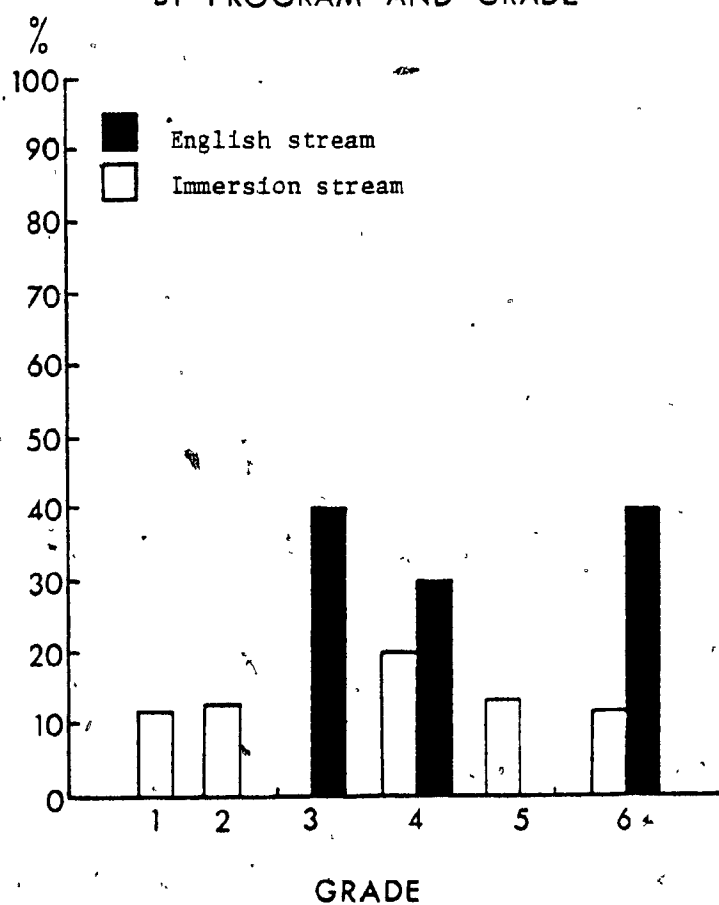


Figure 14

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 11 by Grade and by Program

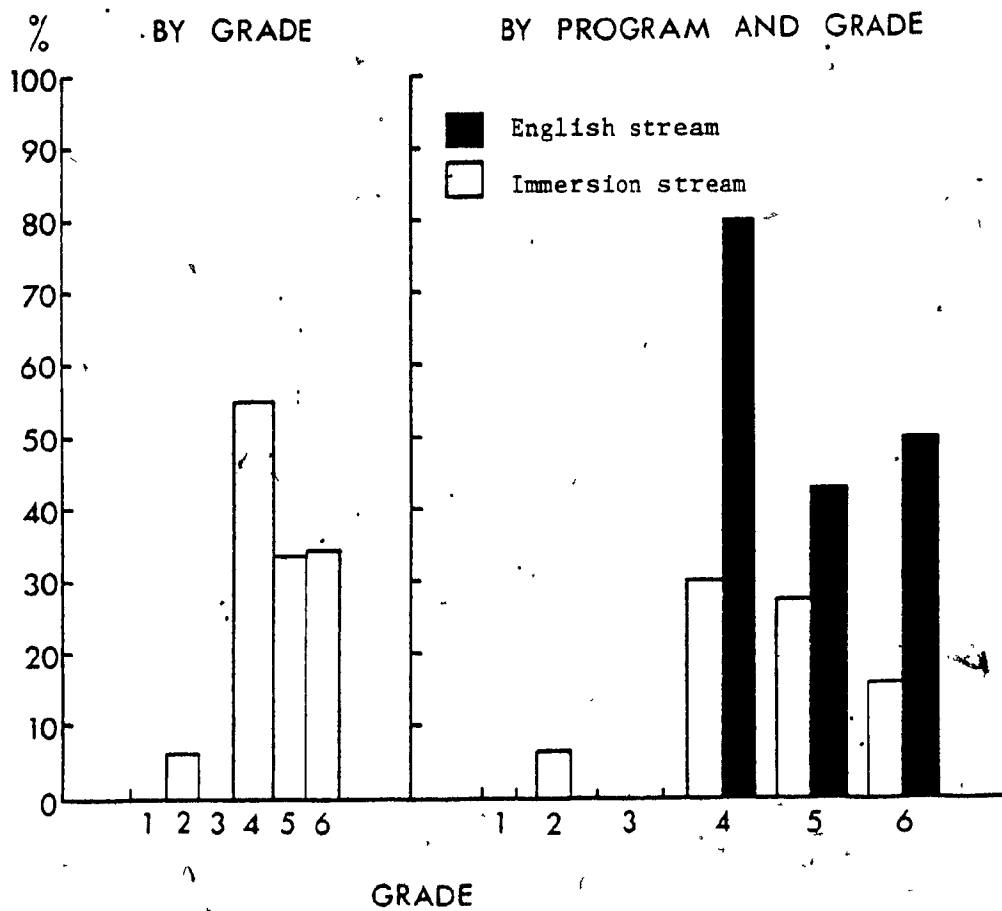
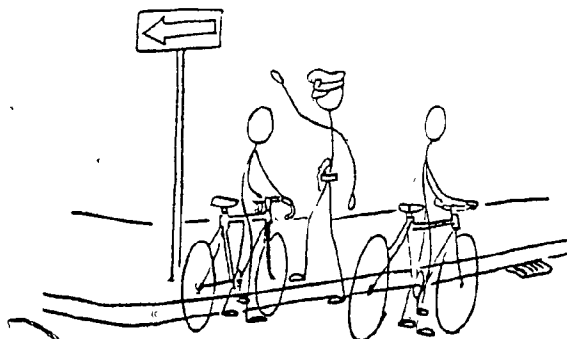
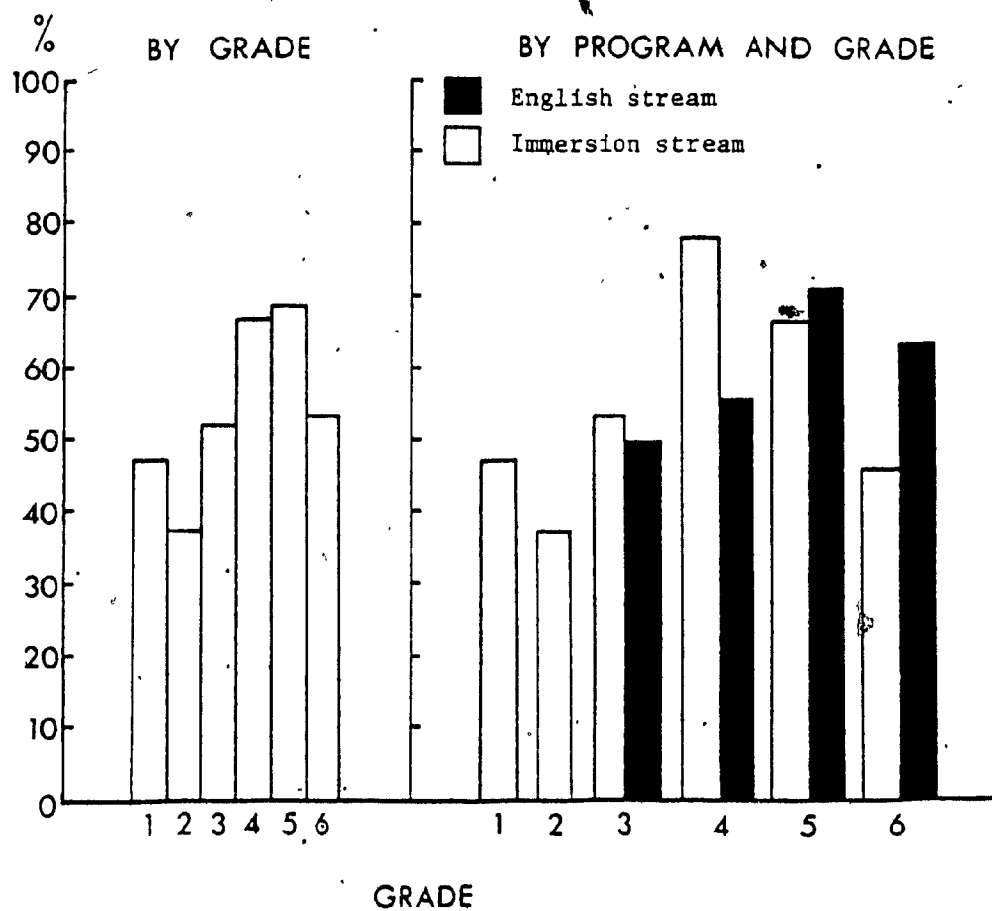
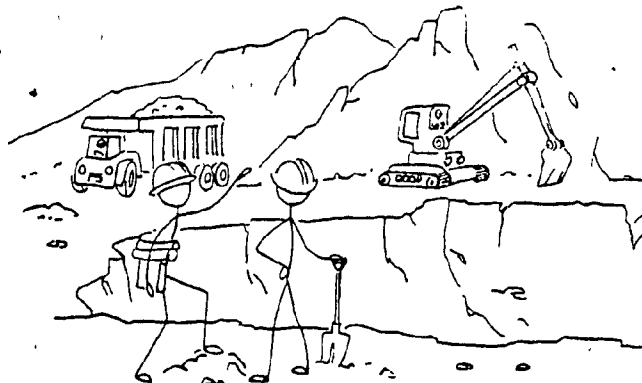


Figure 15

Percentage of Students to Perceive French as the Language of Use
in Picture 12 by Grade and by Program



each successive grade, nearly disappearing by grade six.

The responses to the picture showing children skating at the arena (Figure 12) deviated markedly from the others in this context. First, only about 8% of all subjects thought that French would be used in this situation but program differences were significant here with English stream pupils in grades 4, 5 and 6 saying this would be the case more often than did immersion pupils. More importantly, 29.7% of English stream pupils and 11.5% of immersion pupils said that English and/or French would be used in this situation. These responses are presented in an additional Figure 13 because of their exceptional status. They are in dramatic contrast to the frequency with which pupils perceived any other picture as bilingual (4.8% or less). However, none of the pupils in the English stream at grade five gave this response and this finding remains unexplained.

About 40% of subjects in grades 4, 5 and 6 thought that French would be used in the policeman scene (Figure 14) while fewer than five percent in grades 1 to 3 thought this would be the case. This difference was significant as were program differences since English stream students again far outnumbered their immersion taught peers in seeing this as a French language situation.

About half the subjects perceived the work situation (Figure 15) to be one in which French would be used. Again, pupils in the higher grades were more inclined to see this situation as French than were pupils in the lower grades. Program differences did not reflect the same pattern as in previous figures. Although grade and program differences are unremarkable for this picture it must be noted that this situation was perceived as a French language situation much more often than any of the others in this context, suggesting at least that the language of construction labor (as possibly contrasted with professional or

white collar occupations) is perceived by anglophone pupils in Quebec as French.

Discussion. The findings obtained with the projective instrument must be interpreted with caution. They are best seen in the light of observational data reported earlier since the purpose of using the instrument was to try to obtain a concrete reflection of the influence of interactional processes on students' perceptions on linguistic norms.

The results appear to confirm the observation that language use in the classroom in Park School constituted a clearly defined situation. This was particularly evident for grades one and two which were all day immersion. The reduction, at grade three, in the number of subjects perceiving in-class situations as French may reflect the fact that immersion programs introduce a half-day of English at this level. When responses to the picture in which the teacher was out of the classroom (Figure 4) are compared to those obtained for the picture showing the teacher in the class (Figure 3), it is suggested that the presence of the teacher is required for in-class situations to be defined as French in language use. This finding was unexpected, since pupils in grade two, especially, had been observed to use French informally with each other whether or not the teacher was present.

Program differences in language use perceptions for in-class situations do not reflect the extent of actual curriculum difference between programs, however, immersion pupils did perceive these situations as French more often than did English stream pupils. As English stream classes only receive about an hour of French per day, their language use perceptions may be affected generally by the interactional context of the school or by their knowledge about immersion programs. Unfortunately, we do not have English stream data for grades one and two to make the comparisons in this regard.

It was thought that students' perceptions of language use outside the classroom might be very mixed reflecting their perception of these situations as linguistically ambiguous. This was not the case. Language use perceptions in each situation showed that students perceived the out-of-class context as English.

Despite the efforts of a few teachers to promote immersion program goals by using French with immersion pupils outside the classroom, by trying to maintain French language use relationships with former pupils and by protecting immersion pupils from the knowledge that the teachers could speak English, the test results gave no indication that these efforts influenced pupils in the desired ways. Pupils did not perceive out-of-class situations as French or as bilingual. Perhaps more influential was the fact that teachers seemed to experience the most role conflict outside the classroom. Immersion teachers, in particular, were caught between immersion language use rules and "rules" that had been constituted by the interactions of the teachers in the school, which were based on societal language use rules. In the face of conflicting norms and as part of the effort to manage conflict teachers were repeatedly observed not to use any language at all in front of pupils, giving the impression that francophones and anglophones did not speak to each other at all. The fact that many students conceded that two teachers outside the school building might be using French (Figure 8) while two inside were viewed as using English, raises the question as to whether or not students saw the use of French between teachers in the school as suppressed. Certainly, they saw English as predominant.

There was a greater tendency for English stream pupils than immersion pupils to perceive out-of-class and away-from-school situations as French.

There are several possible explanations, although all are tentative.

Immersion pupils are exposed to daily shifts in the use of language over a six year period. They see language change by person and by situation continually. They are not exposed to bilingual situations or to teachers who use language bilingually, although the goals of the program are to make the student bilingual and to promote linguistic integration. Through the inherent contradictions contained in teacher interaction immersion students may be taught more than English stream pupils about the "two solitudes" reality of the society in which they live. English stream pupils, for their part, may be more acutely aware of the "French Fact" of Quebec. Their relative incompetence in French may cause them to "hear" it more when it is spoken, leading them to perceive more French to be used than their immersion taught peers. Immersion pupils, understanding it, may not hear it in the same distinctive way. Analysis of program differences of the French and/or English responses contained in Figure 13 suggests that immersion pupils do not "see" groups as ethnolinguistically mixed or as characterized by the use of both languages.

A comment is due in reference to Picture 12, "the world of work" (Figure 15). The intention was to portray adults in a status relationship at work in order to assess students' perceptions the rules of language use in such a relationship. Analysis of subjects' spontaneous comments during testing showed that they did not respond to the separate elements of "boss" and "worker" but rather reacted to the work situation itself with over 50% of subjects seeing the situation as a whole and as French. It is suspected that this picture was responded to in terms of social class, an issue not intentionally explored in this study. Since most of the subjects came from white collar or middle professional families, a work situation depicting professional working relationships might have elicited very different language use perceptions.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study dealt with teacher interaction in an immersion school in Montreal. The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which the interactions of an ethnolinguistically mixed teacher group influence the attainment of social objectives of immersion programs. The influence of teacher interactions on students' perceptions of language use norms was also explored. Ethnographic methods were used to investigate the patterns and social functions of teacher interaction in a typical immersion school staffed by nine immersion teachers and four English stream teachers. Projective techniques were used to assess the language use perceptions of 60% (N=176) of the students, selected from each of six grades and from both the immersion and English streams.

The first chapter reviewed the socio-historical background of the language issue in Quebec in order to describe the social climate that prevailed when immersion programs first began and to describe the social context in which the present study was carried out. From the standpoint of this study, important changes have taken place in Quebec over the last 20 years in the relationship between the anglophone and francophone groups. Francophones have gained political power and control in economic, educational and other spheres of the society. Francophones have also come to occupy important positions previously held by anglophones. An important and related change has taken place in the rules of language use between members of the two groups. Although Quebec society is still in transition and shifts in socio-economic power are not yet complete, the traditional patterns of language use have been disrupted. Whereas in the past the English language and culture predominated in intergroup contact, despite the anglophones' numerical inferiority, now anglophones increasingly find that the use of French is a necessity for living and working in the province.

The question of change in the traditional pattern of language use between francophones and anglophones was reflected from the outset in the social objectives of immersion programs. A stated aim of immersion programs was to improve relations between the groups through the development of bilingualism in anglophone children. As the present study illustrates, in practice the stated social objectives of immersion programs were undermined by patterns of teacher interaction and this was also evident in pupils' perceptions of linguistic norms.

The theoretical premises of this study were also set forth in the first chapter. These premises are derived from conflict theory in interethnic group relations, from theory of interaction in formal organizations, and from previous studies of teacher groups. According to conflict theory, interaction between members of different groups is thought to work towards the maintenance of social equilibrium. Social change is resisted as is its attendant disruption of equilibrium (Paulston, 1977b). When a member of an organization is faced with conflicting norms and experiences role conflict, he/she has to make a choice as to which set of norms will be complied with and which set will be violated. When normative violations inevitably occur, then the cohesion of the entire group is threatened and the risk of open conflict is heightened. Reactions then tend to counter this threat and may act to protect the harmony of the group but may not be directed towards the attainment of formal organizational goals that are ostensibly shared by all (Johnson, 1960). These premises are relevant to the study of teacher interaction in an immersion school--a school in which the stated social objective is to foster linguistic integration--because the functioning of an organization depends on its ability to adapt to changes in the organization. They are relevant because it is important

for elementary school teachers to believe that all members of the teacher group share the same perspectives towards educational goals, to believe that they are cooperative people and to perceive the teacher group as an harmonious one. In particular, teachers feel they must project a cohesive image to outsiders (Corwin, 1965; Lortie, 1975).

In the present study this theoretical perspective was coupled with the use of ethnographic methods (Mehan, 1978; Wolcott, 1970) as described in the second chapter. This approach permitted the investigation of a number of interacting variables, sometimes referred to as the "teacher variable". This term is an oversimplification since interest was given in this study to the nature of the relationship of teacher interaction to the broader social context and to the way the particular organization of the immersion school is an important determinant of teacher interaction patterns. Teacher interaction was seen as one part of the bilingual education process, reflecting societal processes on the one hand, and encroaching on educational outcomes on the other.

Four questions were explored in this study. The first three questions related to the patterns and functions of teacher interaction. The fourth question concerned the influence of teacher interaction on students' views of language use.

First, it was expected that teachers would be found to experience role conflict due primarily to an absence of shared perspectives towards immersion programs. The source of conflict was thought to lie outside the school, however. Since teachers in the immersion school were members of different ethnolinguistic groups, they were also thought to be subject to conflicting sets of norms. It was anticipated that societal norms governing the relationship of anglophones

to francophones would be at odds with professional norms that promote harmony in teacher groups. Moreover, these differences were thought to be reflected in the school and accentuated by the fact that the immersion school was divided into teaching streams that paralleled social divisions between the groups in the larger society.

The second and third questions pertained to the social functions of teacher interaction in the formal and informal contexts of the school respectively. In each context, it was expected that patterns of teacher interaction would be found to have a conflict management function because of teachers' role conflict and because of the potential for intergroup conflict caused by inherent divisions in the school.

Finally the study investigated whether teachers' interaction patterns and use of language would be reflected in students' perceptions of language use norms in the school and would possibly influence the development of students' general language use norms.

The major finding in relation to the first three questions was that teacher interaction functioned in the formal and informal contexts to manage teachers' role conflict in order to preserve harmony in the group. In particular, the interaction devices used by teachers towards this end contradicted the stated aims of immersion. The main devices, which were the predominant use of English and the use of silence, helped the teachers to avoid exacerbation of role conflict and prevented tensions in the group from disrupting all semblance of cohesion. English and French were not used interchangeably although most teachers had the linguistic capability to do so. Instead, silence was used, especially by immersion teachers, indicating that it was the use of French that was suppressed. However, silence was also used by both groups of teachers in order

to project a cohesive group image when outsiders were present in the school. These interaction patterns were reinforced by the formal and informal organization of the teacher group, which tended to keep anglophone and francophone teachers apart and to maintain the separate use of English and French. The interaction patterns were also manifestations of the existence among the teachers of a tacit agreement to allow the traditional language use norms of the society to prevail in order to promote harmony.

Paradoxically, the norm of group harmony which is common to all teacher groups served to undermine the paramount social goal of immersion programs which is linguistic integration at the larger social scale. Hypothetically, teachers could have interacted in compliance with emerging language use norms which promote linguistic integration and which are represented by the social objectives of immersion programs. However, such interaction would have forced English stream teachers to lend support to the very social changes that they resisted. The alternative was to violate the emerging language use norms (immersion norms) and to act in accordance with outdated but still internalized societal language use norms, norms that maintain the separation between anglophones and francophones and favor the predominant use of English in mixed groups. The teacher group in the immersion school did not interact in a linguistically integrated way due to the need to promote social harmony. Although their interactions demonstrated basic social processes that might be modified by idiosyncratic differences elsewhere, they remain reflective of social processes in Quebec.

To elaborate in reference to the first question, immersion and English stream teachers did not agree about immersion program objectives nor did they see the instructional outcomes of immersion in the same ways. Immersion teachers

generally viewed immersion programs in positive terms and sought less English instruction for immersion pupils. Conversely, English stream teachers thought that immersion programs were harmful and that the participants' English language skills did not receive enough attention. These attitudinal differences were mirrored in teachers' opinions about the growth of the immersion program in their school and they were also reflected in statements indicating the teachers' discomfort with divisions in the teacher group. English stream teachers were vocal about their resistance to further changes in and out of school.

It was found that controversial issues relating to political or pedagogical concerns raised during staff meetings brought teachers' differences to the forefront. The manner in which teachers interacted in the formal context served to control the increased conflict that these situations caused and to reestablish equilibrium. Towards these ends, English predominated and silence was used to avoid open disagreement.

In the informal context, the presence of teacher subgroups based on ethnolinguistic group membership and age replicated the structure of the society with which the teachers were most familiar. This arrangement clarified the rules of language use and provided a kind of legitimacy to the lack of interaction between anglophone and francophone teachers when they were gathered informally, usually in the staff room. At these times, teachers were isolated from students and from the clarity of language use norms that prevailed when teachers were alone with pupils in their classrooms. However, the degree of harmony that the informal subgroup structure brought about was lost when teachers had to meet in front of students. In these instances, English predominated or silence was used to avoid code switching. For immersion teachers, switching

from French to English in front of pupils would have meant departing from the immersion teaching rule that emphasizes the necessity of developing French speaking relationships with immersion pupils. For English stream teachers switching from English to French would have implied agreement with the social objectives of immersion programs and would have made these teachers party to the social changes that they were resisting. Thus, the "traditional" language use rules of Quebec society were relied on in order to manage conflict and to guide interaction.

The role played by the principal was critical to the continued functioning of the school. The principal acted as a mediator between the teachers and the disruptive influence of outside events. Outside events raised controversial issues that reminded teachers of their differences and of the fact that they could not really live up to the norms of their profession. The principal offered to protect the teacher group as it was and to prevent further changes from taking place in the school. That is, the principal's actions were designed to maintain equilibrium. However, in doing so she was also prevented from taking any action that would add support to immersion program social objectives since such action would have placed her on the side of the immersion teachers and would have caused further division in the teacher group. The principal was thus permitted to exercise her authority in a seemingly democratic manner. Her wishes were met with easy compliance by the teachers, apparently in return for the help that they received in handling the increased conflict brought by outside pressures.

How students perceive the operation of linguistic norms in the school and how these perceptions might affect the development of their general language use norms were the specific concerns of the final part of the study. The

suggestion underlying the question was that the interactional context or climate of the school may influence pupils in ways that undermine the achievement of the stated aims of a program of instruction because pupils may be more sensitive and responsive to implicit messages contained in teacher interaction than they are to the overt and well-intentioned efforts of some teachers to foster the program's goals.

The results obtained from an analysis of grade and program differences in students' language use perceptions in three contexts--in-the-classroom, out-of-the-classroom, and away-from-school--generally supported expectations raised by the observational data. **However, the major finding was unexpected.** Specifically, very few students (12% of the total sample) perceived French as the language of use out-of-the-classroom. Also, grade and program differences in this regard were imperceptible. It had been expected that immersion pupils in the lower grades, at least, would perceive French as the language of use in this context since it was their teachers who used French with pupils while outside of the classroom. In contrast, over half the sample perceived French as the language of use in-the-classroom. In this context, students in the lower grades and immersion students in all grades outnumbered others in the frequency with which they perceived French to be the language of use. These findings were in line with observations of teacher interaction. Similarly, and again in contrast to perceptions of language use out-of-the-classroom, nearly 30% of the sample perceived French as the language of use away-from-school. In this context, however, students in the higher grades and English stream students in particular, outnumbered others in the frequency with which they perceived French as the language of use.

Students' views of language use in the school suggest that teacher interaction in immersion schools may result in students' learning that French and

English are kept separate, that English predominates in important situations, that English is used in superordinate-subordinate interactions and that anglophones and francophones do not speak at all when they encounter each other informally.

The finding that immersion students in the higher grades perceived French to be used out-of-the-classroom and away-from-school less often than did English stream students suggests that teacher interaction may communicate cultural differences and ways to maintain those differences. Moreover this may be the case for immersion stream pupils more than for English stream pupils since immersion pupils are exposed daily and over a six year period to situational shifts in the use of language and to the separation of languages by subject and by teacher. Thus, these findings confirm those of Genesee and Bourhis (Note 1) since it appears that immersion pupils may be less influenced in the desired ways with regard to the integrative goals of the program than are their English taught peers whose experience with immersion programs is less direct and of a different order. Certainly, the findings indicated that these processes are complex and not simply due to such organizational factors as a heavy emphasis on English language instruction after grade two, despite the implicit importance that this arrangement accords to English language maintenance.

The findings of the study in general and those obtained with the projective instrument in particular, have important implications for bilingual education policy and planning. First, conscious efforts to effect change in the interactional context of the school and conscious efforts to communicate the desired social outcomes of a program of instruction may not be effective. The findings also suggest that positive instructional results are not, in and of themselves indicative of integrative outcomes of bilingual education. For

students seem to be highly sensitive to implicit messages contained in the interactions of teachers who are members of different ethnolinguistic groups.

In the present study, students seem to have perceived teachers' tacit approval of the continued dominance of the English language and culture in the school. The results therefore suggest that immersion programs cannot be expected to alter the development of students' general language use norms in ways that reflect the stated social aims of the program.

The present study also brings to light the importance of the organization of the bilingual school in achieving the overall bilingual education goal of improving relations between speakers of different groups. This is so in immersion as well as in other types of bilingual settings since any school with an ethnolinguistically mixed staff group has the inherent potential to give rise to similar interaction patterns as were found here.

A related implication also raised by the present study has to do with the dilemma surrounding the importance of bilingual role modeling in achieving bilingual education goals. The dilemma is contained in the contradiction between the need for teachers to use the target language with pupils in order to maximize exposure to that language so that instructional goals will be achieved and the need to present pupils with bilingual role models so that they will learn to view the relations between speakers of different groups as marked by ease in the use of both languages. The exclusive use of the target language in the bilingual school prevents teachers from acting as bilingual role models and thwarts any inclinations that teachers might have to behave in accordance with emergent language use norms.

The findings of this study support Mehan's (1978) definition of constitutive ethnography and analysis of social structures as interactional accomplishments. The social structure that was accomplished through teacher interaction

in the immersion school studied was one that resulted in the predominance of the English language and culture. This was not a conscious agreement nor was it due to formal policy. Rather, it was an implicitly agreed upon "rule" for interaction arrived at through the interaction process in order to manage conflict. In time the harmony brought about by these "rules" may itself become a source of conflict and instability since Quebec's on-going social changes are transforming the traditional interaction patterns, making adherence to such rules increasingly anachronistic.

While individuals may act within the framework of an organization, it is their interpretation of events in and out of the organization that determine action. Interaction in the formal and informal contexts of the immersion school ultimately functioned to maintain ethnolinguistic boundaries, social distance and peace. The need to maintain equilibrium found expression in the school's emphasis on the maintenance of the English language and culture. This emphasis provided subject matter for group discussion and an "objective" that ostensibly pertained to all teachers.

Despite the conscious efforts of some teachers to further the social goals of immersion programs, their efforts were sometimes outrightly thwarted and at other times were subtly thwarted, but in either case, these teachers were not successful in producing a school climate that would make the immersion school a place for students to find out what a linguistically integrated society could be like. It may be that the climate of immersion schools presents to students an outdated version of the wider society in which they live. Language use norms that are in reality no longer widely held may persist in the immersion school in an exaggerated way, creating a kind of cultural lag rather than promoting the social change that these programs were intended to bring about.

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Appendix A

Teacher Interview Guide

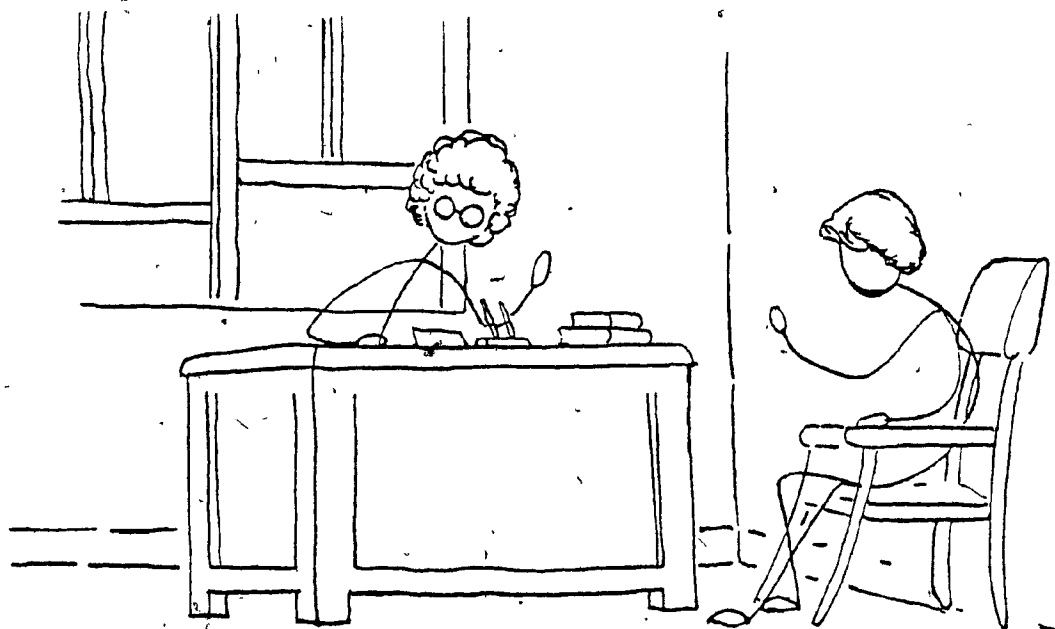
1. I would like to know about the process that led up to your teaching in this school. How many years in all have you been teaching? ____ Here _____. (Get brief job history) If she has been at this school more than eight years (since before it was FI) ask what the transition was like, feelings about the program at that time, if feelings are same or different now, were there adjustments to make re: new staff etc.
2. When applying for the job at this school, what did she feel were the criteria being looked for a. by the board and b. by the principal of the school. Why did you go in to teaching, probe, family wanted or expected, occupations brothers, sisters (by way of casual aside).
3. What was the reaction of family, friends, to working in this school?
4. What would you say is the major goal of a French Immersion school?
5. What measures are taken to meet these goals?
6. Do you think that the goals are met?
7. (If 6 is yes, say, so you do not think there are any improvements that could be made to the curriculum or way in which the school is structured,) Otherwise, ask what improvements could be made. Probes: curriculum, time scheduling, presence of FI and English streams.
8. Regarding general educational goals, do you think that instruction in a second language is as effective, more effective or less effective than instruction in the child's native tongue?
9. What do you feel is the most effective way of teaching a child a second language by the time he finishes high school?
10. Do you feel that French Immersion is effective in teaching French? _____
Math _____ Other subjects _____ Probe: better alternative?

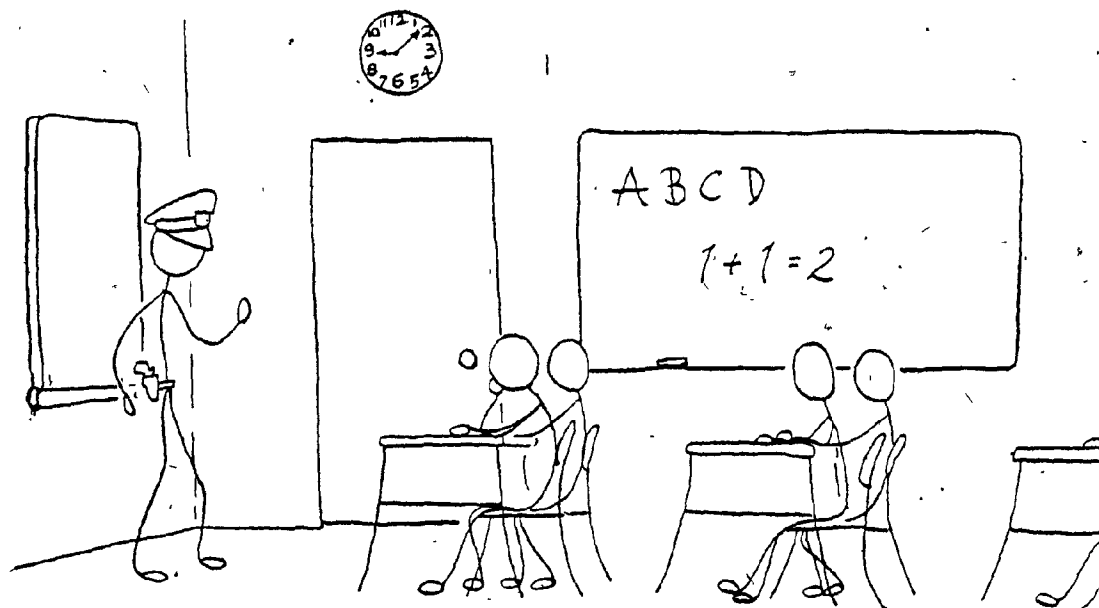
11. Regarding only the teaching of French, how does FI compare in your mind to regular FSL?
12. Do you see being in FI as detrimental in any way?
13. Do you see not being in FI as detrimental? If yes, probe re: putting all those in FI in one school and all not in FI in another school? Good idea or not?
14. When do you think English should be introduced for children in FI? _____
For how much of the day _____ And then? _____
15. When do you think French should be introduced for children in English stream?
_____ How much each day _____ and then _____
16. How do you find the curriculum that you are required to use? Are the materials adequate? What language are the teacher manuals in? What are the major problems in this area?
17. Do you think children who have been in FI will be more likely than others to stay in Quebec when they grow up?
18. Do you think children who have been through FI and who have retained their fluency in French will eventually integrate through jobs and family to the francophone milieu? If no, will they remain identified as part of the English community? Why? How do you think they will see themselves?
19. Do you think French Immersion has an effect on the development of bicultural and bilingual attitudes? Probe
20. Do you think FI children will be more likely when they grow up, no matter where they are living, to try to see that their children acquire a second language?
21. How do you think the children in your class view their own schooling? If in FI, probe re: do they see the relevance now? Do they express feelings of irrelevance? Do they accept without question etc. Their parents gen-

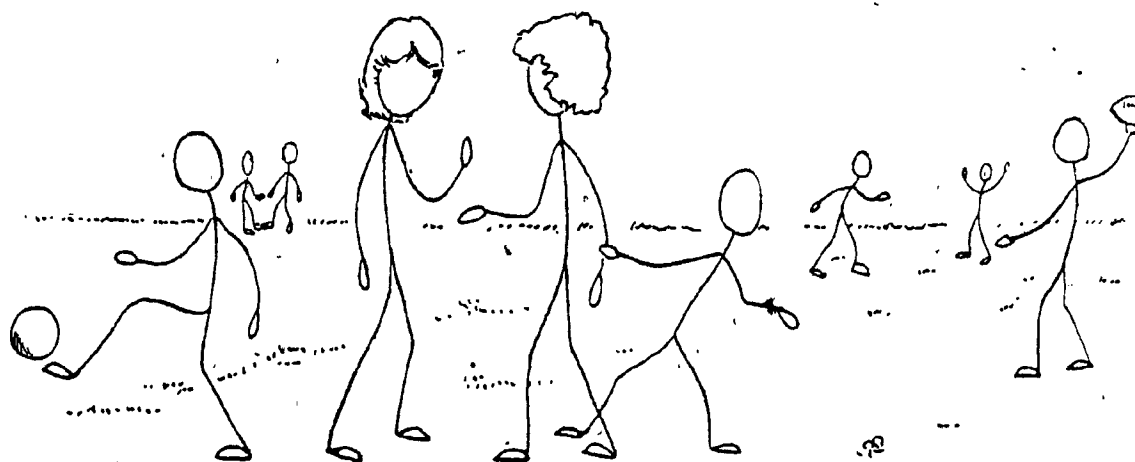
- erally happy with child's schooling? If in English stream: do they feel left out, do they see themselves as the dummies or failures, do they feel they are better off, parents generally happy with child's schooling?
22. (For teachers of grade three and up--ask hypothetically to others.) If a class has half a day in one language and half in the other, what do you think the children think about this? Does this pose any problems for the teachers involved?
 23. After school, what language do children in your class usually speak to you in? Ask only if relevant.
 24. If a child in your class met you in the grocery store, would he address you in French or in English?
 25. If you could redesign the educational system here in Montreal what features would you most like to see. If not mentioned probe re: language teaching for English, French and others.
 26. What do you think should be the second language teaching policy for English, French and Others in Quebec _____ in Canada _____
 27. How do you see the position of the teacher in Quebec today? (If not mentioned spontaneously, probe English, French, bilingual.) What do you think will happen in the next year or two? (leave open and for them to define)
 28. Very generally, how do you think teaching here compares to other schools? FI and other. Probe: "atmosphere, children, parents, principal, union and school board matters and effect in the school if any, the other teachers, the presence of two language groups on the staff, areas of divisiveness, tone of social gatherings, cohesive teacher group, divided age, language differences?

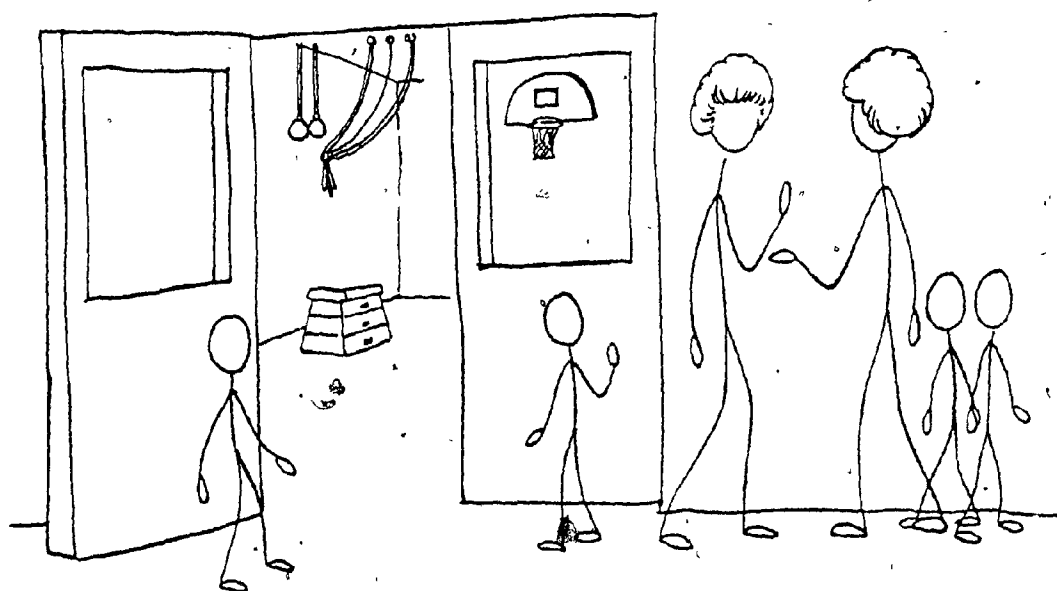
Appendix B
Projective Instrument





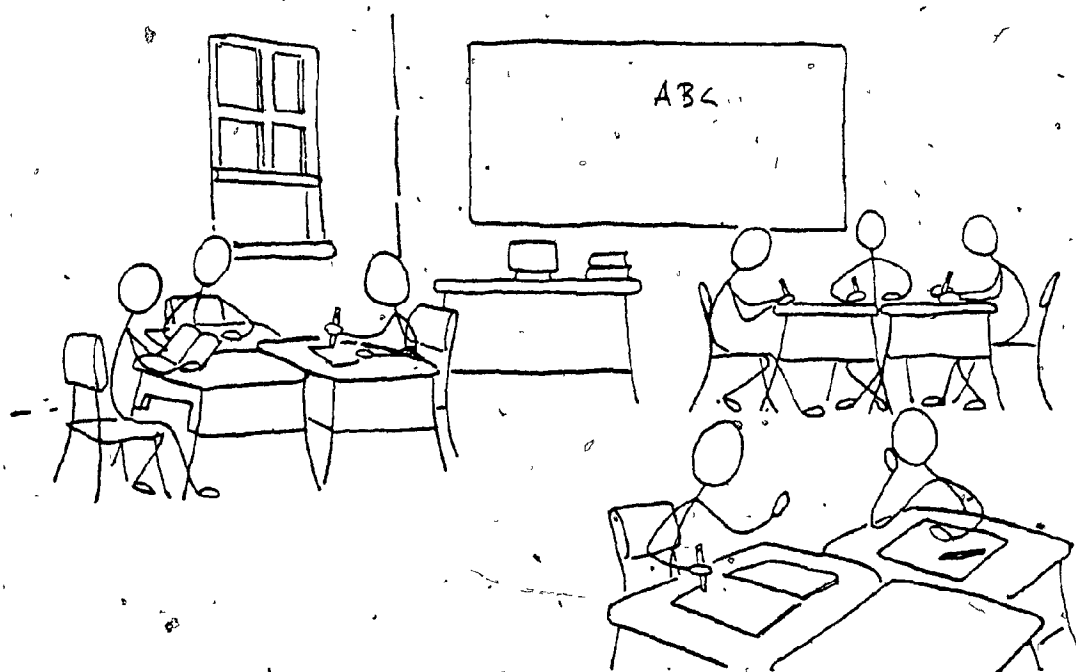




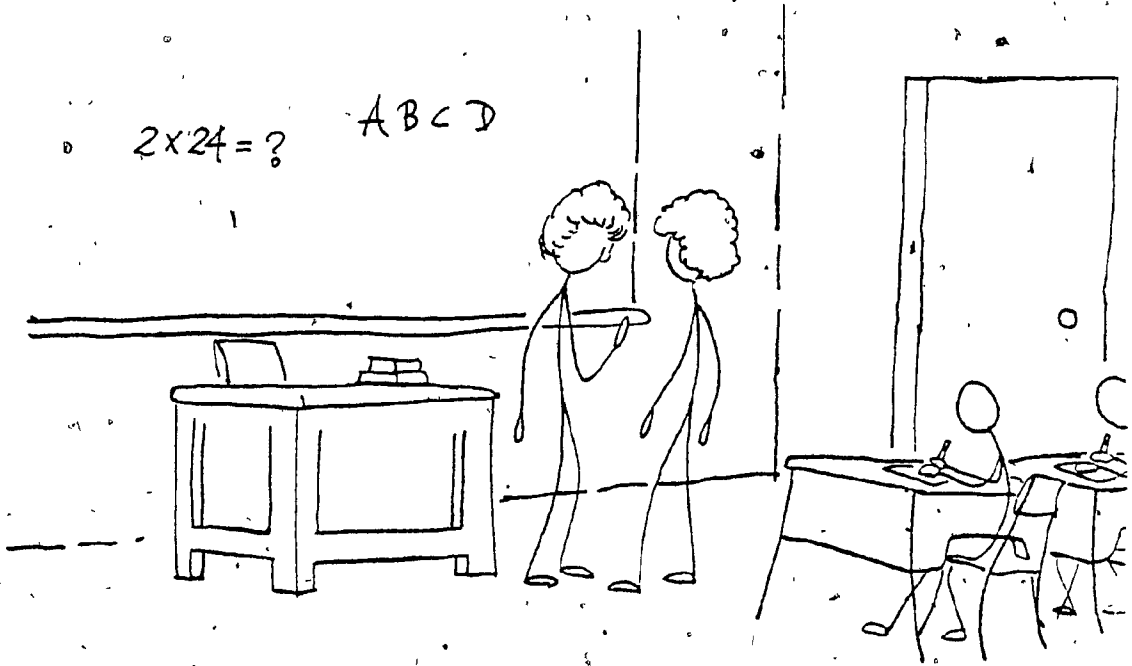


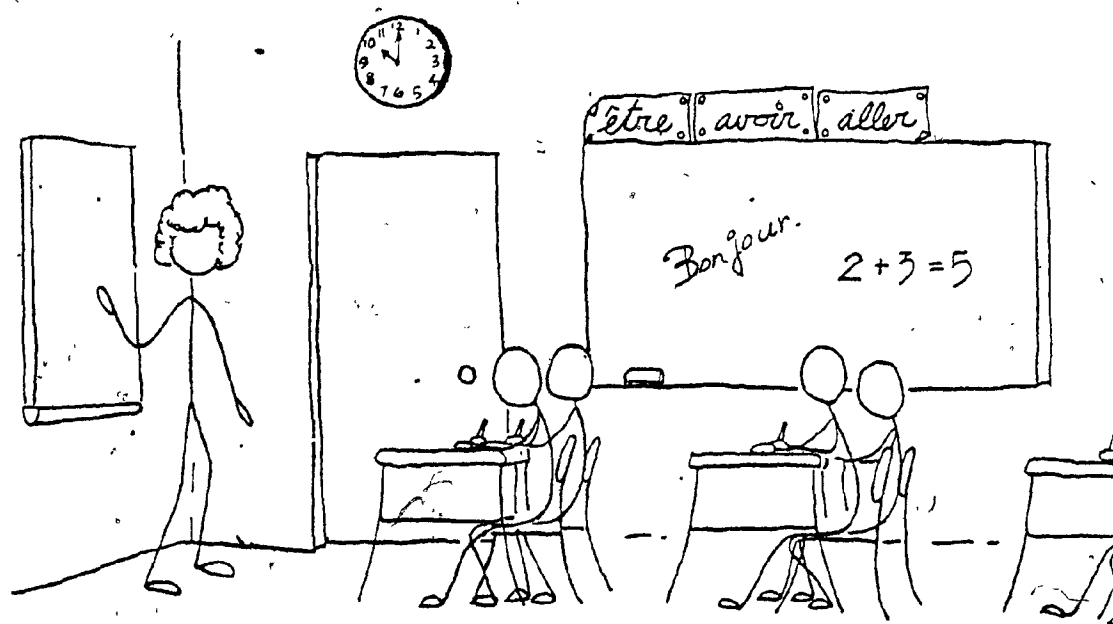


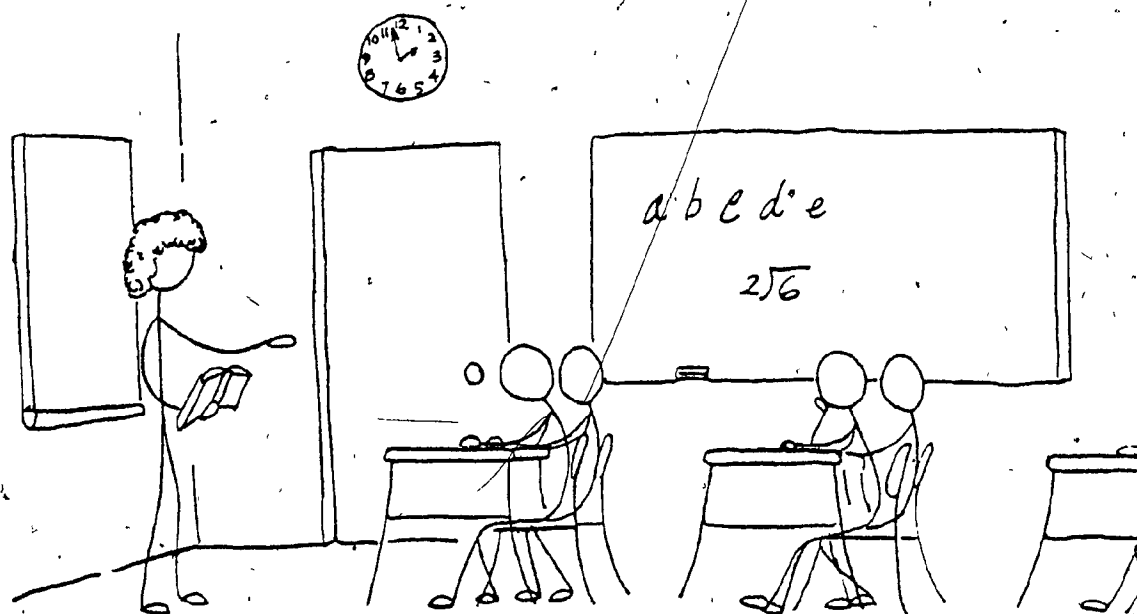


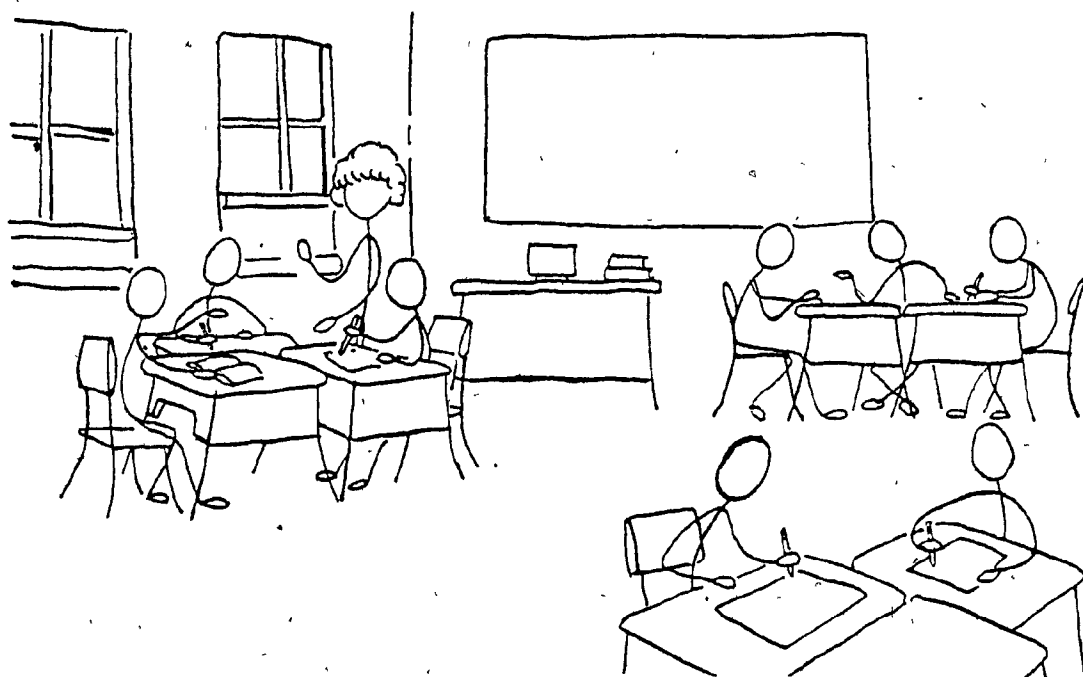


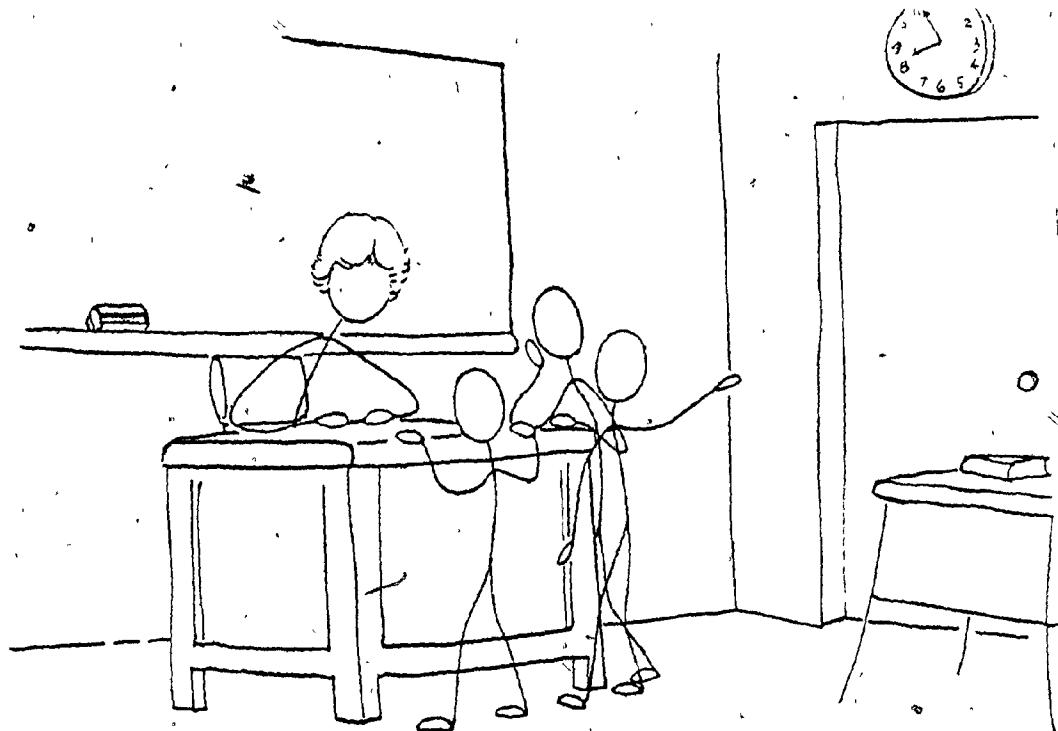
$2 \times 24 = ?$ ABCD

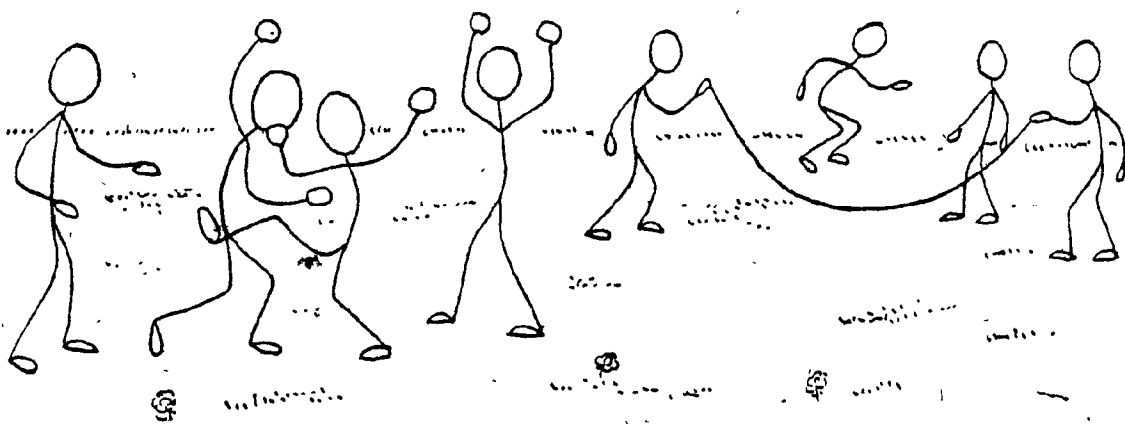


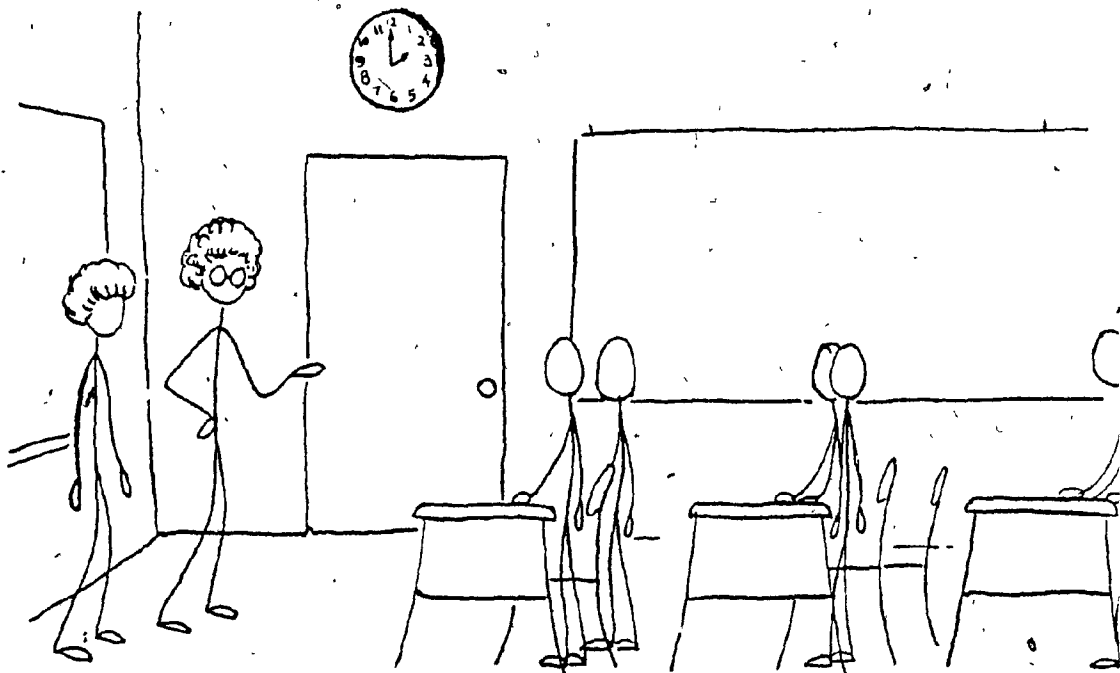


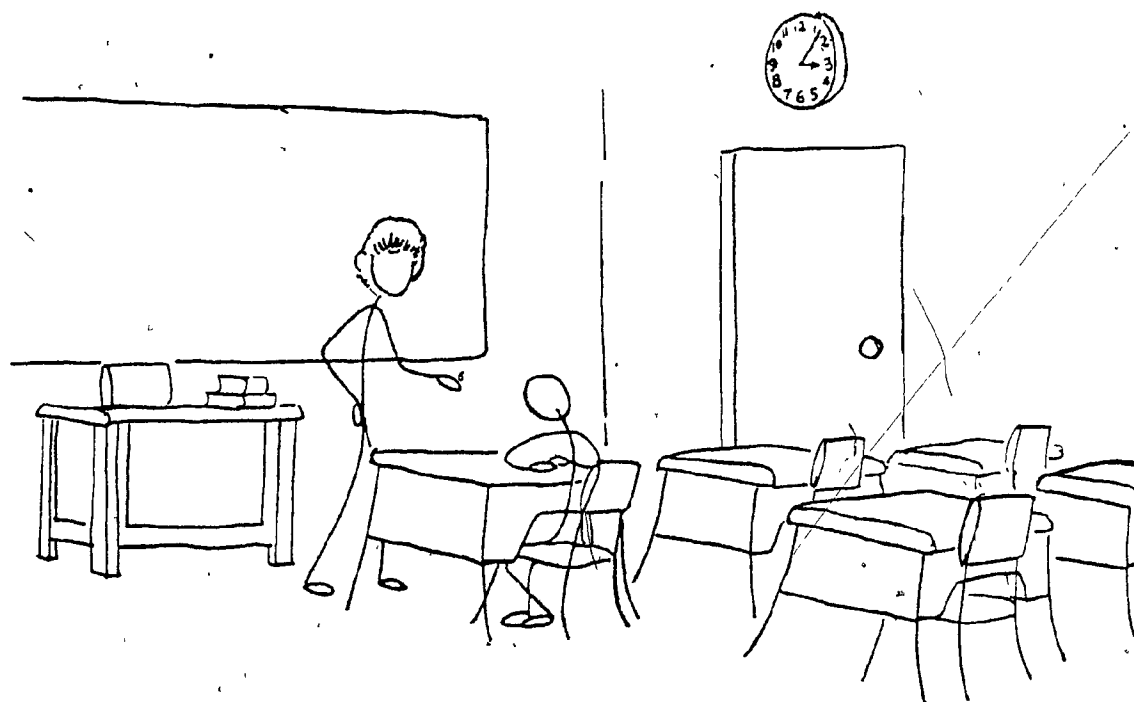


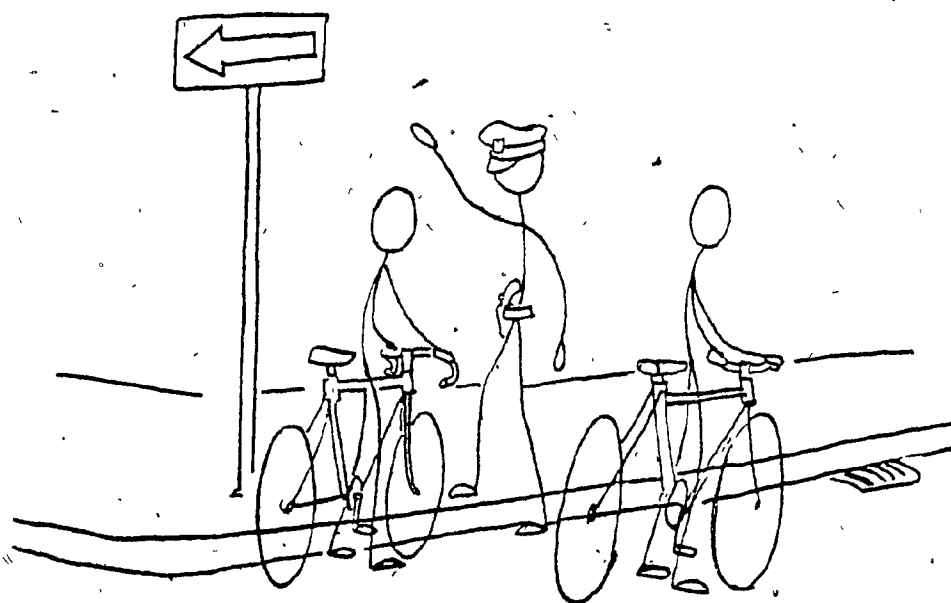


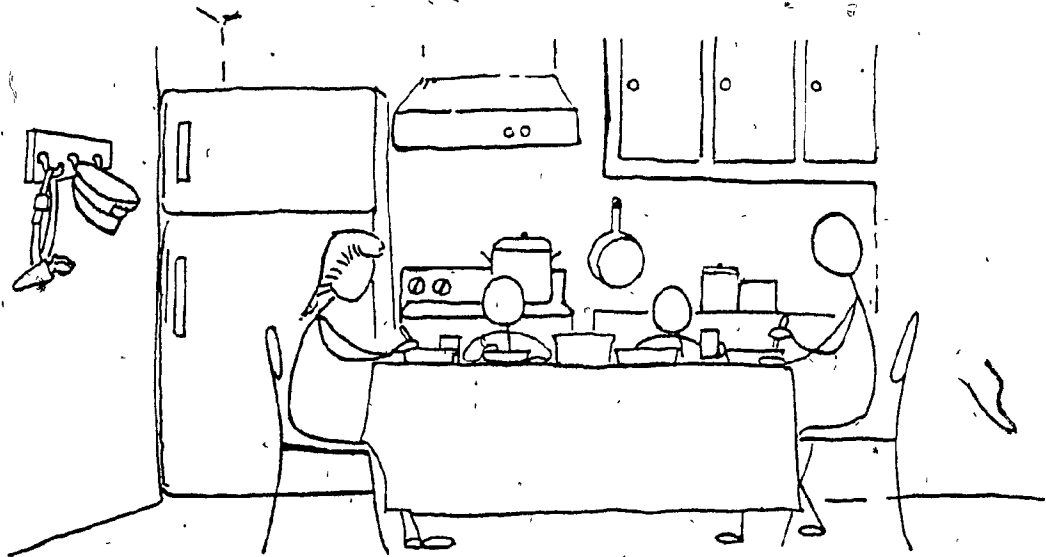


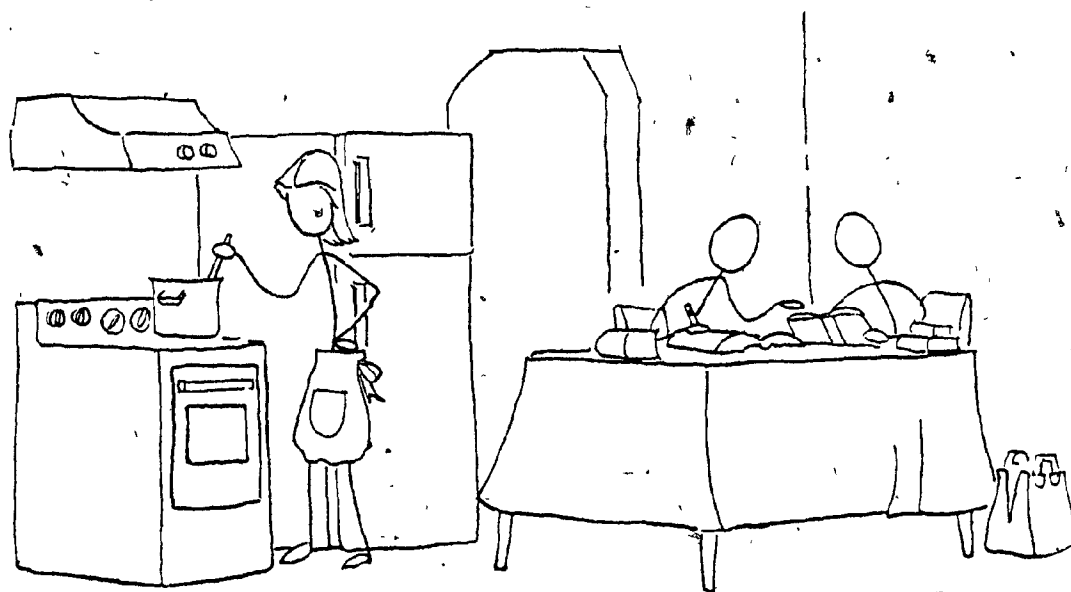




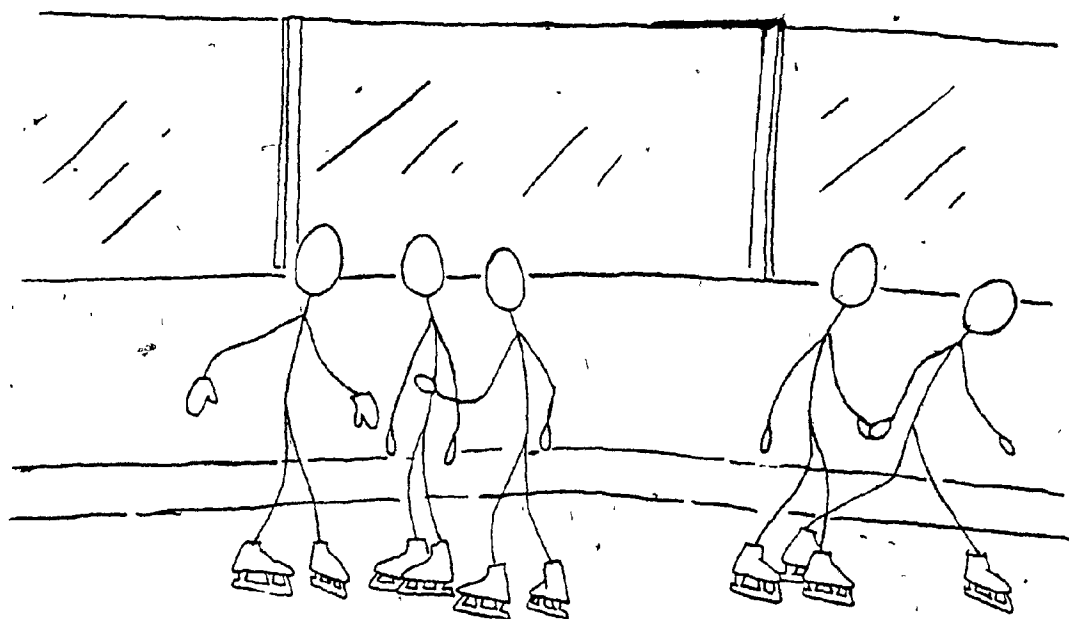




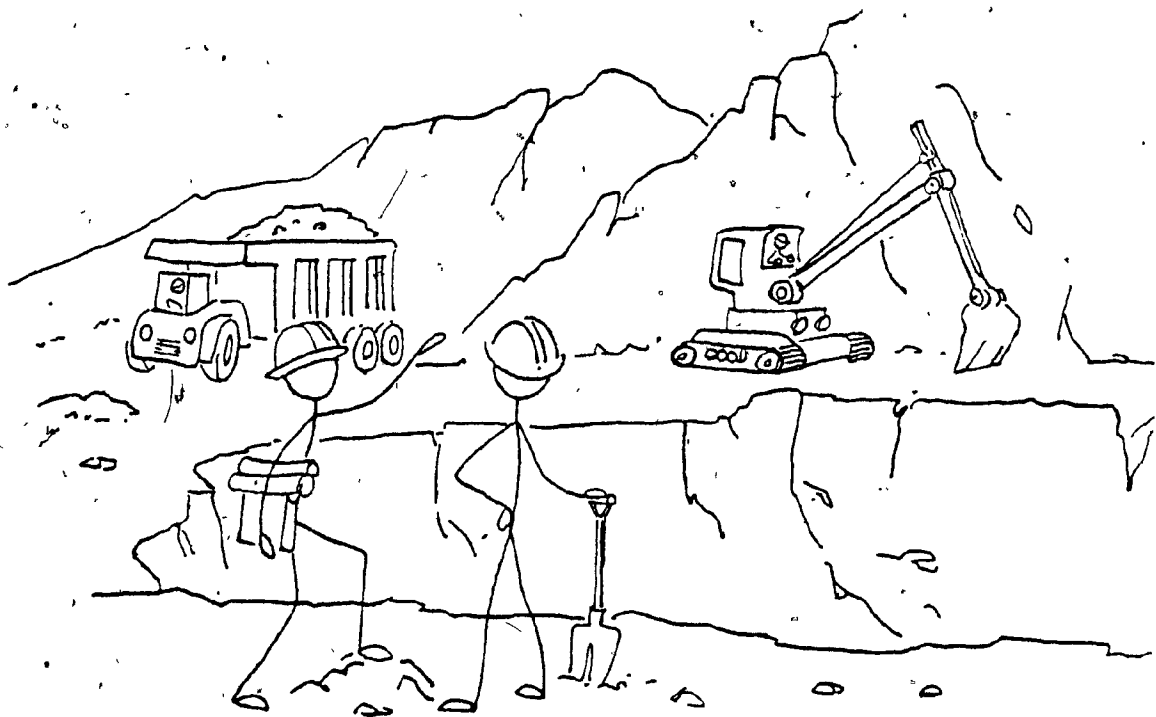












Appendix C

Procedure Used to Select Pictures for Analysis of Grade
and Program Differences in Students' Language Use Perceptions

The most important criteria for selection of a picture for analysis was the frequency with which the picture was interpreted as intended. Pictures that were misinterpreted often at any grade level or across grades were considered contaminated and were eliminated. Selection was guided also by an examination of the distribution of these errors by grade, sex and program.

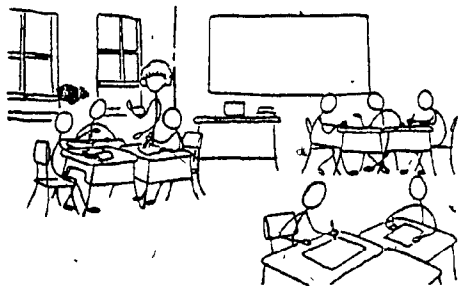
Although the subjects did not often state with certainty that English and/or French would be used in a particular situation, they perceived situations often enough in this way to convince the investigator that they considered it appropriate in certain situations. An average of 5.1% of language use perceptions fell into this category. In this regard, a degree of validity was obtained by including a picture that contained a definite language clue. In this way, it was determined that such clues strongly influenced subjects responses. Finally, a certain amount of subjective judgment was used to distinguish between pictures that acted as good stimuli for pupils' projections regarding the situational use of language and pictures that determined too much the direction of their responses.

Table 5 summarizes the results of the selection procedure and shows the frequency with which the selected pictures in each context were perceived as intended. Since the subjects had greater difficulty interpreting out-of-class pictures than they did for either of the other two contexts it was not possible to obtain as high a level of accuracy for this group as for the others. It is not possible to say at this time whether this was due to a real ambiguity associated with that context or due to faults in the pictures themselves.

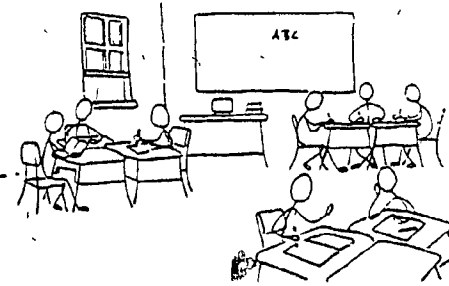
Table 5

Frequency with Which Pictures Perceived Correctly

Group	Percent of Sample to Perceive Picture as Intended (N=176)
All Administered (N=23)	77
Selected for Language Perception Analysis (N=12)	91
In-Class Situations (N=4)	96
Out-of-Class Situations (N=4)	82
Away-from-School Situations (N=4)	94

In-Class Context

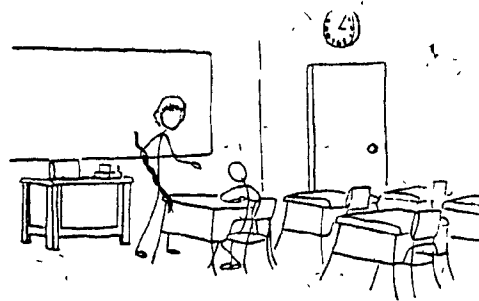
1



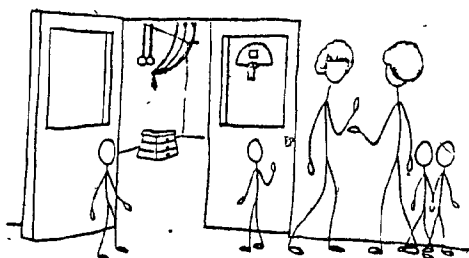
2



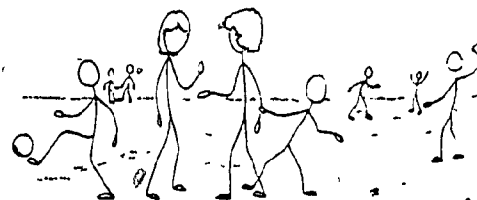
3



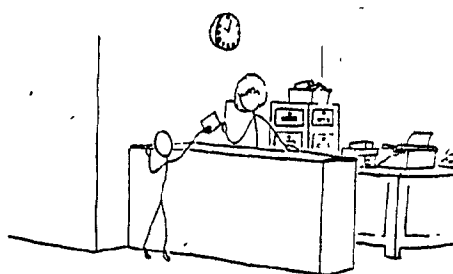
4

Out-of-Class Context

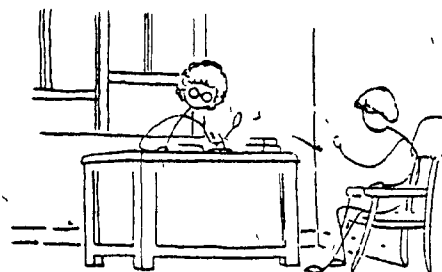
5



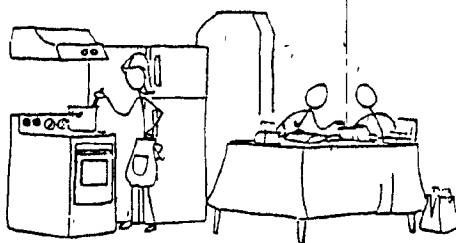
6



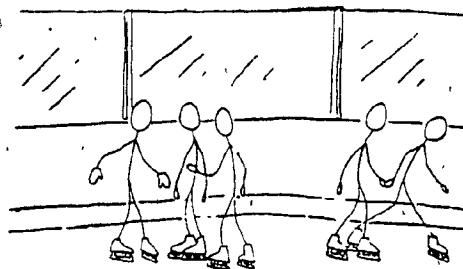
7



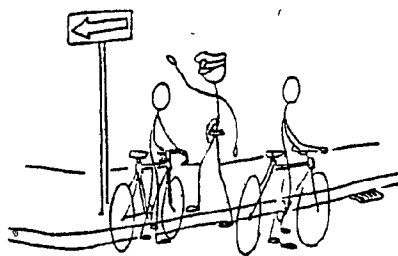
8

Away-from-School Context

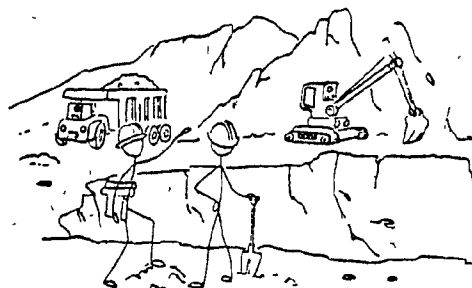
9



10



11



12

Appendix D

Teacher's Background Information Questionnaire

1. Name _____
2. Area of city in which you live _____
3. Birthplace _____ 4. Place raised _____
5. Number of brothers and sisters _____ 6. Your position in family _____
7. Father's education _____ yrs. 8. Father's occupation _____
9. Mother's education _____ yrs. 10. Mother's occupation _____
11. Father's mother tongue _____ 12. Mother's mother tongue _____
13. Language spoken by you with: father _____; mother _____;
 brothers and sisters _____; grandparents _____;
 _____; childhood friends _____;
 teenage friends _____;
 college level friends _____;
 friends now _____
14. Where did you go to elementary school _____
 What was the language of instruction _____
15. Where did you go to high school _____
 What was the language of instruction _____
16. Where did you take your teacher training _____
 What was the language of instruction _____
17. Which do you consider your second language: English _____ French _____
18. When did you first have contact with the second language?
 _____ Where _____
19. Regardless of how well you speak the second language, what was your main reason for learning to do so:

- a. No reason, it occurred incidentally (e.g. in the street as a child, or, from early on in school)
- b. Was sent to school in the second language
- c. Learned it in order to improve job opportunities
- d. Learned it in order to be able to mix with people who speak that language
- e. Other
- f. I do not speak the second language at all, am unilingual.

20. How would you rate yourself on the following scale? (0 = fully bilingual; 1 = nearly bilingual but stronger in the language on that side of the scale; 5 = unilingual in the language on that side of the scale)

French 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 English

21. How would you rate your ability in the second language with regard to the following (assign a number to each according to the following scale)
(1) excellent (2) very good (3) fairly good (4) rather poor (5) very poor

_____ writing
 _____ reading speed
 _____ reading comprehension
 _____ speaking to the class
 _____ understanding discussions
 _____ understanding instructions from superiors
 _____ participating in informal discussions

22. Given the choice, your preferred work setting would be:

- a. in a bilingual atmosphere
- b. in a French-language atmosphere
- c. in an English-language atmosphere
- d. I have no preference regarding any of the above
- e. Other _____ Specify _____

23. To what extent does the following statement reflect your feelings: "I find that the more time I spend with people who speak the second language, the more I risk losing my cultural identity."
- a. This is exactly how I feel
 - b. This is more or less how I feel
 - c. This only slightly reflects my feelings
 - d. This does not reflect my feelings at all
24. If you had children starting school today, where would you choose to send them _____
- Why? _____
25. Any comments on this questionnaire or other aspects of your experience with this study would be welcome _____
- _____